September 22, 1958

Mr. John Lofton
Editorial Writer
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
Pittsburgh 30, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Lofton:

I was very glad to see your letter of September 15th, which Paul Anthony answered in my absence. It is welcome news indeed that you are doing a magazine article on Mr. Dabbs. I have felt for some time now that such an article would be a natural.

If we can furnish any additional information on SRC, Mr. Dabbs, or the Southern situation in general, let us hear from you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

1. Encls: Lin Holloway Reprint (Journal & Guide)
Cong. Record Reprint
Midsummer Report
F.B.R. Statement on Cons. Ser. Prog.

September 18, 1958

Mr. John Lofton
Editorial Writer
Pittsburg Post-Gazette
Pittsburgh 30, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Lofton:

We are answering your letter of September 15th since Mr. Fleming is away from the office and time may be of some importance to you.

Enclosed are several pieces of material which should be of help to you in determining the work of SRC. Among these materials is our midsummer report, which you will note is essentially confidential. We include it, however, for whatever value it may have as background material. Little published material exists on our consultant services to Southern communities since, quite naturally, much of this work is also confidential. However, enclosed is a statement on that program prepared by Fred Routh, Assistant Director of SRC and the staff member in charge of our field activities.

We very much enjoyed your review of Mr. Dabbs' book and are most appreciative of your generous comment about the Council. If we can be of further help, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA:mf

Copy sent to:
John Hope II
C. H. Parrish

Consultant file

The Southern Regional Council, recognising the need of local communities facing desegregation for professional advice, established the Consultant Service Program in January, 1956. A panel of consultants was chosen from social scientists and other specialists with community relations experience. Their services were made available to communities preparing for desegregation.

The usual proceedure has five steps:

1. A request to SRC's Consultant Service Program from a local, reputable group in a community.

2. Pre-planning by local leadership and SRC's Chief Consultant.

3. A quick field-survey by a consultant or a team of consultants of the local situation.

4. A workshop-type session, attended by local leadership, presided over by SRC's Chief Consultant, and with a team of consultants serving as resource persons.

5. A follow-up report to local leadership.

Thus far the Consultant Service Program has been used by State Councils on Human Relations, local Councils on Human Relations, School Boards, a meeting of school superintendents, several Interagency Conferences, a meeting of Mass Media experts, several College Conferences, Conference of Church Women, and Organized Labor conferences.

Much of the work of the Consultant Service Program must be off-the-record for public bodies have to be careful not to arouse the segregation-extremists to public attack. The Consultants' calm, professional approach of advice - not advocacy - has won the respect of those with whom they have worked.

-:-

ATLANTIC 1-6100

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

One of America's Great Newspapers

PITTSBURGH 30, PENNSYLVANIA

September 15, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am preparing an article on James McBride Dabbs which I hope to place in a national magazine. Last week end I flew down to see him in order gather material, so he knows of my project.

My purpose in writing to you is to ask whether you can send me some descriptive material on the work of the Southern Regional Council, which I would not get in New South or otherwise as a member of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. The Southern Regional Council will naturally fit into an article on Mr. Dabbs, and I want to make sure I have adequate information on its activities. I am particularly interested in your consultant services to communities anticipating school desegregation.

You may be interested to know that I did a piece for the Post-Gazette on your booklet, Integration - North and South, when it came out. I am enclosing a copy of my review of Mr. Dabbs' The Southern Heritage.

Sincerely yours,

John Lofton

John Lofton
Editorial Writer

September 15, 1958

Mr. John Lofton
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
Pittsburgh 30, Pennsylvania

Dear John:

I thought the Negro Insurrectionist was excellent, you are doing just right in keeping at the outside the job pieces.

I hope you can locate a piece about the Southern Regional Council. It would be a good idea to call Harold Fleming, its able director, for some help.

Sincerely,

Joseph P. Lyford

C
O
P
Y

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. Joseph Lyford
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Joe:

It has been some time since you came through Pittsburgh. I hope you'll be coming this way again soon. I'd enjoy seeing you and, particularly, hearing what you have to say on the New York and Connecticut political races.

I am enclosing a reprint of an article which I thought you might like to glance at. With nullification threatened in Arkansas and Virginia, you might find the historic parallels developed on pages 192-195 of interest.

Recently I've been reading with considerable admiration a book which the Fund is partially responsible for. What James McBride Dabbs says in The Southern Heritage (Knopf, August 18) might not be unusual if it came from outside the South. But as a view from lower South Carolina, expressed by a man who has lived there for years and is still living there, it is extraordinary. Speaking to fellow Southerners as one of them, Dabbs should be far more effective than an outside spokesman saying the same thing.

After noting his writing in publications of the Southern Regional Council and now in his book, I think Dabbs' role is significant enough to make him worthy of an article in a national magazine. I'm trying to interest some journal in a piece on him, but so far haven't succeeded. I may decide to go down and talk to him and do an article, counting on its timeliness to enable me to peddle it.

I've found Foreign Policy and the Free Society, Religion and the Free Society and the transcripts of the Wallace interviews very rewarding.

Sincerely,

/s John Lofton

Books in Review 9-13-58

Southerner Advises Region To Look to Its Heritage

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE. By James McBride Dabbs. Knopf. $4.

This book is one of the most unusual and significant comments on Southern race relations to be published since the Supreme Court's historic desegregation decision brought this subject to the top of the nation's consciousness.

It is unusual because it represents an enlightened view, not by a visiting professor or an urban editor, but by a farmer. It is true that Mr. Dabbs has an academic background—he did Ph. D work at Columbia and headed the English Department at Coker College—but he left the campus nearly 20 years ago. And since that time he has earned his livelihood by farming, laboring in the fields himself and living the life of the rural South, with Negroes as employes and neighbors. To make his credentials even more unimpeachable in the South, Mr. Dabbs' family has lived in or near the same community of Mayesville, South Carolina, for 150 years.

The Southern Heritage is a significant statement because it seeks to point the way to the South's future by drawing on the best of the region's past experience. It recounts, without flinching, the South's errors of the past: its initiation of segregation after Reconstruction in order to keep the Negro in his depressed condition. But Mr. Dabbs nevertheless treats the development sympathetically, seeing the leaders as victims of their emotions and their experience. Moreover, he employs the disarming device of associating himself with what was done by the consistent use of the pronoun "we."

Mr. Dabbs takes up each of the South's fears in turn: intermarriage, the lowering of educational standards and the others, and demonstrates convincingly that they are baseless or largely so.

What then would Mr. Dabbs have the South do? He would have it accept the end of segregation as gracefully as possible and make use of its constructive experience in human relations to set a new pattern for interracial harmony. Beyond this he offers a philosophy for the new order in the South—one in which the people of a newly industrializing region are brought into more meaningful rapport with their means of support.

The influence of Mr. Dabbs' point of view should be enhanced by the fact that he is president of the Southern Regional Council, the foremost organization working for racial amity in the South.

—John Lofton

Desperadoes

BADMEN OF THE FRONTIER DAYS. By Carl W. Breihan. Robert M. McBride Co. $4.95.

Here, by the author of the "Complete and Authentic Life of Jesse James," is a series of short accounts of the doings of some of the early West's most notorious desperadoes.

While not a scholarly work, it appears to be fairly well-documented and should suit those who like their reading on frontier lawlessness in quick and easy doses. Besides covering such famed figures as Billy the Kid, the Reno brothers, Sam Bass and the Dalton gang, it includes some of the lesser known purveyors of crime. Among them: Henry Plummer, John A. Murrell, King Fisher, Harry Fisher.

Author Breihan does not deal in Robin Hood myths but in cold-blooded, sordid facts, supported by some 30 interesting photographs, which show that the frontier badmen were not unlike the modern gangsters and gunmen who followed in their wake. Most of them had had two things in common: They did not live to see 40; they died inglorious, undignified deaths.

—M. S.

Worthy of Note

FROM THE STONE AGE TO CHRISTIANITY. Monotheism and the Historical Process. By William Foxwell Albright. Doubleday Anchor Book (paperback). $1.45.

LET'S GET A DIVORCE! and Other Plays. Edited by Eric Bentley. Hill and Wang (paperback). $1.75.

HISTORY OF MATHEMATICS (in two volumes). By David Eugene Smith. Dover (paperback). $2.75 per volume.

OTHER WORLDS IN SPACE —Written and illustrated (in color) by Terry Maloney. Sterling. $2.95.

ATLANTIC 1-6100

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

One of America's Great Newspapers

PITTSBURGH 30, PENNSYLVANIA

September 23, 1958

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your very helpful reply to my September 15 inquiry about the Southern Regional Council. I am sure I will find the materials you enclosed very useful.

I am enclosing a copy of an article from the September issue of The Progressive which may interest you. I also had articles in the April, 1958, issue of The Journal of Negro History and in the summer, 1958, issue of The Antioch Review.

Sincerely,

John Lofton

John Lofton

people's democracies (Outer Mongolia, North Korea, and North Vietnam) which, together with Bulgaria, have a five-year planning cycle extending from 1953 to 1957 and from 1958 to 1962. This coordination was achieved through a set of laboriously negotiated long-term trade agreements extending to 1965.

Unusual shifts in important personnel indicate that capital shortage, planning bottlenecks, and productivity problems are far from solved. But the careful preparation of the seven year program and the thoroughness with which it has been coordinated with the plans of the entire Soviet bloc, show that Khrushchev and his associates are tackling those obstacles which in the past few years have slowed down the Soviet Union's phenomenal economic growth. The Soviet premier may well have been sincere when he intimated that war was the one thing which might upset his long-term plan to surpass the American capitalist system economically.

Whether his plan can be carried out depends upon many factors. Some of them are of a psychological nature, especially in agriculture, where it is not yet certain how the peasants will respond to Communism's collective productivity inducements. Another factor is the economic and social policy of the capitalist world which, under new inspirations, may develop an unexpected dynamism of its own.

For the time being Western policy has come to Khrushchev's aid. As a result of the landing of U. S. Marines in Lebanon, internal differences have abated and the *verkhushka*—the upper layer of the officialdom—are said to be united. The people too seem to be rallying around their leaders.

They may not trust party and government—any party or any government—and many a high Soviet official may secretly think that Khrushchev is an adventurer or a fool, but when it comes to choosing between what he stands for and those who appear to be the Soviet Union's enemies, such thoughts are dismissed, with the result that the good-will of the regime is boosted, the readiness to accept retrenchments is increased, and the prospects of fulfilling the new plan rise.

DAVID LAWRENCE

The South's 'Lawyer' In the Court of Northern Opinion

by JOHN LOFTON

THE NEW battlefields of the old Confederacy are the legislative halls, the courts, and the press of the nation. Having chosen these as the grounds on which to make its Twentieth Century stand, the South has mobilized a wide assortment of political and legal weapons adaptable to the need of the particular front on which the opposition presses.

In the three years since the Supreme Court ordered an end to compulsory segregation in public schools, the South's leaders by one tactic or another have outmoded the apparent meaning of the words "deliberate speed" and have transformed them into a synonym for delay. As the 1957-58 school year drew to a close, desegregation had been effected in only 138 of the 2,076 Southern school districts having pupils of both races.

The South's devices for implementing its strategy of obstruction have included federal legislation to limit the authority of the Supreme Court, the interposition of state power between the federal courts and local school boards, and the institution of new constitutional challenges in the courts. Useful as these strategems have been, however, Southern tacticians consider them deficient without a channel of communication to explain them to the rest of the country.

It is probably true that the great media of news and opinion outside the South have not given maximum play to Dixie's shrill imprecations against the Supreme Court. But there is at least one consistent and vocal exception. In David Lawrence, newspaper columnist and editor of *U. S. News and World Report*, the South has a "lawyer" in the court of Northern opinion. Lawrence has echoed some of the South's most novel legal arguments both in his magazine and in his column. For good measure he has lobbed some heavy verbal projectiles of his own devising, including a gibe at the U.S. judiciary by Russian prosecutor Andrei Vyshinski, whom Lawrence quoted to demonstrate the "dictatorial function" of the Supreme Court.

For a region which chronically complains about not being able to get its views aired in the nation's press, Lawrence is no insignificant spokesman. *U. S. News* claims more than a million subscribers. The 274 newspapers which carry the Lawrence column (208 of them outside the South) have a total readership of about 55 million, which indicates—according to one Lawrence paper's survey—a readership of perhaps 14 million for the column itself. The New York *Herald Tribune* Syndicate, which distributes the column, says Lawrence is the nation's most widely syndicated political columnist, with the possible exception of George Sokolsky.

In the campaign to stay the course of judicially ordered integration, Lawrence has been active on all fronts. He has given aid and comfort to the Southern effort in Congress to curb the authority of the Supreme Court, accusing the high tribunal of usurpation of power. He intervened vigorously on behalf of Governor

JOHN LOFTON, lawyer and newspaperman, is a native of South Carolina, where he was educated, and worked in Little Rock as associate editor of the Arkansas Gazette. He is now an editorial writer for the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette where, among his other duties, he handles the Lawrence column.

Faubus in the Little Rock dispute and spoke of "Eisenhower's war against the states." Dipping into his well-stocked arsenal, he came up last fall with what is by all odds the South's most bizarre weapon; he declared, "There Is No 'Fourteenth Amendment'!" This statement, based on the claim that the amendment was not properly ratified by the states, suggests the nature of Lawrence's frequently exhibited desire to turn back the flow of history.

One of the columnist's chief complaints against the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (the leading school case) is that it failed to perpetuate the 58-year-old precedent of *Plessy v. Ferguson*. In that 1896 case the Court held that separate but equal accommodations for a Negro on a railroad car were sufficient to meet the requirements of the law. Though the Plessy doctrine ruled for some years in school cases, this was hardly a justification for Lawrence's suggestion that the Constitution was "changed overnight" by the Brown decision's abandonment of the doctrine. In a series of rulings prior to 1954, the Court had struck down compulsory segregation, thus signaling a limited life expectancy for the separate but equal criterion.

As early as 1946 the tribunal had invalidated, as an interference with commerce, a Virginia segregation statute applied to passengers in interstate journeys. Two years later it held that enforcement of a restrictive covenant based on race or color amounted to a denial of equal protection by the state. In *Sweatt v. Painter* the Court decided in 1950 that Texas' segregated law school for Negroes was not and could not be "equal." It noted that there are qualities in a school "which are incapable of objective measurement." But even if these decisions had not presaged the upsetting of the Plessy precedent, the court could have justified an abrupt change on the ground that the original Plessy rule did not apply to education and that, after trial in that area, it had proved unsatisfactory. Eternal adherence to precedent is not mandatory in American law.

Prominent Southern spokesmen do not, of course, have to depend on Lawrence's column or on *U. S. News* to reach Northern readers. Their speeches castigating the Court are reported by the wire services and the reports are carried in Northern newspapers—though it is doubtful that any one of them can command as much space as does columnist Lawrence in practically every large city in the country, including Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Kansas City, Seattle, Los Angeles, and Washington. Moreover, the Southern case, when it is presented in magazines of national circulation, is usually identified as such. Obviously the words of personally-involved Southerners can not carry as much weight as those of a presumably disinterested outsider.

Philadelphia-born, Princeton-educated David Lawrence has the requisites of an outsider, but he pleads the South's cause with the passion of an insider. Last fall, while Governor Faubus' revolt against the United States was in full cry, Lawrence, for more than three weeks, devoted every one of his five-day-a-week columns to the evils of enforced integration. For six consecutive weeks in September and October, his editorials in *U. S. News* were addressed to the same subject.

U. S. News revisited Little Rock in its January 31 issue, found fresh evidence of racial tension to vindicate Governor Faubus, noted that nothing fundamental had been settled by the use of federal force—as if the curbing of mob defiance of a court was not fundamental. In both *U. S. News* and the column Lawrence has backed the move to suspend integration at Little Rock. For two and a half years he welcomed the recent renomination of Governor Faubus.

The magazine bills its features under the noncommittal label of "complete and authentic" reports. But by introducing its reports with such phrases as, "Many white people are saying," it manages to commit its news columns to an extraordinary volume of bigoted mouthings. Example: "Privately, many white people are saying that the end result of home rule [for the District of Columbia] would be a Negro mayor and council, Negro Congressmen representing the district, Negro functionaries welcoming distinguished visitors to Washington."

Lawrence himself is wary of racialism. In his column he stresses constitutional and political arguments. Early in his campaign for Governor Faubus, he called attention to his (Lawrence's) Pennsylvania birth and to the fact that he attended integrated public schools in Buffalo, N. Y., where a Negro student athlete was his friend. Were he a student again, said Lawrence at that time, he would not hesitate to attend an integrated school. His numerous comments deploring the Supreme Court's desegregation decision are prompted, he explained, by a belief that the tribunal "really violated the Constitution and actually accepted the doctrine that the Negro, despite his educational attainments in recent years, still feels 'inferior' to the white man." He wondered how "anyone with pride of color" can accept such a feeling. And he wanted to know how the Supreme Court can control attitudes of inferiority or superiority by outlawing segregation. For Lawrence the question boils down to "the inalienable rights of parents to freedom of association for their children."

In his fervent defense of parents' rights and states' rights Lawrence seems to be totally oblivious to the right of free citizens to be spared degrading treatment under the law. Segregation is not simply an instrument employed by an impartial arbiter to draw a dividing line between equally recognized elements of the citizenry. Historically and currently, segregation is a device used by the white group to project its feelings of superiority onto the Negro and to express its notion that the Negro is unfit to associate with. The Supreme Court cannot do anything about the private practice of such a notion. But the Court is properly concerned when the machinery of the state, to which the Negro contributes in service and taxes, is utilized by the white group to foist upon the Negro its own peculiar ideas on compartmentalizing public facilities according to the color of the users.

Though he is not a lawyer, Lawrence has no hesitancy about wading into the thick of a legal battle. He has argued dogmatically that the Fourteenth Amendment can be im-

plemented only by Congressional legislation and that, since there has been no act of Congress calling for integration of the public schools, the Supreme Court cannot require it. This contention is based on Section 5 of the Amendment which says: "The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article." This means, according to Lawrence, that the amendment is not self-executing.

But the history of the amendment shows that it is self-executing. In a long line of decisions the Court, without any action by Congress, applied the equal protection clause to secure rights for the people whom the amendment was designed to help. The principle of equality was established in zoning, in primary elections, and in university education without resort to Congress. One of the framers of the amendment actually warned against leaving to "the caprice of Congress" the substantive rights to be conferred by the instrument. Section 5 obviously was included, not to give the task of implementation exclusively to Congress, but simply to provide an extra device for effectuating the rights which the amendment established.

Another Lawrence broadside aimed at the Fourteenth Amendment is that its framers did not contemplate the prohibition of segregated schools and that "nowhere in the Constitution is education placed within the jurisdiction of the federal government." This position too has been refuted with a wealth of historical details by legal scholars such as Paul A. Freund of the Harvard Law School, who has observed: "It is the very essence of the Constitution that it speaks in generalities like 'equal protection of the laws,' and it is the very essence of the judicial process that it must apply the generalities to the concrete facts of experience." But no detailed argument should be needed to deflate Lawrence's flight of legal fancy on the silence of the Constitution. It should be enough to point out that the framers of the Bill of Rights did not contemplate motion pictures, nor does that document mention freedom of the screen. Yet motion pictures have been held to come under the protection of the first article of the Bill of Rights.

Regardless of the weight of the authority against his view, Lawrence is not easily discouraged. He is inclined to become even more vehement or to shift to an area of argument where he cannot be pinned down. After citing works of history to show that the Fourteenth Amendment is invalid because Southern ratification was secured under military pressure, Lawrence last September declared that this "so-called" amendment "should be considered as null and void" until a new amendment is adopted to prescribe the right of the federal government to control education. How this is to be accomplished other than by open defiance of the United States, he did not say.

Even if Lawrence's comments on the history of the Fourteenth Amendment are accepted (and there is no denying the extraordinary political tactics that were employed during the Reconstruction period), it is hard to see that they could lead to any fruitful conclusion. Applying the Lawrence logic, one might as well demand that the effects of the Civil War be erased because the conflict was not fought according to a constitutional formula. The Civil War was a resort to military force after ordinary constitutional processes failed. The Fourteenth Amendment was forcibly extracted as a part of the price of peace.

David Lawrence's pleading of the Southern case has not been limited to the school issue. Last year he campaigned tirelessly against the Civil Rights bill. During the week in which the measure was adopted, he said: "This may turn out to be the week that future historians will call 'The Week of Infamy' in American history. For this is the week in which an intolerant majority in Congress is to take away one of the most important rights given to the states by the Constitution." Lawrence then referred to the states' right to control voting procedure.

Should it be necessary to do any more than quote the Constitution in answer to the "week of infamy" charges? Amendment Fifteen reads:

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

"Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The inclination of Lawrence's views on civil rights matters is suggested by the reception he gets in the South. Southern editors often play his columns on their front pages. Last year the University of South Carolina awarded him an honorary degree. The nature of Lawrence's clientele is indicated by the names that appear favorably in his column, like Senators Ellender of Louisiana, Robertson of Virginia, Stennis and Eastland of Mississippi.

To gain some insight into Lawrence's attitude on the segregation issue, it may be useful to take note of the mental orientation from which it springs. What have been some of his other causes of recent years? He was a passionate pleader for MacArthur and McCarthy in their hours of trial. He thunders against big union leaders (particularly Walter Reuther) and is solicitous about tax and management privileges for business. He demands the suppression of Communists, paying little heed to the cost in democratic values. He is a crusader for military preeminence—to such an extent that he has endorsed preventive war (verbally camouflaged by another name) and has campaigned for continued nuclear testing, refusing to grant any validity to expert testimony on the dangers of fallout.

If any themes emerge from Lawrence's commentary on events and people, they are a chauvinistic preoccupation with his own brand of American ascendancy in the world and a favoritism for privilege—not a privilege of intellect or merit but of wealth and caste. It is perhaps the latter leaning that draws him to the Southern cause.

As bayonets of Arkansas guardsmen, under orders from Governor Faubus, were barring nine Negro students from Central High School in Little Rock, David Lawrence was writing of the Governor "carrying out his state responsibility in maintaining order." Lawrence made no attempt to reconcile the Governor's

position with the Supreme Court decision in *Sterling v. Constantin* (1932) in which Chief Justice Hughes wrote that the proper use of the Governor's power to bring military force to the aid of civil authority is "to maintain the Federal Court in the exercise of its jurisdiction and not to attempt to override it; to aid in making its process effective and not to nullify it; to remove, and not to create, obstructions to the exercise by the complainants of their rights as judicially declared."

While the federal-state clash was at its height in Little Rock, Lawrence verbally flailed the President and saw the Governor as simply doing his duty. He accused Eisenhower of having acted illegally in ordering federal troops to escort the Negro students into the high school. The crux of his charge was that there was no Congressional statute authorizing the use of military force in such a situation. Constitutionalist Lawrence would not accept the statute cited by the President, under which he is specifically authorized to call a state's militia into federal service and to use such of the armed forces as he considers necessary "to enforce the laws of the United States" against "unlawful obstructions, combinations or assemblages . . ." He argued that a court decree, such as the order to integrate Little Rock schools, could not be held a "law of the United States" under the terms of the cited statute. Yet a court order is the normal means of enforcing a provision of the federal Constitution, which says: "*This Constitution*, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof . . . shall be the supreme *Law of the Land*."

A consistent thread running through Lawrence's writing on government in recent years is his reiteration that the Supreme Court has been overstepping the bounds of its authority and that ways must be found to curb the power of the judiciary. He has said the highest tribunal "violated the Constitution" by its desegregation ruling. Writing early last September about the "arbitrary-minded federal judge" in Little Rock, he visualized "how easy it would be for impassioned opinion to uphold a dictator in America today . . . judging by the widespread indifference to what is happening in Arkansas."

There was another period 20-odd years ago when David Lawrence was concerned about "passion and hysteria" in connection with rulings of the Supreme Court. At that time the Court was incurring the wrath of the Roosevelt Administration and its supporters because of its decisions invalidating New Deal legislation. Lawrence, who in 1936 happened to agree with the Court's decisions, wrote a book entitled *Nine Honest Men* in which he declared that the opinion of the Court were "being made the football of partisan politics and class conflict." Hence, he said, "it is more than ever necessary to mark out for what they are all insidious attempts either in high places or in low to undermine the prestige of the Court and the efficacy of our constitutional system."

For those who sneered at the Court's unanimous decision in 1935 invalidating the National Industrial Recovery Act, Lawrence had a ringing declaration:

"The issue is clean-cut. To the everlasting credit and praise of the nine noble men who rendered the unanimous opinion it should be written in indelible letters on the tablets of history that they met the issue courageously and fearlessly. They will ever be remembered as the honest men who withstood intimidation and threats of legislative reprisal, the men who saw their duty in the finest traditions of Anglo-Saxon justice and pronounced their verdict with a responsibility only to their consciences and their God."

Today, evidently, Lawrence does not recognize that his 1936 comment might aptly serve as a reply to those who sneer at the Court's unanimous decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*.

Twenty-two years ago Lawrence had nothing but scorn for those who would have overridden the Court, and he derided Congressional action aimed at limiting the jurisdiction of the judiciary; whereas in 1957 he wrote approvingly of schemes by which Congress might kick the Justices out of office or curtail the jurisdiction of the high bench. During recent months he has given strong support to the Jenner-Butler bill aimed at "reversing" through Congressional action several landmark decisions by which the Supreme Court spoke out for individual rights.

What has happened in the past two decades to change a tribunal that David Lawrence once regarded as the guardian of "sacred" and "immutable" principles into a despised institution? Are not the personal freedoms embodied in the Bill of Rights and the equality before the law guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment as "sacred" and "immutable" as the economic principles covered by the NRA decision? Apparently not to Lawrence.

If this seems paradoxical, it is typical of the man. He has noted that he is a Democrat. Yet Democrats generally seem to be his preferred targets. He writes admiringly of conservatives—even going so far as to indicate that he is sympathetic with the "liberal conservatives" to whom he sometimes refers (he always puts the word "liberals" in quotation marks to suggest that those described by that name are not really what the word connotes). But Lawrence is really neither a true conservative nor a true liberal.

The opinions expressed in his column and magazine mark him as a candidate for congenial membership in a group which Columbia historian Richard Hofstadter classified several years ago as pseudo-conservatives. Although the members of this group believe themselves to be conservatives and usually employ the rhetoric of conservatism, they show signs, said Hofstadter, "of a serious and restless dissatisfaction with American life, traditions and institutions. They have little in common with the temperate and compromising spirit of true conservatism in the classical sense of the word . . . Their political reactions express rather a profound if largely unconscious hatred of our society and its ways . . ."

So it often seems to be with David Lawrence, who, strangely enough, is close to the first choice of American newspaper editors as an interpreter of political events and who, because of this editorial preference, has access to a broadly representative "jury" of American readers.

Northerner Backs Segregation

A Southerner's Words Supply Rebuttal

By John Lofton
Post-Gazette Staff Writer

IN TODAY'S issue of the Post-Gazette there is an advertisment consisting of a letter to President Eisenhower criticizing the Supreme Court's historic school desegregation decision. Carleton Putnam, the writer of the letter, is presented by the ad's sponsors as "a member of a famous New England family, a native of New York City, a graduate of Princeton and Columbia." These credentials are obviously intended to convey the impression that Mr. Putnam's segregationist views carry the weight of high, nonpartisan authority.

BY WAY of demonstrating that Mr. Putnam's preachments are something less than Olympian, we would like to quote in answer to them the comments of an observer who is much closer to the subject and who, we think, has credentials which make him a far more creditable authority. He is James McBride Dabbs, a member of a family that has lived in the South for 150 years, a native of South Carolina, owner and operator of a plantation employing Negroes, a graduate of the Uninversity of South Carolina and of Clark University, author of the recent book, *The Southern Heritage* (Knopf), from which we quote. Excerpts from Putnam and Dabbs follow:

Mr. Putnam: "It is my personal conviction that the local [Southern] customs in this case were 'hardened by time' for a very good reason, and that while they may not . . . have been decreed in heaven, they come closer to it than the current view of the Supreme Court."

Mr. Dabbs: "There's no doubt they [Negroes] are more poorly equipped than the whites. But, now, having made this probably correct observation, we conclude that nature, or God, made them so. This is a most happy conclusion. For it's perfectly clear that the inferior position of the Negro in the South is due either to God or to us; and as it's doubtful democratic and Christian doctrine for us to admit the responsibility, we are happy to pass it on to God."

Mr. Putnam: "Five minutes before the court's desegregation decision, the Constitution meant one thing; five minutes later it meant something else. Only one thing intervened, namely, an expression of the personal views of the members of the court."

Mr. Dabbs: "The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments have been a part of the Constitution for that length of time [90 years] and, however adopted, are built into the conscience of the nation. True, the judges are just getting around to pinpointing their meaning, but the meaning has been there for any man to read, and as time has turned the pages the meaning has become increasingly clear."

Mr. Putnam: "In the matter of schools, rights to equal education are inseparably bound up with rights to freedom of association and, in the South at least, may require that both be considered simultaneously. (In using the word 'association' here, I mean the right to associate with whom you please.)"

* * *

MR. DABBS: "The Court didn't order anybody to 'integrate' anything; it merely said we should stop separating school children on the basis of race. . . . It's we who have substituted 'mixing' for 'stop segregating.' . . . Negroes merely want the rights and privileges of American citizens. But desiring an equal chance with us at success isn't the same as wanting to sit with us in school and church."

Mr. Putnam: "Any man with two eyes in his head can observe a Negro settlement in the Congo, can study the pure-blooded African in his native habitat as he exists when left on his own resources, can compare this settlement with London or Paris, and can draw his own conclusions regarding relative levels of character and intelligence—or that combination of character and intelligence which is civilization."

Mr. Dabbs: ". . . with top-flight Negroes in practically every field, it seems rather late to raise the old question of the implied inferiority of the Negro because of the lack of a modern civilization in Africa. Yet the question is raised and should be answered briefly. First, though Africa has never had an industrial civilization—a Western creation of yesterday—the native Africans of the slaving period, especially those who were brought to America, were not savages but pre-literate folk with a complex agricultural, social, and legal society, with skilled workers in iron and other metals, and with great artists, especially in sculpture and wood-carving. Indeed, the invention of iron-smelting may have been brought to Europe from Africa."

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* * *

MR. PUTNAM: ". . . for 94 years . . . the North has been trying to force the black man down the white Southerner's throat, and it is a miracle that relations between the races in the South have progressed as well as they have."

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So speaks James McBride Dabbs. For a full, eloquent and knowledgeable answer to Carleton Putnam, readers should give *The Southern Heritage* a complete reading.

Pittsburgh Post Gazette 3/11/59

May 18, 1959

Mr. John Lofton, Editorial Writer
The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
Pittsburgh 30, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Lofton:

Enclosed is a copy of our reprint of your column of March 18. The reprint is receiving substantial distribution among the various human relations and religious organizations of the region. And, as we expected, these groups are finding it very effective as a rebuttal of the Putnam letter.

Thus far we have not been informed of any newspaper publication of the piece. Several of the agencies have indicated that they will attempt to have local papers carry the column and they may yet do so. New South, our monthly magazine, is reproducing the column in the May issue which goes to most of the editors in the South. We will inform you of any additional coverage that comes to our attention.

Again, please know that we are most grateful for your help in this matter. If at any time we can be of service to you please call on us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/hs

ATLANTIC 1-6100

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

One of America's Great Newspapers

PITTSBURGH 30, PENNSYLVANIA

April 12, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Your letter of April 10 has been received, and I am pleased that you would like to reproduce the column on the Putnam letter.

You have our permission to reproduce the column. I will mention as a matter of routine that you should credit the Post-Gazette too, though I am sure you would do it without my saying anything.

I would appreciate it if you would send me a copy of your reproduction. And, if it would not be too much trouble for you, I would be interested in hearing whether there is any additional newspaper publication of the piece -- in the South.

Sincerely,

John Lofton

John Lofton
Editorial Writer

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

First Newspaper West of the Alleghenies
Gazette Established 1786. Post Established 1842. Combined 1927
PAUL BLOCK, PUBLISHER, 1927-1941

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18, 1959

Northerner Backs Segregation

A Southerner's Words Supply Rebuttal

By John Lofton
Post-Gazette Staff Writer

IN TODAY'S issue of the Post-Gazette there is an advertisment consisting of a letter to President Eisenhower criticizing the Supreme Court's historic school desegregation decision. Carleton Putnam, the writer of the letter, is presented by the ad's sponsors as "a member of a famous New England family, a native of New York City, a graduate of Princeton and Columbia." These credentials are obviously intended to convey the impression that Mr. Putnam's segregationist views carry the weight of high, nonpartisan authority.

* * *

BY WAY of demonstrating that Mr. Putnam's preachments are something less than Olympian, we would like to quote in answer to them the comments of an observer who is much closer to the subject and who, we think, has credentials which make him a far more creditable authority. He is James McBride Dabbs, a member of a family that has lived in the South for 150 years, a native of South Carolina, owner and operator of a plantation employing Negroes, a graduate of the Uninversity of South Carolina and of Clark University, author of the recent book, *The Southern Heritage* (Knopf), from which we quote. Excerpts from Putnam and Dabbs follow:

Mr. Putnam: "It is my personal conviction that the local [Southern] customs in this case were 'hardened by time' for a very good reason, and that while they may not . . . have been decreed in heaven, they come closer to it than the current view of the Supreme Court."

Mr. Dabbs: "There's no doubt they [Negroes] are more poorly equipped than the whites. But, now, having made this probably correct observation, we conclude that nature, or God, made them so. This is a most happy conclusion. For it's perfectly clear that the inferior position of the Negro in the South is due either to God or to us; and as it's doubtful democratic and Christian doctrine for us to admit the responsibility, we are happy, to pass it on to God."

Mr. Putnam: "Five minutes before the court's desegregation decision, the Constitution meant one thing; five minutes later it meant something else. Only one thing intervened, namely, an expression of the personal views of the members of the court."

Mr. Dabbs: "The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments have been a part of the Constitution for that length of time [90 years] and, however adopted, are built into the conscience of the nation. True, the judges are just getting around to pinpointing their meaning, but the meaning has been there for any man to read, and as time has turned the pages the meaning has become increasingly clear."

Mr. Putnam: "In the matter of schools, rights to equal education are inseparably bound up with rights to freedom of association and, in the South at least, may require that both be considered simultaneously. (In using the word 'association' here, I mean the right to associate with whom you please.)"

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MR. DABBS: "The Court didn't order anybody to 'integrate' anything; it merely said we should stop separating school children on the basis of race. . . . It's we who have substituted 'mixing' for 'stop separating.' . . . Negroes merely want the rights and privileges of American citizens. But desiring an equal chance with us at success isn't the same as wanting to sit with us in school and church."

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Mr. Dabbs: ". . . with top-flight Negroes in practically every field, it seems rather late to raise the old question of the implied inferiority of the Negro because of the lack of a modern civilization in Africa. Yet the question is raised and should be answered briefly. First, though Africa has never had an industrial civilization—a Western creation of yesterday—the native Africans of the slaving period, especially those who were brought to America, were not savages but pre-literate folk with a complex agricultural, social, and legal society, with skilled workers in iron and other metals, and with great artists, especially in sculpture and wood-carving. Indeed, the invention of iron-smelting may have been brought to Europe from Africa."

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So speaks James McBride Dabbs. For a full, eloquent and knowledgeable answer to Carleton Putnam, readers should give *The Southern Heritage* a complete reading.

VIA AIR MAIL

April 10, 1959

Mr. John Lofton
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Lofton:

Your column of March 18 entitled, "A Southerner's Words Supply Rebuttal," has been called to our attention. We find it excellent. With your permission, we would like to reproduce the column for distribution among our friends and associates in the region.

The "Putnam Letter" has caused some concern and we would like to offer this very find response to the appearance of the Letter to those who might have occasion to use it.

If we do secure your permission to reproduce the column would you please send us a copy. We only have a termofax copy and it is likely that we would want to reproduce the original by offset.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

May 28, 1959

Mr. John Lofton
Editorial Writer
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
Pittsburgh 30, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Lofton:

I presume our letters passed in the mail.

Enclosed are extra copies of your column and our most recent New South, in which the column is carried. More are available if needed.

We were impressed with and grateful for your article on Mr. Dabbs and the Council. In fact, we are having a few of those reproduced and will send you copies when they are available.

I hope that when next you come South you will have an opportunity to come through Atlanta. We would very much like to have you observe the operation of the Council and meet the staff.

In the meantime, if we can be of help please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures - (20 Lofton reprints; 1 May New South)

ATLANTIC 1-6100

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

One of America's Great Newspapers

PITTSBURGH 30, PENNSYLVANIA

May 19, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed copy of an article on James McBride Dabbs and the Southern Regional Council.

Have you gotten around yet to reproducing my feature on the Putnam Letter? And if so, would it be possible for you to let me have one or two copies? Our supply of the issue of the Post-Gazette in which the feature appeared has been exhausted, and I think I could use several additional copies to good advantage.

I have sent Mr. Dabbs a copy of the Monitor article.

Sincerely yours,

John Lofton

John Lofton
Editorial Writer

ATLANTIC 1-6100

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

One of America's Great Newspapers

PITTSBURGH 30, PENNSYLVANIA

June 1, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of May 28. Our previous letters did cross in the mail; otherwise I would not have requested additional copies of the Putnam letter feature. But I thank you for sending them, and I shall see that they are put to good use.

I am pleased by your kind words about the Monitor article and by your plans to reproduce it, and I shall appreciate having copies of it.

If and when I am in Atlanta, I would like very much to stop by and visit at the Council offices.

Sincerely,

John Lofton

John Lofton
Editorial Writer

June 24, 1959

Mr. John Lofton
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Lofton:

Many thanks for the fine editorial of the 20th.

The response to the Report has been generally favorable. However, as an exception, I thought you might be interested in the enclosed editorial from the Savannah Morning News of June 22nd.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1.

August 18, 1959

Mr. John Lofton
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
Grant Street at Second Avenue
Pittsburgh 30, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Lofton:

Many thanks for the recent editorial from the Post-Gazette. Would that more of our Southern papers bring such objectivity to their editorial pages!

I hope you have received, and will find time to read, our recent Special Report, "A Background on School Desegregation for 1959-60." I think our research staff has done an outstanding job on this one and, with apologies for its length, I recommend it to you.

We continue to be grateful for the attention given by you and the Post-Gazette to the Council's materials and activities.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Segregation Declining

WHILE THE attention of the nation has been focused on the slowly shifting pattern of racial segregation in Southern schools, changes in another area of discrimination have gone largely unnoticed. Recently the interracial Southern Regional Council took note of what has been happening in the transportation field since a 1956 Federal court ruling against racial discrimination by an airline and since a 1955 ruling by the Interstate Commerce Commission that segregation of interstate passengers on trains and buses and in waiting rooms is unlawful.

In a special report, the Council reveals the findings of a survey of waiting-room practices in 21 Southern cities. The study points out that "facilities in air line terminals are desegregated or rapidly being desegregated; that facilities in train stations are still largely segregated but are slowly becoming desegregated; that facilities in bus terminals are almost completely segregated." While the bus companies and then the railroads have been most resistant to change, it is worth noting that even with these carriers there has been a desegregation of some facilities in most of the 21 cities since the 1955 ruling. Prior to 1955 little desegregation had occurred in any of the South's bus and train terminals.

Discriminatory practices are sometimes difficult to get at because of local ordinances or ambiguous carrier policies or varying conduct by carrier employes, or because facilities such as restaurants may be leased to operators who are not carriers and therefore not subject to ICC regulation. Nevertheless, the report shows that change is occurring. And, as the Council says in its conclusion, an "awareness of conditions" facilitates the solution of problems in the removal of legal and social barriers in interstate travel.

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
8-13-59

ATLANTIC 1-6100

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

One of America's Great Newspapers

PITTSBURGH 30, PENNSYLVANIA

NCR
PA

March 23, 1960

Mr. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

I am enclosing an editorial which mentions the SRC, and I thought you might find it of interest.

Sincerely,

John

John Lofton
Editorial Writer

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

First Newspaper West of the Alleghenies

Gazette Established 1786; Post Established 1842; Combined 1927

PAUL BLOCK, PUBLISHER, 1927-1941

WILLIAM BLOCK and PAUL BLOCK, JR., Publishers
Andrew Bernhard, Editor

Daniel Nicoll, Associate Publisher; Joseph Shuman, City Editor; Frank N. Hawkins, Associate Editor; E. Miles Wilson, News Editor; Leslie C. Macpherson, Managing Editor Emeritus.

George A. Somarindyck, Advertising Director; Angelo DiBernardo, Retail Advertising Manager; J. Robert Spraker, Manager, General Advertising; Kay B. Henry, Classified Advertising Manager.

J. F. O'Connor, Business Manager; Luther A. Reedy, Circulation Manager; Paul H. Bauman, Treasurer; Carl Brueggemeyer Director of Public Relations; Thomas C. Condon, Production Manager.

Subscription Rates

Daily 5 cents in Allegheny County, elsewhere 7 cents. By mail in advance in Zones 1 and 2 where there is no Post-Gazette carrier service: One month, $1.50; three months, $3.75; six months, $7.00; one year, $12.50. Zones 3, 4 and 5: One month, $2.00; three months, $5.00; six months, $9.50; one year, $18.00. Zones 6, 7 and 8: One month, $3.00; three months, $7.00; six months, $12.00; one year, $22.00.

MAIN OFFICES: Blvd of Allies & Grant St., Pittsburgh 30, Pa

TELEPHONE NUMBERS: For Want Ads only EXpress 1-4700 —All other departments ATlantic 1-6100.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 23, 1960

New Equal Rights Trend

WHEN NEGRO anti-segregation demonstrations began quietly in Greensboro, North Carolina, seven weeks ago, the nature of the protest could not be gauged. The student-led sitdowns at white-only lunch counters could have represented a momentary and ill-fated effort. Events have shown, however, that such a characterization is not in order.

The demonstrations have now spread throughout the South and to various communities in the North, particularly college towns, where students have sought to show their sympathy for their Southern counterparts. Thousands have participated, hundreds have been arrested and a number have been convicted for such offenses as disorderly conduct, trespassing and violation of new Southern laws requiring persons to leave certain premises on request. Defense funds and scholarship funds for the demonstrators are being raised. And court tests are pending in several cases.

* * *

Clearly the demonstrations are of major, perhaps historic significance. They mark some sharp departures from past Negro efforts to end the practice of different treatment for different skin colors. The anti-discrimination drive heretofore has centered in court actions by individual plaintiffs. The new drive is taking the form of a mass movement. Past efforts have been directed against

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Clearly the demonstrations are of major, perhaps historic significance. They mark some sharp departures from past Negro efforts to end the practice of different treatment for different skin colors. The anti-discrimination drive heretofore has centered in court actions by individual plaintiffs. The new drive is taking the form of a mass movement. Past efforts have been directed against tax-supported institutions. The current sitdowns are aimed primarily at private businesses, and there have been suggestions that silent and quiet sitdowns may even be extended to segregated churches.

There are those who deplore the demonstrations and see in them fuel for racial outbreaks and a barrier against orderly gains. Danger is, of course, inherent in the situation. White hotheads have already resorted to blows and some Negroes have quite naturally responded in kind. More widespread violence may result, though it should be noted that demonstration leaders have exhorted their followers to be peaceful and courteous. Another negative factor noted by critics of the movement is that target chain stores and other facilities are caught by the opposing pressures of their different clients.

Whatever the dangers and difficulties are, however, the tide of protest will be hard to stem. The new movement is using the extremely effective democratic weapons of peaceable assembly, free speech and free petition, aided by the not inconsiderable extralegal weapon of economic boycott, and the honored though not legally-guaranteed method of civil disobedience. Moreover, it may gain a new legal weapon if the courts should hold that municipal enforcement of trespass and disorderly conduct charges represents discriminatory intervention by the state such as is barred by the 14th Amendment.

* * *

Already the demonstrations have aroused sympathetic responses from such interracial organizations as the Southern Regional Council and the Atlanta-based Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. Other favorable reactions can be anticipated to counteract the regrettable manifestations of bigotry. Even though there will be a cost in tension and hostility, there will surely be gains such as the recent voluntary integration of lunch counters in five San Antonio stores.

The new movement is simply one more sign of the rapid change of the social status quo in the South and the world. When Negroes have exhibited great patience for so many years and experienced such frustratingly slow concessions to justice, who can blame them for employing greater pressure to step up progress toward equality?

April 12, 1960

Mr. John Lofton
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
Grant Street at Second Avenue
Pittsburgh 30, Pennsylvania

Dear John:

Thanks for the recent clips.

You will receive the enclosed in due time through the automatic process. But, I wanted to especially call it to your attention. It is one of our new efforts -- a series, "Toward Regional Realism," that will be a companion to our more customary roles of fact-finding and research.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Collins pamphlet)

File newspapers

December 4, 1964

Mr. John Lofton
Associate Editor
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
Pittsburgh 30, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Lofton:

By absolute coincidence we are just now putting out the revision of our list of desegregated colleges; enclosed. I am also enclosing a little piece about Rice Institute which is somewhat pertinent. We have never done anything on the correlation between segregation and foundation support for colleges. Some light on this, however, might come from The Price We Pay.

Good luck to you in your campaign. Keep us informed and let me know if you see any way we can help.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mm
Enclosures

Telephone 263-1100

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

PITTSBURGH 30, PENNSYLVANIA

BP - are there other things we could send or suggest?

November 28, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

For the past several months I have been engaged in an effort to persuade the trustees of the College of Charleston in Charleston, S. C., to admit Negroes to the school. First I sent out a letter asking other alumni of the college to join me in a petition to the board of trustees. After getting the signatures of a number of other alumni, I sent the petition to the chairman of the board of trustees. (Copies of my letter to alumni and of the petition are enclosed.)

So far, to my knowledge, no action has been taken. But I am continuing the campaign.

My reason for writing to you is to request some literature that I believe might be helpful to me in this effort. I know that on February 13, 1963, SRC published a report on "Desegregation in Higher Education." I wonder whether you could send me a copy of this report, or a later one, if it has been updated. I believe SRC also published a study on the correlation between segregation in colleges and foundation support or the lack of it. If there was such a study, could you send me that also?

Your help will be very much appreciated.

Please give Margaret Long my greetings.

Sincerely yours,

John Lofton

John Lofton
Associate Editor

Telephone 263-1100

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

PITTSBURGH 30, PENNSYLVANIA

July 1, 1964

Dear Alumnus /or Alumna:

You may or may not know that a Negro woman, a Charleston resident now at the University of South Carolina, has applied for admission to the College of Charleston. According to the Charleston News and Courier of June 19, 1964, her application had not yet been acted on by the Board of Trustees. But the newspaper story related that an application by a Negro was rejected last August.

In the light of these circumstances and for the reasons stated in the accompanying letter, I would like to ask you to join me in urging the Board of Trustees to admit students to the College of Charleston without regard to racial criteria. If you authorize me to use your name, I would like to append it -- along with mine and those of all others who so indicate -- to the accompanying letter and send the letter to the chairman of the Board of Trustees of the College of Charleston.

A reply from you not later than July 10 would be very much appreciated, as I would like to send the letter to the trustees by July 25.

Sincerely yours,

John Lofton (Class of 1940)
Associate Editor

To the Chairman of the Board of Trustees:

Though the College of Charleston has a long tradition of distinguished service to the cause of higher education, we the undersigned alumni believe that the time has come to consider whether the College is serving its community as fully as it should. We believe the College should be a community College in the most meaningful sense of the term. It is the only liberal arts institution of higher learning in its area. It could provide the most convenient and the least expensive opportunity -- and for some the only opportunity -- for higher education in Charleston and its vicinity.

Yet the College is not now fulfilling this role. While it is providing educational opportunities to many deserving students, it is not extending these opportunities equally on the basis of ability and need. We believe that the College, as an institution dedicated to knowledge and truth and to the service of its community, can no longer justly carry out its noble mission unless it admits Negroes in accordance with the same standards as are applied to members of other racial and ethnic groups.

As residents of the community, Negroes for years paid taxes which helped to build the College of Charleston into the institution it is today. As residents of the community, Negroes contribute to its economic and social character. But they cannot contribute as effectively as they could if they were given educational advantages consonant with their abilities.

While we do not believe that all human beings are created with equal abilities, we do feel that all men and women, whatever their color, are entitled to an equal chance to develop and prove the abilities they have. We believe that the ethical and civic heritage of our democratic society calls upon us, even without the mandate of law, to respect the dignity and worth of each individual human being.

Believing these things, we urge the College to base its admission standards on academic and personal achievement without respect to race and, to the extent that it is physically and financially possible, to make available the rich material and spiritual rewards of higher education to all applicants who can qualify under racially impartial standards.

If our petition should be favorably acted on, we pledge ourselves to support the College financially and morally in implementing this goal.

Sincerely yours,

John Lofton

Churches

September 26, 1953

Rev. Aubrey N. Brown, Editor
The Presbyterian Outlook
13 North 5th Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brown:

Would this small pamphlet deserve mention in The Presbyterian Outlook? We want to get it widely used by local discussion groups. So used it could do a lot to prepare opinion in the South.

It will help a lot if your subscribers knew of its availability.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

HcF

AUBREY N. BROWN, Editor
ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON, Co-editor
JAMES S. BROWN, Business Manager

1 NORTH SIXTH STREET
TELEPHONE 2-9492
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

Mid-December, 1954

Advance News for Some
Of Our Special Friends

Our issue of December 27 will announce the merger of The Presbyterian Tribune, the one independent paper of the Presbyterian Church, USA, and ThePresbyterian Outlook of the U. S. Church (Southern).

The significance of this step, making possible an independent weekly to serve Presbyterians nationwide, is readily apparent.

Your enthusiastic support and cooperation will be a source of strength to us in this difficult but important undertaking as we seek to serve a divided church through one medium, until the day comes when the 90-odd-year chasm is bridged.

This notice is sent to you for an additional reason. If you wish to send us some word of greeting or salutation,in recognition of this union of the papers, to be carried in an early issue (I am really not twisting your arm), it will be gratefully received.

In any case, I count upon your encouragement and help.

Faithfully yours,

/ s / AUBREY N. BROWN.

For your information and records, the paper will be called

THE PRESBYTERIAN OUTLOOK
Continuing
The Presbyterian Tribune
1 North 6th Street, Richmond 19, Virginia

June 21, 1955

Mr. Aubrey N. Brown
Editor
The Presbyterian Outlook
One North Sixth Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Aubrey:

Glad to have your letter of June 13th, which I am slow in answering only because I have been away for a week.

My feeling has been that it is better to get influential people who are on the side favorable to integration to use their time and influence in working with other people toward getting something done, rather than consume the value of such people in short-run public statements. Therefore we, in SRC, have made few statements ourselves, and have done very little in the way of prodding other people for them. But we are not opposed to statements; statements do good. It is only that we so often have found that the man whose signature would be useful on the statement could do a whole lot more that is good if he would apply himself energetically in the community through his many channels of influence.

To that end we have launched in each of the twelve Southern states a state council on human relations, or whatever name it may have. It aspires to contain in its membership many of the people whose voices would be heard respectfully over the states. I attach a list of these organizations, and of their Executive Directors. Jack Marion, for instance, in Virginia runs that one.

The Supreme Court has now in effect set going a race among communities to see which can earliest come up to the requirements of the decision. Running this race requires all the facts about the local school systems, a lot of painstaking negotiation and committee-building and telephoning and meetings. It will take some pressing of the local school board. But the community in which the ground is thus worked will move. And the race is to those that move swiftly and soundly.

Some communities are gonna get left behind, and I suppose in the end it will take lawsuits to make them move. The real competition is to get going soundly. And that is a responsiblity of concerned local citizens.

And I think the concern should be expressed in action. And the action should be a clearing of the minds and purposes of a segment -- and if possible an influental segment -- of the local population. 'Tis a parenthesis, but the way to do that is for local people white and Negro to meet together and go on to get the facts and find out what to do. It is the beginning of health and of solution.

This is not said discouragingly to your idea; I am perfectly willing for that also, if it can be arranged. And it would help.

I do see as another very useful thing the constituting in advance -- along about now -- of a group of people white and Negro in each state who would in some very rough sense parallel the officially appointed state school board. Where it is narrow and partisan, it would be broad and inclusive. When the state school, prompted by the Governor or the legislator, comes out with infamous doctrine this other group would call in the press and advise the state a'right. The catch is that it takes a little money to have meetings and it takes some effort to get a steady flow of fact about the school system and possible changes in it to this alternative school board group. But SRC's local state council offices have people in them who could provide such a service.

An interesting thing is coming up over the edge in Kentucky. Fayette County, as a county, and the city of Danville (which I take it is a Presbyterian city?) have each officially through their school boards asked for and impaneled a citizens advisory committee to advise the school board what to do about integration. That's smart. It will get the elected school board members off the political spot and will enable them to act in a modern spirit. Maybe energy could be channeled into getting other towns to adopt that device.

Do write me again and let's between us get nearer to things to do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Encls.
GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence

AUBREY N. BROWN, Editor
ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON, Co-editor
JAMES S. BROWN, Business Manager

The Presbyterian Outlook

1 NORTH SIXTH STREET
TELEPHONE 2-9492
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

JUN 15 1955

June 13, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

There is one phase of the current movements related to the school situation that concerns me a good bit. It is simply that while the opponents of de-segregation are organized and vocal, there is not nearly enough being done by those who feel that compliance is the best course.

For instance, it just seems to me that in every state and then in every city there ought to be a group of the best known and most highly regarded people who believe that this is the course issuing a joint statement and calling for compliance. I have not to this date heard of this being done anywhere in the name of individuals. I know about some of the church statements and others, but what I am thinking about here is a statement that would go out in the name of some of these leading people.

I recognize, of course, that in some areas the people who are most influential and highly regarded in religious and educational circles are under such pressure that for reasons of expediency or other considerations they would not say this. In fact, they may already be saying the opposite. But I do feel that there are some people of the type I have described who could band themselves together in the kind of statement that is needed. It seems to me that a dozen such men and women who are highly regarded and well known in each state could help greatly at this time.

I imagine that more than any other organization the Southern Regional Council is in touch with the people who might be expected to do this. I certainly wish that something could be done along this line in the name of the individuals, though, of course, somebody would have to encourage this step in each case. It seems to me that time is pressing upon us. I hope you will let me know if anything like this is being done in any area. Or better, I could hope that your colleagues might take the lead in seeing that something like this is done.

With all good wishes, I am

Faithfully yours,

Aubrey N. Brown

ANB/dk

AUBREY N. BROWN, Editor
ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON, Co-editor
JAMES S. BROWN, Business Manager

The Presbyterian Outlook

1 NORTH SIXTH STREET
TELEPHONE 2-9492
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

JUN 30 1955

June 28, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George,

Thank you very much for your good letter about the overall situation in the South.

I think the Kentucky action reported in this morning's paper is very good. That seems to underscore the wisdom of the Supreme Court action because with those states going ahead that can and will it will make it more difficult for the recalcitrants.

We have a very bad letter in the morning paper today from a man who supposedly represents and describes some of the ill effects of integration as observed from Cincinnati. He does all this in a most general sort of way, by which a fellow seems to prove everything or nothing at all.

About those signatures to statements, I think a great many people fool themselves by thinking they are going to do something quietly in the background and they never really get around to doing it. If they get on the record then they pretty well find that they have to stand up to their pronouncement or, at least, defend it, so I think I would take my chances along that line.

With all good wishes, I am

Faithfully yours,

Aubrey

ANB/dk

AUBREY N. BROWN, Editor
ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON, Co-editor
JAMES S. BROWN, Business Manager

The Presbyterian Outlook

1 NORTH SIXTH STREET
TELEPHONE 2-9492
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

DEC 5 1955

December 2, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

I think Jack Marion and colleagues have done a mighty good job here this week and in earlier weeks, but, of course, they are up against a smoothly working political machine and the politicians are scared to do anything that might prove costly.

We are always faced with a tough financial situation in trying to publish an independent weekly that takes a strong stand on some of these issues in our Southern setting, and I have been wondering if you would not have a suggestion or two that might help us out. I am very pleased to see that the Fund for the Republic has made this generous grant to Malcolm Calhoun's Christian Relations work in Atlanta. Of course, they are also in the budget of the church and run no danger of any deficits. I have been wondering if there might be a chance for us to get some kind of help from a fund like that in view of the costly course that we have followed. We are certainly not going to get any from any official source and, in fact, we don't want any from that source with the necessary restrictions that would be involved.

If you have any suggestions or can say a good word for us in any quarter it would certainly be appreciated.

With all good wishes, I am

Faithfully yours,

Aubrey N. Brown

ANB/dk

Mr. Frank S. Loescher,
4lh South 46th Street,
Philadelphia 43,
PENNSYLVANIA.

December 21st, 1955.

Dear Frank,

In Richmond, where you go January 5th, sits the maggie called the Presbyterian Outlook. Guy named Aubrey N. Brown runs it. Straight guy. Worried about maggie's finances. I told him to apply to an Atlanta Presby. foundation, and to single you out January 5th, and let you know of his (not overwhelming) woes. Point is that the maggie has been doggone brave, printing article after article by that good man J.M. Dabbs, and editorializing similarly. If the Southern Presbies ever really come around it will be Brown's maggie that doesmost of the turning.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.

Mr. Aubrey N. Brown,
The Presbyterian Outlook,
1, North Sixth Street,
Richmond 19, Va.

December 21st. 1955.

Dear Mr. Brown,

Two ideas.

The man for the Fund for the Republic who would understand what you are talking about, and what your needs are, and ways in which you could be helped, is Frank Loescher. He lives in Philadelphia, and travels up to the N.Y. office of the F. for R. Used to teach at Randolph-Macon Woman's College. He is coming to Richmond, January 5th, for a meeting that noon and afternoon of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. Talk with Jack Marion and arrange a time when you and Loescher can sit down a few minutes, and you can get him to understand what you are about.

In Atlanta is the John Bulow Campbell Foundation, Trust Company of Georgia Building, Atlanta 3, Ga. The Secretary is a sometime Emory University Professor of Law or Government, named W.B. Stubbs. Old Mr. Campbell, who got rich in the Coal business, was a devout Presbyterian, and he left a goodish lump of money, expressing a preference that it aid Presbyterian causes. It does help many such causes, and some not Presby (once it helped SRC for a couple of years, on some special project). I have discussed your situation with Stubbs, who says their applications brim with letters from fine Presbyterian causes, but no harm in another, and you would have as good a chance as the next one. I should think you would have a mighty good chance, especially if you asked Malcolm or some of the others who are influential to give it some deft tugs.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.
P.S. I am writing Loescher, to tell him you will be finding him, and that you are a deserving cause!

AUBREY N. BROWN, Editor
ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON, Co-editor
JAMES S. BROWN, Business Manager

The Presbyterian Outlook

1 NORTH SIXTH STREET
TELEPHONE 2-9492
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

Gen

RECEIVED JAN 3 1956

December 30, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

Thank you very much for your fine letter which came just before Christmas. I am extremely grateful for both of these ideas and intend to follow them up. I have made a slight contact with Mr. Loescher and hope to be able to see him next week.

I am also interested in the Atlanta opportunity. I believe Dr. McCain might be our chief contact there, since he has done very well by the fund on previous occasions. I appreciate your speaking to Mr. Stubbs.

I greatly appreciate your help in this connection and, of course, am constantly grateful for your kind work in so many ways in this crucial period.

With all good wishes, I am

Faithfully yours,

ANB/dk

Aubrey

J. C ?

March 5, 1957

Mr. Aubrey N. Brown
Editor
The Presbyterian Outlook
One North Sixth Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brown:

Your letter to Dr. Mitchell arrived after he had left Atlanta and while I was out of the city. I am sorry for the delay.

I am asking our information staff to pull together some material which will contribute to the purpose you have in mind. You should receive it very shortly.

Please feel free to continue to call on us for any help that we can give the Presbyterian Outlook.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

The Presbyterian Outlook

AUBREY N. BROWN, Editor
ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON, Co-editor
JAMES S. BROWN, Business Manager

1 NORTH SIXTH STREET • RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

I c. thought you ought to see before doing anything about it.

February 21, 1957

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

I am trying to make a bit of a survey of some of the good and bad situations in the current desegregation struggle and I wonder if you would be so good as to give me two or three instances where there are signs of progress and also cite some situations which indicate that pressures are being exerted. I am also interested in any developments that show what the church and the churchmen, as such, are doing about this problem.

I will not quote you directly unless you specifically say that I may, and the identification of definite situations will also be safeguarded where you feel it is advisable.

With thanks to you for your observations along this line, I am

Gratefully yours,

Aubrey N. Brown

ANB/dk

P. S. I don't like the looks of this news about your resigning from this position that you have filled so well. However, I know all of us can be assured that you will be pushing back the frontier wherever you are.

The Presbyterian Outlook

Subscription—$5.00 a year
Editorial and Business Offices
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1 North 6th Street, Richmond 19, Va.

EDITORIAL

A Strategy That Backfired

As soon as the ministers' declaration (OUTLOOK, Feb. 11) appeared in paid space which the ministers purchased, the Richmond, Va., newspapers went to work to whittle it down. (This was in keeping with editorial and news policies followed by these singly-owned dailies throughout the current segregation discussion.)

By sharp headline writing and editorial barrage they stormed the preachers—that is, they went to work on the men who would dare to take such a stand, more than they attempted to deal with the statement itself.

Anyway, it was obvious that they felt they had a hot article to de-fuse, so they got busy.

The afternoon paper led the attack behind a curled lip: ". . . Muddled-headed mixture of good intentions and poor thinking" . . . "poor historians" . . . "confusing what is mortal and what is divine" . . . "so foggy an expression of the nature of our government" . . . and so on. When it did discuss the ideas, it quoted chiefly out of context to concoct an array of absurdities.

It was particularly scornful of the failure to print the names of the 59 signers.

Somewhat more moderate, the morning paper next day set to work with its hatchet to chop the statement down, particularly by trying to show that it was a minority effort—only about 60 men out of approximately 600, it said, approved this step. (It was not impressed by the fact that 59 out of 60 who had a chance to consider the paper voted for it. Not many more ever figure in any action the association takes.) So, readers were assured, this 10% could not possibly represent anything very formidable. Furthermore, with a surprising lack of information, the paper tried to make it appear that all this ministerial concern had been generated since May 17, 1954 and that only since that time has the problem been regarded as a moral issue.

Other papers in the state responded in a different way, some of them in warm commendation and support of the ministers' statement, but the Richmond papers breathed not a word of that, much less did they, as on other occasions when conditions warrant it, offer an editorial round-up of state opinion. They did not dare.

Instead, they went to work on obvious soft spots, to get quotations from their adherents which were calculated to weaken the impact of the statement, to demonstrate that here is a divided front and, after all, this silly piece of writing really represents the queer feelings of only a few well-meaning incompetents.

Then, the morning paper, which has usually had less zeal in the matter than the other paper, designed a strategem. It would undertake to smoke the preachers out and get them *on record*. A telephone routine began, running through the directory and other available lists—more than 600 names—with three questions:

(1) Are you a member of the ministers' association? (2) Were you at the recent meeting when the statement was adopted? (3) Are you for it or against it?

Responses were tabulated and names and places of service were listed. If a man said he would have expressed some of the ideas differently (as who wouldn't?) they counted him in a secondary category with a qualified *Yes*, but, to their obvious discomfiture (as witness the headlines) the strong affirmative voices began to rise and what they had told their readers was a negligible minority assumed other proportions. (Some men who were called from their beds and asked the questions, still drowsy and also suspecting the motives of the newspaper, refused to get involved in what they thought might be used against the total effort. They declined to comment. Later on, when they saw the results, they were the victims of the jibes of their ministerial friends who told them that they had been through Judgment Day, for, after all, is it not to come like a thief in the night?)

With all the classifying and re-classifying, the newspaper had some embarrassing results to report, for in the first list after two or three days of telephoning, it was clear that the original 59 had grown to 152 (130 others made no comment, including some men who had helped draft and approve the statement). On the first report only 41 were recorded in opposition. Catholic priests, it was explained, were not queried since their church "has already announced its stand," though it was not stated until a day or two later that the stand supported the same point of view as the ministers' statement.

The newspaper continued its telephoning, printing columns of names with their responses. From the original 59, then 152, who favored the step, it grew to 216, with 56 opposed and 158 declining to comment. . . .

So, a second phase was noted: Whittling down the significance by headlines. The papers tried to make their results say far less (or more) than they very plainly said (all the "No Comments" were lumped with those who opposed):

152 of 370 Clerics Polled Endorse RMA Stand
Surveyed Clergymen Divided on Race Stand
At Least Half of Clergymen Back RMA Race Statement
Survey Shows Half of Clergymen Support . . . and so on.

Nowhere did a headline say, "Only 56 Out of 600 Disapprove."

They would never have confessed that all their pressures and local situations would make it far easier and more likely for a respondent to vote *No* if he felt that way rather than to take any other position. So the negative vote would more nearly approximate its maximum.

Most of the ministers called, they reported, were perfectly willing to express their feelings. Three refused to cooperate in any manner. A few, they said, tried to explain why they made no comment:

"These included nervous laughter, admissions that they didn't know what the statement was all about, and a disinclination to voice an opinion that might be interpreted as that of their church."

Some comical responses were included: One man disagreed with the "timing" though he did not suggest when would have been better. After the first list appeared, one man *called in to say* that he had no comment and his name was listed in that way!

But the basic strategy had backfired. What was billed as a feeble, inconsequential, incoherent minority movement now showed only 56 men out of the total of more than 400 opposing it, while more than 216, were squarely in support of the declaration.

Meanwhile, other papers in the state were applauding the ministers, groups of ministers in other cities were adding their endorsement—and the strategy that started out to show the ministers up resulted in adding to their statement far more names than they had any idea they could get on their own initiative. The Association has no formal membership roll, top attendance is 150, notices go to less than 400.

Many men who were classified under no comment, when they saw the outcome, were filled with regrets that they had not taken the risk of giving their true feelings when they were called.

And what about citizens whose sympathies are on the other side? They kept firing volleys through the newspapers' letters page on "separation of church and state" or telling the preachers to mind their own business. It was the best they could do—attacking the ministers rather than the ideas they had expressed. But thanks to the stir of the newspapers, there should not have been a person in the most remote corner of the state who did not know how more than 200 ministers were standing up and being counted.

A Ministers' Group Declares Itself

NOTE—Calling upon other individuals and groups throughout the state to join it, the Richmond, Va., Ministers' Association (inter-racial) has adopted the following statement dealing with recent legislative and executive efforts to circumvent the U. S. Supreme Court decision on segregation in the public schools. Announcing their stand, the ministers bought newspaper space and printed their declaration in full.—Eds.

I. The Moral Nature of the World

This is God's world. It operates under God's laws. Men either learn these laws, live in obedience to them and prosper, or they ignore their stern reality, follow selfish devices and suffer. Men may not change these laws.

God's laws, under which men must live, invariably support what is morally good. From history and human experience nothing should be more clear than that underlying all of life is the assumption that men will be upright, deal fairly, speak truthfully, and dwell in goodwill. Whenever men have for long done otherwise, they have reaped a harvest of tears. Often they and their finest achievements have been destroyed and always, sooner or later, righteousness, justice, truth, honesty, and brotherly love have come into their own. We must live in God's world, in God's way, or we perish.

II. The Nature of Our Virginia Heritage

In Virginia, political philosophy and religious conviction have seldom been divorced. Democracy here, in the finest sense, has been the political expression of Judaeo-Christian faith. Its roots run deep into the soil of Judaeo-Christian conviction. Consequently Virginia democracy has had a distinct flavor and made a unique contribution to national life. Its greatness has stemmed from its repeated enunciation of such basic ideas as the reality of man's dependence upon Divine Providence; the inherent worth and dignity of the individual citizen as a child of God; and the consequent rights of men as individuals in society. Virginia democracy at its best has traditionally been a bulwark against every form of tyranny over the mind and soul of man; a champion of individual freedom, equality of opportunity, justice before the law, and many other ideals precious to mankind. The historic Virginia Bill of Rights stands as a monument to our dedication to these ideals.

No one familiar with the glorious history of America, or with the generations which brought her to birth, will question the decisive influence Virginians had in defining the ideals, and in determining the moral and spiritual climate of this nation. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Marshall and Monroe were not only Virginians; they were Americans. Each in his own way brought to national leadership the convictions of gentlemen bred in the milieu of Virginia democratic culture. Each insisted that the religious faith of that culture from which he had come find embodiment in the important legislative acts of the nation.

We Virginians have a great heritage, politically, which we have gratefully accepted and proudly shared with the world. It is a heritage which must ever be protected and enriched or we shall lose it.

III. Present Peril

Not in the lifetime of most of us has this gift from the past seemed so imperiled. The fine fabric of tradition is being slowly rent apart by disagreement concerning integration in Virginia, and institutions long and laboriously builded to serve all the people are threatened. We are suddenly the heirs of a spate of legislation in Virginia which is neither democratic nor Christian, and part of which clearly impinges upon civil and religious liberty which is the jealously guarded right of every citizen.

It is not our wish to deprecate, as individuals, those in public office who have brought our state to this tragic situation. We know some of these men to be men of high integrity, intelligence and moral courage. We acknowledge some of them to be humble, honest servants of the people. However, the point of our concern is that the present Governor and a majority of the Legislature have, in our opinion, seriously impaired the sacred and historic traditions of Virginia democracy and lowered the prestige of the state in the eyes of thoughtful people all across the nation, if not the world, by what we regard as their exceedingly inept handling of the current racial situation.

These men have taken a grave problem having significant moral and religious overtones and coerced their own solution without due consideration of either moral or religious teaching. They have taken an educational problem and coerced a solution without serious consultation with independent educators, available at their very fingertips. They have taken an interracial problem and coerced a solution without even the courtesy of including in their study group members of both races. They have taken a problem relating to the youth of Virginia and coerced a solution without seeking the mind of the maturer youth involved. They have passed this legislation in open defiance of the Supreme Court's interpretation regarding what is the right of an American citizen.

With strange persistence compounded of pride, prejudice, personal bitterness toward persons of opposite opinions, and the wide distortion of the truth by some members, the Legislature has taken long strides toward a vindictive, dictatorial way of government, foreign to our traditions and guaranteeing years of tension if not tragedy among the citizens of Virginia. It has offered on the altar of its prejudice a public school system which citizens of the Old Dominion have slowly built and improved over many years—a system of education which, while far from model, nevertheless, has served our children with growing effectiveness.

To cap the whole, the special session of our Legislature has sought to restrict the open, free criticism of its coerced solutions by forbidding unhampered freedom to discuss the matter or to enter litigation over it. Adding insult to injury, it has, furthermore, exempted politicians and political groups from these restrictions.*

IV. Personal Convictions

The problems now confronting our state in the area of race relations will find permanent, happy solutions only within the framework of Judaeo-Christian faith and our traditional democratic heritage. They must be arrived at by free and open discussion by Virginians everywhere and in an environment of mutual respect between races. We must be individually as zealous to safeguard the proper rights and privileges of others as we are to safeguard our own. Necessarily, the prevailing climate must first be changed.

The tragic tensions which we have foolishly created between the races must be relieved. Confidence must be strengthened in the honorable and unselfish intentions of each race by the other. Earnest of unceasing efforts to find mutually satisfactory solutions to race problems must be forthcoming from both sides. To the end that we may rightly and honorably solve the racial problems of our day, we make the following proposals:

First, we believe that within the context of American freedom, the attempt by the Governor and the Legislature to restrict discussion or orderly agitation by persons interested in current race problems is contrary to our traditional concepts of civil and religious liberty, and that Public Law No. 60 passed by the Special Session of the Legislature in 1956 should be promptly rescinded.

Second, we believe that as Americans, we citizens of Virginia have a responsibility to respect all duly established legislative, executive and judicial authority, whether at local, state or federal levels. Obedience to this authority, where it violates no moral or religious principle, enjoins upon public officials as well as other citizenry and is not contingent upon the apparent wisdom of the authority. To defy openly the Supreme Court and to

*See House Bill No. 60, passed 1956.

(OVER)

encourage others to do so, in our judgment, is not only poor strategy; it is poor citizenship. Therefore, we urge our state government to act with loyalty and with maturity as regards co-operation with all established agencies of American government, and to lead us in a statesmanlike rather than an anarchistic manner.

Third, we believe that local community rights are as vital as states rights, and that the right to govern its own school system should be returned promptly to the local and county governments.

Fourth, we believe in time that it will be possible to establish a school system satisfactory to thoughtful people of both races, and to the Supreme Court of the United States, if education is properly returned to the educators for administration, and if they are given the support of the state government and of the newspapers and other information agencies. An approved school system will not come about quickly, but we believe it can come about with "deliberate speed" and in such way as to strengthen the total life in every community.

Fifth, we believe that until a final satisfactory solution is achieved, every effort should be made to make available to both white and colored people the finest in educational and cultural advantages; that wherever possible, and as rapidly as possible, social custom violating the dignity of the Negro should be eradicated. The passing away of these irritating customs does not involve inter-marriage or amalgamation of the races; it declares a wholesome respect for all people and evidences common courtesy.

In adopting this statement, we avow our intention to continue to teach, preach, and otherwise encourage race relations which are morally and religiously sound; to do all we can to create the climate in which right solutions to racial issues may be found; to solicit continually the support of other Virginia citizens in commitment to the positions we have here enunciated. At the proper time and in the right place we commit ourselves to make the weight of our convictions felt and to help restore our state to the stature among states from which, in our opinion, she has recently fallen.

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The Presbyterian Outlook

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The Presbyterian Outlook

AUBREY N. BROWN
Editor

JAMES S. BROWN
Business Manager

DIAL 2-9492 . 1 NORTH 6TH STREET . RICHMOND 19, VA.

Old in Service . Established 1819 . New in Spirit

March 15, 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming,

You and your associates were very good to send me this fine lot of material which I find here this morning. I am certainly grateful to you for it. There are a few other victims of pressures that I will have to try to list for you, though I suspect you know about them anyway.

Faithfully yours,

Aubrey N. Brown

ANB/dk

The Presbyterian Outlook

AUBREY N. BROWN, Editor
ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON, Co-editor
JAMES S. BROWN, Business Manager

1 NORTH SIXTH STREET • RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

December 19, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

I have just seen the very valuable compilation made by the Birmingham council on the actions of religious bodies with reference to the Supreme Court decision. This is an excellent piece of work and I am sure will be widely useful.

I think it is unfortunate, however, that since this deals with the Supreme Court decision no reference is made to what I am sure was the first action taken by any southern church group with regard to the decision itself. The General Assembly's Minutes of the Presbyterian Church U. S. for 1954 show that on May 29 the Assembly adopted the following resolution:

"Having in mind the recent decision by the Supreme Court of the United States concerning segregation, the Assembly commends the principle of the decision and urges all members of our churches to consider thoughtfully and prayerfully the complete solution of the problem involved. It also urges all our people to lend their assistance to those charged with the duty of implementing the decision, and to remember that appeals to racial prejudice will not help but hinder the accomplishment of this aim."

In some way or other this significant step certainly should become a part of the record along with the important paper on segregation which the Assembly also adopted.

With all good wishes, I am

Faithfully yours,

Aubrey N. Brown

ANB/dk

cc to: Dr. J. H. Marion
1409 Chowan Road
Richmond, Virginia

Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

January 20, 1958

Mr. Aubrey M. Brown, Editor
The Presbyterian Outlook
1 North 6th Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brown:

Thank you very much for your quick response to my request for permission to reprint the article, which appeared in The Presbyterian Outlook. We do appreciate it.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

The Presbyterian Outlook

AUBREY N. BROWN
Editor

JAMES S. BROWN
Business Manager

DIAL 2-9492 . 1 NORTH 6TH STREET . RICHMOND 19, VA.

Old in Service . *Established 1819* . *New in Spirit*

January 16, 1958

Dear Mr. Constable,

We are very glad for you to use the January 13 item from our paper as you have indicated. In fact, we are honored.

Faithfully yours,

Aubrey N. Brown

ANB/dk

February 13, 1958

Mr. Aubrey N. Brown, Editor
The Presbyterian Outlook
1 North 6th Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brown:

I would like permission to reprint in NEW SOUTH the article "Out of the Long Night of Segregation" by Martin Luther King, Jr., in the February 10, 1958 edition of the Presbyterian Outlook. I am writing Mr. King for his permission.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

AUBREY N. BROWN, Editor
ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON, Co-editor
JAMES S. BROWN, Business Manager

The Presbyterian Outlook

1 NORTH SIXTH STREET
TELEPHONE 2-9492
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

February 17, 1958

Dr. William B. Lipphard
Associated Church Press
152 Madison Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Dr. Lipphard,

Mr. John Constable, Jr., of the Southern Regional Council, Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga., has written me for permission to reprint the Martin Luther King article as it appeared in our columns in New South, which is the publication of the Southern Regional Council.

Of course, it is entirely all right with us for him to do this, but if something added is required in regard to the ACP you had better write him about it.

With all good wishes, I am

Faithfully yours,

Aubrey N. Brown

ANB/dk

Cc to: Mr. John Constable, Jr.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Charge to the account of SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1206

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

February 26, 1958

MR. AUBREY BROWN, ED.
PRESBYTERIAN OUTLOOK
1 NORTH 6th STREET
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

DUE TO NUMBER OF DIFFICULTIES IN SCHEDULE EAGLE HAS CANCELLED HIS STOP IN RICHMOND. AGAIN APOLOGIZE FOR MISUNDERSTANDING IN ARRANGEMENTS AND TRUST THIS CHANGE WILL NOT CAUSE ADDITIONAL COMPLICATIONS. APPRECIATE YOUR INTEREST AND EFFORT AND ARE GRATEFUL.

PAUL ANTHONY
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

THE ASSOCIATED CHURCH PRESS

152 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N.Y.

BENJAMIN P. BROWNE
VICE-PRESIDENT
WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

PETER DAY
PRESIDENT

JOHN McNAB
VICE-PRESIDENT
WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD
TREASURER

March 4, 1958

Mr. John Constable, Jr.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Dr. Aubrey N. Brown of the Presbyterian Outlook writes me that he has given you permission to reprint the Martin Luther King article on "Out of the Long Night of Segregation," in your paper, The New South.

This is quite satisfactory to me and I am delighted to confirm that permission and to express the hope that its publication in your paper will be of real help in understanding the issue which Dr. King has so sympathetically and reasonably set forth.

Since this was a syndicated article for The Church Press, each paper that published it has sent me a check for $5.00 to cover the cost of mimeographing, postage, correspondence, and the honorarium to Dr. King. In your case, I do not make this as a requirement since I incurred no expense in making this article available to you. However, if you feel disposed to send a check to me payable to The Associated Church Press, it will be appreciated and will add to the margin which I maintain in the handling of syndicated articles.

Cordially yours,

WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD
Executive Secretary

WBL:rs

March 4, 1958

Mr. Aubrey N. Brown
Editor
The Presbyterian Outlook
1 North Sixth Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brown:

Paul Anthony has referred your letter of February 26, asking about limitations on political activities of the various Councils on Human Relations, to me. I am enclosing with this letter a copy of a memo on legislative reporting which was sent to the staff and chairman of the various state Councils and an article from the by-laws of the various Councils which prohibits political activity.

The Federal Courts have not been precise in their definition of what constitutes political activity. Our legal counsel therefore advises us that it behooves us to move with care and caution in anything that hints, or might be construed to hint, of political activity and to avoid entirely anything that is obviously and openly political. This would include support of or opposition to specific legislation and support of or opposition to any candidate for public office.

This we recognize is a stringent restriction, but these are times in which organizations working in the field of race relations in the South must maintain their tax exemption or fold their tents. You are aware, I am sure, that there are those who scrutinize with eagle eye all that we do, all that we write, and all that we say, hoping to find that we have violated our tax exempt status. I hope this answers your query. If you desire more information please feel free to write.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosures.
FBR:fcl

See FBR

The Presbyterian Outlook

AUBREY N. BROWN, Editor
ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON, Co-editor
JAMES S. BROWN, Business Manager

1 NORTH SIXTH STREET • RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

February 26, 1958

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony,

I am very glad to get the telegram which came this morning and to see that some other arrangements have been made about Mr. Eagle's visit. Another week and I could do something better about this -- if I knew in time to make adequate preparation.

While I am writing, let me mention another matter that may not be your concern. If not, you can refer my request to the proper desk.

I am concerned to know something more about the limitations on the various Councils on Human Relations with respect to legislative or political activities. I am not sure what this specification is, or how it is interpreted, so I hope your office can provide me with the necessary information regarding it.

Gratefully yours,

Aubrey N. Brown

ANB/dk

Encls. Cong. Rec. Reprint
Excerpts from "Toward the Southern of the Future"

December 23, 1958

Mr. Aubrey N. Brown
The Presbyterian Outlook
1 North 6th Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brown:

Mr. Fleming has asked that we send you the enclosed material on the Southern Regional Council.

If you would like additional information, please let us know.

With all good wishes for the Season,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

The Presbyterian Outlook

AUBREY N. BROWN
Editor

JAMES S. BROWN
Business Manager

DIAL 2-9492 . 1 NORTH 6TH STREET . RICHMOND 19, VA.

Old in Service . *Established 1819* . *New in Spirit*

December 5, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Please send me a brief statement about the Southern Regional Council that could be used to inform our people about its objectives and activities with a view to their greater interest and possible contributions.

Faithfully yours,

Aubrey N. Brown

ANB/dk

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

HOW IT BEGAN...

As the successor of the Southwide Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Southern Regional Council goes back, in friendship and reputation, to 1919. A group of leading Southerners representing both races, many occupations, all faiths and denominations, met in 1943 to discuss the problems and promise of the region. They decided that a strong new regional organization was needed, in which Southerners themselves could join together in a cooperative effort to solve their common problems. The result was the Southern Regional Council.

HOW IT WORKS...

Through an office in Atlanta it carries on Southwide activities under the direction of its membership and executive committee. Its officers and members are drawn from church leaders of many denominations, businessmen, educators, labor leaders, outstanding men and women in the professions.

Through independent state Councils on Human Relations in eleven Southern states, each of which has its own membership, governing board, officers, and staff. These state organizations provide each Southern state with a full-time human relations service, available to both public officials and private citizens, maintained and directed by local leadership. The states included are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

The Southern Regional Council and the independent organizations are non-profit, non-political and non-denominational.

WHAT IT DOES...

Through careful study, collects the facts about our region's health, housing, education, law enforcement, and other public services. Makes the facts and their significance widely available through pamphlets, newspapers, radio, television, and speakers.

Publishes a monthly magazine - New South - which provides editors, students, and public-minded citizens with timely, authentic information on developments in the region.

Assists state Councils on Human Relations in planning and carrying out programs suited to local need.

Advises private and official agencies.

Through staff and consultants, and in cooperation with state Councils, works in the community with civic clubs, church groups, labor organizations, and others to find democratic solutions to local problems.

WHAT YOU CAN DO...

The Southern Regional Council is based firmly on the belief that the problems of the Southern Region may best be attacked by Southerners who are willing to admit the South's shortcomings and join together in a constructive effort to overcome them.

There is no room for narrow sectionalism in such a program. The Council welcomes support and understanding from all sincere individuals and organizations, wherever they may be found. However, general membership - which is available in the state organizations - is limited to persons living in the South.

Here is how you can play your part in this forward-looking effort:

If you live in the South, join your state Council on Human Relations, which cooperates with the Southern Regional Council. This entitles you to receive New South and other publications of the regional office.

If you prefer, you may become a non-member subscriber to New South.

OFFICERS

President

James M. Dabbs
Mayesville
South Carolina

Vice Presidents

Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Albert W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Paul D. Williams
Richmond
Virginia

Chairman, Executive Committee

Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta, Georgia

Counsel

Joseph Haas
Atlanta, Georgia

Executive Director

Harold C. Fleming
Atlanta, Georgia

WHAT THEY SAY...
about the Southern Regional Council

An able and worthwhile organization working in the field of racial relations. It has no radical tinge, but is, nevertheless, an aggressively energetic coordinating agency.

RALPH McGILL

A spokesman for the area's best traditions of tolerance, humanity, dignity and freedom.

ASHEVILLE CITIZEN

One of the earliest vehicles of liberal influence in the South was the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, organized in 1919... The tradition established by the commission has been ably promoted by its successor, the Southern Regional Council...

C. VANN WOODWARD

The SRC is unique in a number of heartening directions. It is bi-racial, non-denominational and non-political. It does not engage in tom-tom beating, parades, or lengthy pronunciamentos slanted for non-Southern consumption and approval. But it is not an isolationist effort to separate the South's problems from the nation's - or from the nation's concern.

HODDING CARTER

Progress can surely be made if liberals, North and South, will sit down and reason together along the lines this group suggests.

NEW YORK TIMES

The Council has been working with marked success. Its activities today need national status and attention to make them visible and audible above the dust and noise.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Southerners directly interested in the welfare of their own section.

CHATTANOOGA TIMES

The Council has put out a notable series of studies in Southern life and needs.

CHRISTIAN CENTURY

December 30, 1958

Mr. Aubrey Brown, Editor
The Presbyterian Outlook
1 North Sixth Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Aubrey:

It must seem to you that, like the mills of the gods, SRC grinds slowly for your letter of mid-November is just being answered now. Actually we have discussed this at some length and feel there is merit to the idea. Of course, as you say, what, if anything is done, will depend upon the special circumstances pertaining in any given state.

To be successful such an appeal would have to be "aimed" at local people and at their special concern. It should be done with professional public relations assistance but only with the approval of the state Council's officers and staff so that it does no violence to the established role of the agency.

We do not believe that we should divert SRC funds for such a purpose but fortunately we have just come into some unexpected funds for a grant -- beyond SRC's 1959 allocation -- to state organizations. I suggest you talk with Hubert Beckwith, Paul Rilling, and other Virginia Council officers about this idea. Should the Virginia Council decide to use a portion of these extra funds for this purpose it would meet with our approval.

We are sending a copy of your letter to me and this answer to you to all other state organizations with a "for your information" label attached.

Best wishes for the new year.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

Return to HCF

The Presbyterian Outlook

AUBREY N. BROWN, Editor
ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON, Co-editor
JAMES S. BROWN, Business Manager

1 NORTH SIXTH STREET • RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

November 13, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred,

You did a mighty fine job in your presentation at the Charlottesville meeting. It was good that you could be there with us. I heard many expressions of appreciation.

It occurred to me during our meeting that you probably hold the key to the solution of a problem that has disturbed some of us for a long time. It is the difficulty of getting in touch with sympathetic and concerned people who are in various areas of the state and at present uninformed about and unrelated to the Council's activities. I know, following the Richmond meeting a year ago, when a report and pictures appeared in the paper, we had some inquiries and contributions from people who didn't know anything about the work until the newspaper account appeared.

My brother and I have talked about an approach for a long time, but I think it will be impossible to get state council groups to appropriate the small amount of money that is needed for this experiment, and I believe the Southern Regional Council could spend a thousand or two dollars and discover a strategy that would be widely beneficial and would actually bring in financial returns. This would have to be done in the name of one or two of the state councils where the experiment would be tried and then, if justified, it could be expanded as seemed desirable.

Our idea is that the state council would take newspaper advertising space, from one-fourth to one-half page, and make its appeal. This advertising would have to be skilfully planned by people who know how to do it and a coupon return along with an opportunity to make a contribution would be provided. I am convinced that if this appeared in the Washington Post there would be a good response and, I think, even in the Richmond papers, and especially in the Norfolk paper there would be a good return. Of course, everything depends on the skill with which the advertisement is written and how the appeal is directed, but I believe the case can be stated in a compelling way and I have confidence that the strategy would be good.

In this way I think we could get in touch with many people in areas where we now have no contact and I believe some of these would eventually lead in the development of local groups.

Anyway, I certainly hope the SRC will experiment with something like this and see what can be done in one or more states. A free item like the Mike Wallace interview or something else could be offered to those who return the coupon. I think we would want to require a good contribution so as to keep unfriendly people from getting on the mailing list, and perhaps a form of commitment that would have to be signed so as to put these people on record as to their sympathies. That, I think, would help to avoid a fifth column.

If we can do anything here to help out in something along this line, let us know. At least, we would be glad to react to some proposed efforts.

With all good wishes, I am

Faithfully yours,

Aubrey

ANB/dk

P. S. In my fourth paragraph I am suggesting that experienced advertising men who are sympathetic to the program be enlisted in this plan.

PRESBYTERIAN OUTLOOK DINNER

CELEBRATING

PRESBYTERIAN OUTLOOK
ONE HUNDRED FIFTY YEARS

AUBREY N. BROWN, JR.
Editor
TWENTY-FIVE YEARS

✠

DINING ROOM
COLUMBIA THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
DECATUR, GEORGIA

NOVEMBER 21, 1968 — 7:00 P.M.

MENU

FRESH FRUIT CUP

FRIED CHICKEN

GREEN BEANS

RICE WITH GRAVY

FRUIT COCKTAIL PIE

TEA AND COFFEE

PROGRAM

JOHN H. LEITH
Professor of Historical Theology
Union Theological Seminary in Virginia
PRESIDING

Doxology

Apostles' Creed

Invocation: Vance Barron, Pastor
University Church, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dinner

Communications

Editor and Paper
John Randolph Taylor, Pastor
Central Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, Georgia

Neil O. Davis, Editor
The Auburn Bulletin, Auburn, Alabama

T. Watson Street, Executive Secretary
Board of World Missions, Nashville, Tennessee

James I. McCord, President
Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey

Informal Tributes, Comments, Questions

A Look Toward the Future
Aubrey N. Brown, Jr., Editor
THE PRESBYTERIAN OUTLOOK, Richmond, Virginia

Prayer and Benediction
Harrison Ray Anderson, Pastor-Emeritus
Fourth Presbyterian Church, Chicago, Illinois

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DR. HARRISON RAY ANDERSON
DR. ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON

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VANCE BARRON
WALLACE M. ALSTON, JR.
JOHN F. ANDERSON

LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS

JOHN F. ANDERSON
DON M. WARDLAW

PRINTED PROGRAM

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
IN VIRGINIA

PUBLICITY

MISS FRANCES FURLOW
MISS SUE NICHOLS

PROGRAM

ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON
VANCE BARRON

APPRECIATION

MRS. ANDREW DALE
WALLACE M. ALSTON, JR.
DAVID W. A. TAYLOR

THE OUTLOOK STORY

For approximately 150 years THE PRESBYTERIAN OUTLOOK and its predecessor papers have been dedicated to the prompt and accurate reporting of the news of the church and the Christian world to Presbyterians and others across a wide expanse of the U. S. A.

Combining nine separate lines, THE OUTLOOK carries on today enterprises that once were identified with such widely scattered publication offices as Chicago, Houston, New Orleans, Dallas, New York, Philadelphia, Nashville; Atlanta, Mt. Zion, Milledgeville and Sparta, Ga.; Charleston, Columbia and Clinton, S. C.; Fayetteville, Wilmington and Charlotte, N. C.; and always, since 1837, Richmond, Va.

The earliest ancestor is Benjamin Gildersleeve who founded *The Missionary* in 1819 at Mt. Zion, Ga., who established a line that eventually drew to itself papers published from Wilmington to Houston.

The 1954 merger with *The Presbyterian Tribune* of New York brought in what had once been *The Interior* (Chicago, 1870), and *The Westminster* (Philadelphia, 1904), which combined to form *The Continent* in Chicago and New York (1910). Later it had joined *The Presbyterian Advance* of Nashville (1910), to become *The Presbyterian Tribune* in 1934. Although conversations looking toward this possibility had been carried on for six years, this brought THE OUTLOOK into vital relations with the two major Presbyterian bodies in the U. S. A.

Almost all church publications were originally private, independent and unofficial. Today almost all are subsidized and under official control. Where independents continue in the service of denominations or families within the same confessional standards they do so for a very good reason: the denominations concerned have given wholehearted, official and substantial support without attempting to control. They see that an independent voice in the service of the church is as important as the independent press in the service of the state.

To take an example. In the Presbyterian Church, U. S., it has been traditional to provide and encourage the independent press by official resolutions, by designating special times for full and enthusiastic promotion, and by providing a substantial advertising budget for the same columns which, it was quite obvious, might also raise questions of policy or level criticism about procedures.

In a free society, this has been considered important.

Who Owns and Supports THE OUTLOOK?

In 1942 a group of Richmond churchmen became concerned that *The Presbyterian of the South* had suffered much the same fortunes as most other independent publications, with declining circulation and resources, and was actually in the hands of the printers for indebtedness, while its editorial program was continued by part-time service.

Efforts were made looking toward a renewal program. A stock company was formed and by the fall of 1943 a modest block of common stock had been purchased by some scores of individuals under the leadership of their churches. Some of these stockholders claimed tax benefits at once by contributing their shares to their churches; others took the step later.

This program led to a reorganization of the paper, new leadership, a new name, and a redemption of the printing debt.

For several years, the corporation remained as it had been chartered in 1943, with its growing subscription list and increasing interest. Finally all stock was surrendered, with no stockholder seeking reimbursement, and a non-profit, non-stock corporation was chartered, with any applicable profit to be devoted to benevolences.

No individual has even a fraction of ownership of the publication. It is controlled by no church or agency. THE OUTLOOK enjoys all the benefits—and all the hazards—of complete independence.

But the supporters of the paper are legion, and this support is extended in many ways. Looking to THE OUTLOOK to set a tone and point the way, they maintain lines for the transmission of vital information about all kinds of ventures in this country and around the world. If they have a significant article, they like to give first choice to THE OUTLOOK even though this may mean financial sacrifice and a smaller circulation. Since they regard OUTLOOK readers as rather special, they want them to have a look at what they are proposing. They provide advance information. They make friends for the paper. They contribute annually to Presbyterian Associates, Inc., which makes possible many kinds of significant projects in distributing the paper to special people (for example, theological seminary students). At least one loyal friend says she has put this cause in her will in order to continue the kind of support which she has given across the years. We have no way of knowing how many others are doing this.

Some Problems—and Opportunities

Independent church papers like THE PRESBYTERIAN OUTLOOK (*is there any other like it?*) face persistent problems. For one thing, most homes in the church are sent free an official publication which serves a useful purpose (they pay for it but they probably don't know it). Because of this, with the profusion of printed matter coming through the

mail, much of it unread, they are not aware of vast areas of the church's concern of which they know little or nothing. Part of this is current news but another part is a continuing dialog or exchange of information or opinions about vital issues in the life of the church.

The development of official organs has brought a vast new area of freedom to the independents. Now, almost all of the promotional and "educational" material has a broadly based and effective medium through which it reaches the church-at-large. Whereas the independents were once expected, and were glad, to give much of their space to this material, there is now little or no need for it. Their support of "the causes" can be of an entirely different kind.

This is why OUTLOOK readers tell their friends that they are able to find in these columns substantial amounts of information and features which appear nowhere else.

There are continuing situations of misinformation. "Church papers" have traditionally referred specifically and only to the independent news and opinion media. The devotional booklets and official magazines, though published by the church, are in an entirely different category, and pulpit and printed references need to recognize this.

Many an elder going to presbytery or a General Assembly for the first time feels incompetent and uninformed in the face of the issues which require his vote. Those who have been week-by-week readers of THE OUTLOOK are more likely to be ready for this important test.

Jokesters like to poke fun at the names of all publications, if they disagree with their major emphases, and casual or nonreaders often presume to know more about some publications than evidence supports. Sometimes this flippant attitude tends to keep rank-and-file churchmen from understanding basic issues that may be at stake in the church and distorts a serious ministry in the long tradition of freedom of the press that any intelligent person should want to see strengthened. Surely they would not like to see every free and independent publication come under official subsidy and control!

Some Achievements—or Was it Boasting?

Some years ago, before the merger with the one remaining Presbyterian, USA, independent (*The Presbyterian Tribune*), THE OUTLOOK published a promotional page that may have looked like boasting. Intended as factual and informative, it showed how much this paper was in line with major and significant actions taken by the General Assembly as indicated by editorial support given the listed efforts before they were approved by the Assembly. Some of these were: support of a joint hymnbook for American Presbyterians, reorganization of the Assembly's agencies, abolition of a separate Negro synod, a refusal to hamstring college administrators in the choice of speakers on their campuses.

Of 27 items, THE OUTLOOK position

and the Assembly's later action coincided in 21 instances. Other publications showed 1, 2 or 4 such instances. (A like story could doubtless be told of the UPUSA antecedents: *The Tribune, The Interior, The Continent, The Advance.*)

Of the six other situations, Assembly action later coincided with THE OUTLOOK's position—approval of participation in the Japan International Christian University, approval of Presbyterian reunion by repeated Assemblies, and an amendment to the Book of Church Order requiring the specification of definite charges before a pastoral relationship can be dissolved by judicial action. Another of these, not yet achieved, would open Board meetings to the church press.

In the whole area of race relations, many other editorial positions and Assembly actions could now be set side by side, as also in the field of the church's active involvement in public affairs.

A good many times the chief contribution has been THE OUTLOOK's open presentation of background information, though editorial positions have usually accompanied this. About 25 years ago it was THE OUTLOOK, then called by another name, which revealed to the church that Negro commissioners to the General Assembly were required to enter the Assembly Inn by the back door and eat in the kitchen. The story of what has happened in this one particular is a gratifying one. It was in these columns that facts were presented from concerned individuals which looked as if a *coup d'etat* was about to take place in regard to Montreat in its relation to the church. It was here two years ago that the perilous situation facing the church in regard to its historic institutions at Banner Elk, N. C., was revealed.

It is possible that as many enemies were made in regard to the ousting of a minister at Chapel Hill, N. C., as from anything the paper has done, but these people did not seem to understand that THE OUTLOOK was not defending a man but a basic principle that should safeguard all ministers. Happily, it has now become the law of the church.

More recently, among other positions supported was that calling for removal of the bar prohibiting women from serving as church officers which last year was achieved.

It is also important to recall THE OUTLOOK's persistent call through the years for an updating of the church's confessional standards, as may now be seen in connection with the proposed Confession of 1967.

THE PRESBYTERIAN OUTLOOK

512 E. Main St. Richmond, Virginia 23219

Serving Presbyterians, U.S., and UPUSA across America.

WAYS TO SUPPORT THE PRESBYTERIAN OUTLOOK

1. Follow a plan for gift subscriptions at the full ($6) price - once a month, once a quarter, once a year.

2. See to it that at least three to five alert young adults in your congregation are receiving the paper.

3. Join with friends to help provide the paper for 100 selected lay leaders in your presbytery.

4. See that your church follows the Every Leader Plan, providing the paper for all active officers, teachers of adults and heads of organizations.

5. Provide the paper for public and college libraries in your community and for all homes for older people.

6. Make sure that the new officers in your congregation receive subscriptions.

7. Make cash (or stock) gifts or bequests:

   (a) Larger contributions may be made through your church or the Presbyterian Foundation or United Presbyterian Foundation, designated for The Presbyterian Outlook.

   (b) Other contributions may be made to Presbyterian Associates, Inc., providing subscriptions for such as these:

      (1) 2,000 public and college libraries;
      (2) Every seminary library in the world;
      (3) 500 older people with diminished resources;
      (4) Active missionaries, etc.

8. Tell colleagues and fellow-workers of the special benefits found only in this paper.

January 5, 1959

Mr. Aubrey N. Brown, Editor
The Presbyterian Outlook
1 North Sixth Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Aubrey:

Thanks for your letter of January 2 suggesting that SRC might bring to the attention of some philanthropoid the possibilities of distributing special issues -- or all issues -- of the Presbyterian Outlook to key people in the South. From time to time we have done this with New South and this has illicited varying reactions and responses. The idea, we feel, is basically sound.

I think it would be helpful for you to go ahead and draw up a statement or proposal outlining which key figures you would hope to reach (by categories, not individual names), the type material you would hope to develop for them, and the estimated cost of such an undertaking.

It would be helpful to us to have this proposal on hand for we are in touch with a variety of philanthropoids seeking to do good work in the South with their money. I cannot promise immediate - or as far as that goes any result. But, as our English cousins say, "We'll have a go at it."

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
cc: Paul Rilling

The Presbyterian Outlook

AUBREY N. BROWN, Editor
ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON, Co-editor
JAMES S. BROWN, Business Manager

1 NORTH SIXTH STREET • RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

January 2, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred,

I am glad to see the development of the project we have been discussing and I hope we will get to make a test of this in one or two areas under good auspices.

Because you have funds from time to time for special designations or you know sources for this kind of thing, I am encouraged to speak about another one closer home to me.

In some past efforts we have found it important and profitable to put on a block of influential names on our subscription list where the cost has been borne by some special gift or designation. Because we are within the situation here and attempting to speak to it as often as we think it will be helpful, we feel that we are in a particularly strategic spot to reach a number of people who may not be reached by outside voices. We are already doing a great many things along this line not only in the Presbyterian fold, but in other groups, and we would like to enlarge and expand this program. We could do it on any scale small or large, depending on the resources made available.

At least from my point of view a rather impressive case can be made out for our past record along several lines and if you think it might be helpful you might suggest that I go ahead and draw up such a statement or proposition, if you also think there might be a possibility of getting funds for some kind of operation along this line. I do know that there are some foundations that are looking for good opportunities to do something about the present situation in the South and we think we can offer them a good handle to take hold of.

I will appreciate your advice and suggestions along this line too.

With thanks and good wishes, I am

Faithfully yours,

Aubrey

ANB/dk

The Presbyterian Outlook

AUBREY N. BROWN
Editor

JAMES S. BROWN
Business Manager

912 EAST MAIN STREET

DIAL 2-9492 . 1 NORTH 6TH STREET . RICHMOND 19, VA.

Old in Service . Established 1819 . New in Spirit

March 27, 1959

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Thank you very much for sending me this very interesting South Carolina document. It is a real prize.

Gratefully yours,

Aubrey N. Brown

ANB/dk

Sent separately by JC: "L" Reports #16, 17
Student Protest Movement Report

Note: Placed on JC's press list - 4/20/60

April 20, 1960

Mr. Aubrey N. Brown, Jr.
Editor
The Presbyterian Outlook
512 East Main Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brown:

You should, of course, have been receiving all of our mailings; I apologize for the oversight.

We are sending separately the last few mimeographed materials we have issued, and arrangements have been made for you to receive all such mailings in the future. Practically everything we put out is for public use. In the rare cases when it is not, the material will be clearly marked "confidential."

Let me take this opportunity to thank you for the fine job you did on the "sit-in" protests.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Presbyterian Outlook

AUBREY N. BROWN, Jr., Editor
ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON, Co-editor
JAMES S. BROWN, Business Manager

Milton 9-1371 • 512 EAST MAIN STREET • RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA
Serving the Presbyterian Church, U. S., and the United Presbyterian Church, USA

April 18, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

I understand that the SRC provides an occasional mimeographed bulletin of information, but in some way or another this never came to me during my years as president of the local group and I have yet to see a copy. They tell me that this has very valuable information on it and in my efforts to keep up with the situation I find myself wishing that I could get on the list in some way. Of course, if some of this is not to be further publicized I suppose it is indicated on the sheet, but my concern for such information is not specifically for reproduction in our columns.

Anything you can do to help me with this will be greatly appreciated.

Faithfully yours,

ANB/dk

Aubrey N. Brown, Jr.

BC: Will Campbell

via air mail

December 12, 1960

Mr. Aubrey N. Brown, Jr.
Editor
The Presbyterian Outlook
512 E. Main Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Aubrey:

Please forgive my delay in replying to your recent letter. I have hardly had a quiet hour at my desk since I saw you in Richmond.

We could make a stab at compiling a list of pastors who have fought the good fight, but I doubt that it would be worthwhile. As you observe, these men move a good deal and it is a chore keeping a correct and up-to-date list of names and addresses. For this very reason, we have relied heavily on Will Campbell for needs of this kind. As you know, Will is in close tough with many such ministers and has better resources than we for tracking down others.

You have probably already queried Will; if not, I hope you will do so. I am certain that his list would include everyone we know of, and a good many more besides.

I appreciate your kind remarks about my Richmond speech. It was a real pleasure for me to meet with you and the others who are giving valuable leadership in Virginia.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Presbyterian Outlook

AUBREY N. BROWN, Jr., Editor
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JAMES S. BROWN, Business Manager

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Serving the Presbyterian Church, U. S., and the United Presbyterian Church, USA

December 1, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

It was good to have you here at our meeting the other night. You gave us a highly informative address that I know was appreciated by everybody there.

Now, can you help me with a project in which I am sure you are deeply interested?

I am seeking to get the names and present addresses of a number of pastors of different denominations who have worked and spoken constructively and courageously in the South on the race issue. I want to collect information from them which I think will be instructive to other pastors as well as to congregations.

Some of these men have doubtless been compelled to move along to other work; some may not now be pastors. Wherever they are I want to get in touch with them.

A list from you will be greatly appreciated.

Faithfully yours,

Aubrey

ANB/dk

January 30, 1961

Mr. Aubrey N. Brown, Jr.
Editor
The Presbyterian Outlook
512 E. Main Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Aubrey:

Thanks for telling us about Dr. Hill's speech; it sounds like the sort of thing that would be helpful to many Southerners. We will follow through on the suggestion.

My best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Presbyterian Outlook

AUBREY N. BROWN, Jr., Editor
ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON, Co-editor
JAMES S. BROWN, Business Manager

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Serving the Presbyterian Church, U. S., and the United Presbyterian Church, USA

January 23, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

Dr. Haywood N. Hill in the Lowance Clinic there is my wife's brother and an elder in the Trinity Presbyterian Church. On the first Sunday in this month he gave a very straightforward presentation to his class of adults, dealing with his personal adjustment to implications in regard to the race issue. Coming from a professional man with a traditional southern background, this seems to me to have a good bit of an appeal and I wondered if you would not like to get in touch with him and ask him to let you have a copy for possible use in New South. It also occurs to me that with the stand he is taking he might be of further help to you.

With all good wishes, I am

Faithfully yours,

Aubrey

ANB/dk
~~Enc.~~

46 5th St. NE

The Presbyterian Outlook

AUBREY N. BROWN, JR.
Editor

JAMES S. BROWN
Business Manager

MIlton 9-1371 • 512 East Main Street • Richmond 19, Virginia

Old in Service • Established 1819 • New in Spirit

February 6, 1961

Dear Friends,

rec'd 2/8/61

I hope you will send a copy of your report L-23 of January 24 as soon as possible to Mr. Henry Shue, Box 1404, Davidson, N. C., to help him in a presentation he is making on that campus.

Gratefully yours,

A. N. Brown, Jr.

ANB/dk

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

file
News papers, et al.
"Presbyterian Outlook"
Cr. ref
"Ala. Council"

December 8, 1965

Mr. Aubrey Brown
The Presbyterian Outlook
512 East Main Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Aubrey:

Ed Stanfield will be with SRC January 1 as Director of Field Activities. He has done an outstanding job in Alabama, and we have the painful choice between bringing in the man we thought best for the job and taking him out of Alabama. But, we finally made this decision.

Incidentally, the Alabama Council is the 1965 recipient of the George S. Mitchell Memorial Award for the greatest percentage increase in membership of any state Council. They went from a paid membership of less than 400 last year to a paid membership of more than 1,200 this year. In excess of $20,000 will be raised from within the state this year. These are just two of the more obvious indications of the job Ed has done. I really believe he has something to offer to the whole state Council movement.

Your note makes me chagrined that I did not think to tell the Presbyterian Outlook of this, but I am happy that you caught it.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/nmj

The Presbyterian Outlook

AUBREY N. BROWN, JR.
Editor

JAMES S. BROWN
Business Manager

MIlton 9-1371 • 512 East Main Street • Richmond 19, Virginia

Old in Service • Established 1819 • New in Spirit

December 7, 1965

Dear Paul:

I understand that Ed Stanfield is taking the field service job January 1 and I want to carry a note about this. I hope you can send me a confirming word about this by return mail.

Rec'd 12/8/65

Gratefully yours,

Aubrey

ANB/ej

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

NEWSPAPERS - PRESBYTERIAN OUTLOOK

REGARDING

Promotion piece from Aubrey Brown re PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE November 28-29 Sponsored by Virginia Council

Ltr from P.A. 7/26/66 to Mr. Aubrey Brown, Presbyterian Outlook

DATE

7/26/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Free Newspapers, et al.
Presby. Outlook

April 12, 1968

Mr. Aubrey Brown, Jr.
Editor
The Presbyterian Outlook
512 East Main Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Aubrey:

Please forgive me the delay in answering your letter. Needless to say, the tragedy of last week had us all caught up.

Enclosed is the requested list of names and addresses of the state directors. You are correct, the lady in South Carolina is Mrs. Alice Spearman. Alice is now retired and can be written to at her home address -- 3401 Brookwood Court, Columbia, S. C., 29204.

I believe for your purposes, and if time permits, the National Conference on Social Welfare will be your best source of information. Enclosed is their Conference Bulletin which is filled with the names you seek. As soon as you have finished with it, please return it to me since I am speaking at their annual forum

soon.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

The Presbyterian Outlook

AUBREY N. BROWN, Jr., Editor
ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON, Co-editor
JAMES S. BROWN, Business Manager

Milton 9-1371 • 512 EAST MAIN STREET • RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA
Serving the Presbyterian Church, U. S., and the United Presbyterian Church, USA

April 5, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

For many years we have published an annual Going-to-College Handbook and each time we focus on one vocation, emphasizing its opportunities and requirements. This year it is in the field of intergroup relations and I want to do for it something like what was done for social workers (see enclosure). I am looking for some of the most recognizable names in the country who might be invited to contribute to this and I am also searching for any kind of suggestion that would help to develop an attractive presentation.

Your ideas about this will be deeply appreciated.

I am being pressed for time so an early response will help.

Faithfully yours,

Aubrey

ANB/gs
Enclosure

P.S. Could I have a list of names and addresses of the State Directors -- a current one and also one of a few years back if some of these would have names that would be helpful? I am thinking about the woman who led the work in South Carolina; can't call her name for the life of me but I know her.

Alice Spearman

By ELLEN WINSTON

In Social Work . . . Opportunities Are Unlimited

NEVER BEFORE in all history have changes occurred as rapidly as they are occurring today. This needs to be taken into account in thinking about what studies you will take to prepare for an interesting life after college.

No one can predict changes, but by analyzing trends, it is possible to foresee their general nature. The most important trend we see today in the United States is toward building back into our society more of the personal, humanizing features that characterized this nation in the days when we were a rural, pioneering people.

The "lonely crowds," the "asphalt jungles," the cold, mechanized, impersonal world of the modern city are not what the American people envisioned when they bent their energies to mastering the forces of nature and thus created our "affluent society."

A Second Stage

Today, we see that, while this focus on economic progress laid the foundations for the "American dream," we must now enter a second stage of national effort before the dream can become reality.

Tomorrow's history books may quite possibly date our entrance into this second stage as 1964, when President Johnson declared an "unconditional war against poverty" and called for an all out effort, by people in all walks of life to create what he termed "the Great Society." In actual fact, of course, the start of any great movement cannot be pinpointed to a particular date. This one has been building for many years—through the increasing emphasis on social action in the churches, through the growth of voluntary agencies supported by both the money and the personal services of tens of thousands of citizens, and through the development of more effective public programs to reach out and serve the disadvantaged.

Nevertheless, in terms of social development, the tremendous growth period for the nation lies ahead. The Edisons of social innovations and inventions, the Fords to develop the organization and distribution of human services, the leaders who will mould a better tomorrow as the pioneers in economic production have moulded a better today—these men and women will come from those who are now in their student years.

They will make their contributions in many different ways as their training and aptitudes dictate.

Some will be architects and planners who, by the very arrangement of our environment, will give predominance to human values. Many will be members of the "helping" professions such as clergymen, teachers, doctors, nurses, social workers, lawyers. Others will be in the businesses and industries which increasingly govern their activities in terms of the effect on the general public welfare rather than on the benefits that accrue exclusively to those who are connected with it.

Basic Background

Regardless of the field they enter, however, the men and women who will be most influential and find most satisfaction in their careers will be those who have obtained a sound background in the social sciences during their college days and thus have the foundations which will enable them to understand the problems of human adjustments to social change, problems which will inevitably become increasingly complex.

These also are the studies which are pre-requisite to the profession which may well offer the greatest future opportunities of all—social work.

The demand for social workers already far exceeds the number available and is steadily growing.

They are needed for a wide range of activities: as community organizers to help mobilize citizen action to build up the facilities and services that are needed; as group workers to meet with people who have special problems—mothers with child rearing or homemaking problems, teen-agers with behavior problems, elderly people with the problems of retirement; as caseworkers to provide individual counselling and help in a variety of settings—church programs, schools, clinics, day care centers, and public and voluntary welfare agencies.

In whatever branch of social work they specialize and in whatever setting they serve, social workers are at the very heart of the most exciting activities going on in

---

DR. WINSTON is Commissioner of Welfare in the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C.

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Commissioner Winston stands here with Cynthia Hawkins of Denison University and George Cairns of the University of Louisville.

the world today. And I say "world" advisedly, for more and more American social workers are taking assignments in all parts of the world for periods that range from a few weeks to several years. At home or abroad, their days are spent with people, all kinds of people, with all kinds of cultures and backgrounds. Within a single day, a social worker may be dealing with a prominent public official on a program affecting thousands, a family threatened with eviction from their rat-infested slum home, and a meeting of neighborhood leaders. Moreover, their skill in handling human problems has a direct effect upon the destinies of those they serve.

Although their salaries are generally commensurate with salaries in other professions, and are improving steadily, the real rewards in social work careers are less tangible: the family kept together because of help in a crisis that would otherwise have broken up the home; the teenager who did not become a delinquent or a dropout because the right door to opportunity was opened at the right time; the abused child rescued from torture and possible death.

One of the best ways to begin a career in social work is to take summer employment in a welfare agency during college.

Every county has a public welfare agency and many of them are looking for summer help, so there is a good chance of finding such employment in your home community. Many voluntary agencies also use summer students. Summer employment gives you a chance to know the people who seek welfare services and to help them in many simple and practical ways.

Added Training

After college, you will be eligible for a position as a beginning caseworker in a public agency, where you receive on-the-job training to prepare you for the more challenging and interesting work of helping troubled people surmount the varied problems that bring them to the agency. This is the time when you can make your permanent decision about a career in social work. If you decide to do so—and almost everyone who tries it does—the public welfare agency will help you get the additional training you will need to become a member of the social work profession. Frequently, public welfare employees are sent by their agency for one or two years of graduate study and receive their full salary throughout their study period.

With this professional training, opportunities for both men and women are almost literally unlimited.

Every type of voluntary and public welfare agency needs staff. In public welfare, particularly, the needs are acute. Moreover, the potential for making a real impact upon some of our most serious human and social problems is especially great in the public agencies because they serve so many people. For example, just one of the public welfare programs—Aid to Families with Dependent Children—helps one out of every six children in America at some critical point in his childhood.

For a career that will give you lifetime interest and satisfaction, my recommendation is social welfare.

ALL KINDS OF HUMAN PROBLEMS

By JOSEPH P. ANDERSON

No one person, no one profession, can resolve all the nation's ills or effectively help all people in need—the poor, the worried ill, the lonely old, the wayward young, the family in conflict, the neighborhood divided. But more than any other profession, social work is directed toward dealing with the broad range of human problems. Its skill and expertise is derived from its own experience and from knowledge of human growth and behavior distilled from other fields of learning.

Social work, too, joins forces with others to raise the standards of living for the entire community; is deeply involved in finding answers to social problems that stubbornly resist solutions.

Social workers are more than ever needed and wanted. Although graduate schools of social work are now turning out slightly more than 3,000 professional social workers a year, openings exist everywhere and responsible observers see a need for an additional 100,000 fully trained social workers by 1970. Salaries and working conditions have been steadily improved.

If you get along with all kinds of people, have a deep and not merely sentimental interest in their shortcomings and needs, want to devote your intellect in a practical way to creating a better, democratic society—find out about social work.

DR. ANDERSON, executive director of the National Association of Social Workers, New York, is the author of **Opportunities in Social Work Careers.**

Social workers are the front line troops in our war on poverty. They treat the social ills of society as the physician treats its physical ills. Our nation needs their valuable help today, and this need will grow as our society undergoes the changes that inevitably accompany progress.

—LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

MOVING BEYOND

By KATHERINE A. KENDALL

In the days of Jane Addams, social problems were the natural target of social workers who zealously and successfully crusaded for social reform. Social problems are again in the forefront of the professional concern of social workers, but long absorption in therapeutic procedures directed towards individual change has neutralized the effectiveness of the social work profession in the development of strategies, programs and procedures to bring about planned social change. Yet, if I assess correctly the temper of the social work profession at this moment in time, it is moving beyond mere expressions of high resolve, to chart and prepare for its future destiny as a recognized and responsible agent of social as well as individual change.

MRS. KENDALL is executive director of the Council on Social Work Education, New York.

IN DIRECT SERVICE TO PEOPLE

By HERMAN D. STEIN

The field of social work encompasses a broad range of opportunities in direct service to people. It is indeed in such direct services to neglected and disturbed children, troubled families, the retarded and mentally ill, to the chronically ill and other patients in hospitals, the economically deprived, the aged, and to many other vulnerable segments of our population that most social workers are engaged.

There is, however, an additional arena of activity that is looming larger in opportunity and in promise of effectiveness, as more social workers become equipped to undertake the responsibilities involved. This sphere of social work's concern is no less than devising improved and new directions of *social welfare policy*—for cities, states, and the country at large. In such activities social workers, drawing on knowledge of the psychological and social as well as the economic needs of people and the essentials for the development of the human potential, will participate with other specialists in planning for broad governmental and non-governmental polices in such areas as housing, crime and delinquency, mental health, social security and public welfare, programs for the retired and the aged, and welfare policies in our international programs.

Through preparation for analysis, formulation and planning of welfare policy, social workers will have an increasing opportunity to enhance the well-being of all the people and prevent as well as treat distress due to social and economic changes in our society.

DR. STEIN is dean and professor of social work in the School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland.

ARE YOU IN THIS PICTURE?

- **A young man** helping residents in a slum neighborhood to learn their rights and responsibilities and to act together for better housing . . . .
- **A young woman** guiding a troubled mother and father to understand and help their child grow in self-reliance and maturity . . . .
- **A former college athlete** getting acquainted with members of an adolescent street gang, winning their trust and guiding them into constructive activity . . . .
- **A pair of newly-weds,** living in a South American village, directing Peace Corps volunteers and helping the villagers to get a community health program underway . . . .
- **A mother** of four teenagers helping a recently discharged mental patient find his way back into community life, and helping the community to accept him . . . .
- **A former volunteer** working with experienced staff to help families obtain the variety of assistance they need to break the poverty cycle . . . .
- **A social work professor** on sabbatical leave, spending a year in Africa to help leaders of a new nation develop a child welfare program attuned both to their traditions and the changing world . . . .
- **A former campus leader** mobilizing middle class citizens to fight poverty and discrimination in their town . . . .

These are social workers

ALMOST ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD

By ALTON A. LINFORD

Social Work offers interesting and challenging opportunities for service to people who require help with social and personal problems. Social workers are employed as case workers, group workers, community organizers, executives and consultants in a wide range of agencies, which serve dependent and delinquent children, aged, sick, disabled, dependent, and troubled families.

This is a profession that offers unique opportunities for advancement. Social workers are in such demand that a graduate of an accredited School of Social Work can almost select the agency and the part of the world where he wishes to live and work.

Entrance to an accredited school of Social Work is open to people who have a bachelor's degree, a good academic record, and a wholesome personality. Scholarships are usually available to students who need them.

DEAN LINFORD heads the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago.

Horace Mann: "Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity."

Profile of a Social Worker

By ALICE H. COLLINS, Community Council, Portland, Oregon

WE WANT so much to welcome you into our profession that we are inclined to show you only its smoothest side. Yet, I can't help believing that the hard side is the one that makes social work the challenging, rewarding profession that we find it.

Social work deals with troubled people—people who are having difficulties in their adjustments to each other, to their society at large, and it deals with the forces in our society which contribute to such trouble. As social workers, we don't deal exclusively with the nicest of us—in fact, as social workers, we need to learn to care about and help the many, who are, by our personal standards, not nice.

We work with parents whose immaturity makes them physically or emotionally cruel to young children; adolescents whose dissatisfaction with our society makes them destructive, violent and dangerous to people who have done them no harm; groups of citizens outraged by such actions and demanding vindication no less violent; law-making bodies punishing the innocent in the name of economy. As social workers, these are the people you will need to like.

But acceptance is not enough, for ours is the task of bringing about change—change in the relationships of individuals to each other, change in the social conditions that prevent them from developing to their own greatest potential. To many of our clients, change is too frightening to risk and the hand we offer may be seen as stretched out to hurt rather than to help.

Another feature of social work you need to know about, though we don't very often mention it in public, is our relative inability to achieve the goals we set for ourselves. We do it every day, of course—in the lives of individuals, groups and the community they make up. But we fail every day too, and it is that failure that you have to be able to face.

If you have the features of a social worker you will meet this unhappy experience as most of us do—you will spend some sleepless nights going back over your practice, recognizing what you should have done differently, what more you need to do it better. And then you will get up one morning and take on another, similar, situation with hope and courage, knowing that the strength of the human spirit is limitless and that this time you and your client may be able to use successfully what you have learned from past failure. Otto Pollack once said that one of the signs of a high degree of maturity in our profession is our ability to recognize that in human affairs "there is no peace and there are no final solutions. Every effort creates new problems and every solution creates new ones in turn."

If you have the capacity to accept people as they are while you help them to change to what they can become, courage to continue to learn in spite of inevitable failure, you can look forward to a rewarding career in social work. We look forward to your joining us.

For further information about social work careers or for additional reprints, write to:
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SOCIAL WORK CAREERS, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

file
Newspapers & cit
Presby Outlook

June 24, 1968

Mr. Aubrey N. Brown, Jr.
Editor
The Presbyterian Outlook
512 East Main Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Aubrey:

You may be as surprised as I at the promptness of this response.

Enclosed is a statement which I hope you will find adequate, along with a glossy print.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

A Statement on the field of
Intergroup Relations

By: Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

There is a tremendous and growing need for persons in the Intergroup Relations field. This is true with private agencies, but even more true with public agencies -- state, federal, and local. Religiously and socially concerned groups are rapidly expanding their staffs. So, too, in government, there is a beginning realization that formal concerns and professional involvement in Intergroup Relations is as important as in other specialized areas of public service. Paralleling this development has been a significant increase in salaries offered. This is not only an important indication of the value placed on the profession, but, also, a realization that concerned individuals, where competent, deserve adequate compensation for their work. Because of the growing need, persons with training in such fields as Law and Journalism are being sought as well as those from the more traditional fields of Religion, Sociology, and Political Science. Because of the unique and constant stresses which these people face, the factor of emotional stability is rapidly being considered equally as important as academic training.

Statement by Paul Anthony - 2.

Subject to the above observations, any person considering entering the Intergroup Relations profession can look forward to an expanding field of almost endless growth and opportunity.

6/24/68

The Presbyterian Outlook

AUBREY N. BROWN, Jr., Editor
ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON, Co-editor
JAMES S. BROWN, Business Manager

Milton 9-1371 • 512 EAST MAIN STREET • RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA
Serving the Presbyterian Church, U. S., and the United Presbyterian Church, USA

June 21, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Volume 23 of our annual Going-to-College Handbook has Intergroup Relations for its vocational theme -- the opportunities offered young people who follow such a career professionally. (You will see from the enclosure what we did when we had Social Work for the vocational theme.)

Circumstances have conspired to involve me in real difficulty in that I am compelled to attempt to draw these contributions together within the next week, if at all possible. I am inviting your help.

What I want from you is 200 words or less in which you do one of several things in regard to Intergroup Relations as a vocation:

-- Emphasize the need
-- Face the difficulties
-- Stress qualifications
-- Point to someone who is doing well at it
-- Suggest the rewards or satisfactions
-- Indicate the motivation
-- Note the preparation required
or . . .

Then, referring to the Social Workers treatment, if this suggests any classic statement or quotation suitable for this Intergroup Relations presentation, please let me have it.

I cannot overstress the hope I have that you will be able to let me have your contribution within a week, along with a glossy photograph of yourself.

No remuneration can be offered for this, but I hope the satisfactions will be great.

I shall certainly be thankful to you for this special help.

Faithfully yours,

Aubrey

ANB/gs
Enclosure

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In Social Work . . . Opportunities Are Unlimited

By ELLEN WINSTON

NEVER BEFORE in all history have changes occurred as rapidly as they are occurring today. This needs to be taken into account in thinking about what studies you will take to prepare for an interesting life after college.

No one can predict changes, but by analyzing trends, it is possible to foresee their general nature. The most important trend we see today in the United States is toward building back into our society more of the personal, humanizing features that characterized this nation in the days when we were a rural, pioneering people.

The "lonely crowds," the "asphalt jungles," the cold, mechanized, impersonal world of the modern city are not what the American people envisioned when they bent their energies to mastering the forces of nature and thus created our "affluent society."

A Second Stage

Today, we see that, while this focus on economic progress laid the foundations for the "American dream," we must now enter a second stage of national effort before the dream can become reality.

Tomorrow's history books may quite possibly date our entrance into this second stage as 1964, when President Johnson declared an "unconditional war against poverty" and called for an all out effort, by people in all walks of life to create what he termed "the Great Society." In actual fact, of course, the start of any great movement cannot be pinpointed to a particular date. This one has been building for many years—through the increasing emphasis on social action in the churches, through the growth of voluntary agencies supported by both the money and the personal services of tens of thousands of citizens, and through the development of more effective public programs to reach out and serve the disadvantaged.

Nevertheless, in terms of social development, the tremendous growth period for the nation lies ahead. The Edisons of social innovations and inventions, the Fords to develop the organization and distribution of human services, the leaders who will mould a better tomorrow as the pioneers in economic production have moulded a better today—these men and women will come from those who are now in their student years.

They will make their contributions in many different ways as their training and aptitudes dictate.

Some will be architects and planners who, by the very arrangement of our environment, will give predominance to human values. Many will be members of the "helping" professions such as clergymen, teachers, doctors, nurses, social workers, lawyers. Others will be in the businesses and industries which increasingly govern their activities in terms of the effect on the general public welfare rather than on the benefits that accrue exclusively to those who are connected with it.

Basic Background

Regardless of the field they enter, however, the men and women who will be most influential and find most satisfaction in their careers will be those who have obtained a sound background in the social sciences during their college days and thus have the foundations which will enable them to understand the problems of human adjustments to social change, problems which will inevitably become increasingly complex.

These also are the studies which are pre-requisite to the profession which may well offer the greatest future opportunities of all—social work.

The demand for social workers already far exceeds the number available and is steadily growing.

They are needed for a wide range of activities: as community organizers to help mobilize citizen action to build up the facilities and services that are needed; as group workers to meet with people who have special problems—mothers with child rearing or homemaking problems, teen-agers with behavior problems, elderly people with the problems of retirement; as caseworkers to provide individual counselling and help in a variety of settings—church programs, schools, clinics, day care centers, and public and voluntary welfare agencies.

In whatever branch of social work they specialize and in whatever setting they serve, social workers are at the very heart of the most exciting activities going on in

DR. WINSTON is Commissioner of Welfare in the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C.

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Commissioner Winston stands here with Cynthia Hawkins of Denison University and George Cairns of the University of Louisville.

the world today. And I say "world" advisedly, for more and more American social workers are taking assignments in all parts of the world for periods that range from a few weeks to several years. At home or abroad, their days are spent with people, all kinds of people, with all kinds of cultures and backgrounds. Within a single day, a social worker may be dealing with a prominent public official on a program affecting thousands, a family threatened with eviction from their rat-infested slum home, and a meeting of neighborhood leaders. Moreover, their skill in handling human problems has a direct effect upon the destinies of those they serve.

Although their salaries are generally commensurate with salaries in other professions, and are improving steadily, the real rewards in social work careers are less tangible: the family kept together because of help in a crisis that would otherwise have broken up the home; the teenager who did not become a delinquent or a dropout because the right door to opportunity was opened at the right time; the abused child rescued from torture and possible death.

One of the best ways to begin a career in social work is to take summer employment in a welfare agency during college.

Every county has a public welfare agency and many of them are looking for summer help, so there is a good chance of finding such employment in your home community. Many voluntary agencies also use summer students. Summer employment gives you a chance to know the people who seek welfare services and to help them in many simple and practical ways.

Added Training

After college, you will be eligible for a position as a beginning caseworker in a public agency, where you receive on-the-job training to prepare you for the more challenging and interesting work of helping troubled people surmount the varied problems that bring them to the agency. This is the time when you can make your permanent decision about a career in social work. If you decide to do so—and almost everyone who tries it does—the public welfare agency will help you get the additional training you will need to become a member of the social work profession. Frequently, public welfare employees are sent by their agency for one or two years of graduate study and receive their full salary throughout their study period.

With this professional training, opportunities for both men and women are almost literally unlimited.

Every type of voluntary and public welfare agency needs staff. In public welfare, particularly, the needs are acute. Moreover, the potential for making a real impact upon some of our most serious human and social problems is especially great in the public agencies because they serve so many people. For example, just one of the public welfare programs—Aid to Families with Dependent Children—helps one out of every six children in America at some critical point in his childhood.

For a career that will give you lifetime interest and satisfaction, my recommendation is social welfare.

ALL KINDS OF HUMAN PROBLEMS

By JOSEPH P. ANDERSON

No one person, no one profession, can resolve all the nation's ills or effectively help all people in need—the poor, the worried ill, the lonely old, the wayward young, the family in conflict, the neighborhood divided. But more than any other profession, social work is directed toward dealing with the broad range of human problems. Its skill and expertise is derived from its own experience and from knowledge of human growth and behavior distilled from other fields of learning.

Social work, too, joins forces with others to raise the standards of living for the entire community; is deeply involved in finding answers to social problems that stubbornly resist solutions.

Social workers are more than ever needed and wanted. Although graduate schools of social work are now turning out slightly more than 3,000 professional social workers a year, openings exist everywhere and responsible observers see a need for an additional 100,000 fully trained social workers by 1970. Salaries and working conditions have been steadily improved.

If you get along with all kinds of people, have a deep and not merely sentimental interest in their shortcomings and needs, want to devote your intellect in a practical way to creating a better, democratic society—find out about social work.

DR. ANDERSON, executive director of the National Association of Social Workers, New York, is the author of **Opportunities in Social Work Careers.**

Social workers are the front line troops in our war on poverty. They treat the social ills of society as the physician treats its physical ills. Our nation needs their valuable help today, and this need will grow as our society undergoes the changes that inevitably accompany progress.

—LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

MOVING BEYOND

By KATHERINE A. KENDALL

In the days of Jane Addams, social problems were the natural target of social workers who zealously and successfully crusaded for social reform. Social problems are again in the forefront of the professional concern of social workers, but long absorption in therapeutic procedures directed towards individual change has neutralized the effectiveness of the social work profession in the development of strategies, programs and procedures to bring about planned social change. Yet, if I assess correctly the temper of the social work profession at this moment in time, it is moving beyond mere expressions of high resolve, to chart and prepare for its future destiny as a recognized and responsible agent of social as well as individual change.

MRS. KENDALL is executive director of the Council on Social Work Education, New York.

IN DIRECT SERVICE TO PEOPLE

By HERMAN D. STEIN

The field of social work encompasses a broad range of opportunities in direct service to people. It is indeed in such direct services to neglected and disturbed children, troubled families, the retarded and mentally ill, to the chronically ill and other patients in hospitals, the economically deprived, the aged, and to many other vulnerable segments of our population that most social workers are engaged.

There is, however, an additional arena of activity that is looming larger in opportunity and in promise of effectiveness, as more social workers become equipped to undertake the responsibilities involved. This sphere of social work's concern is no less than devising improved and new directions of *social welfare policy*—for cities, states, and the country at large. In such activities social workers, drawing on knowledge of the psychological and social as well as the economic needs of people and the essentials for the development of the human potential, will participate with other specialists in planning for broad governmental and non-governmental polices in such areas as housing, crime and delinquency, mental health, social security and public welfare, programs for the retired and the aged, and welfare policies in our international programs.

Through preparation for analysis, formulation and planning of welfare policy, social workers will have an increasing opportunity to enhance the well-being of all the people and prevent as well as treat distress due to social and economic changes in our society.

DR. STEIN is dean and professor of social work in the School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland.

ARE YOU IN THIS PICTURE?

- **A young man** helping residents in a slum neighborhood to learn their rights and responsibilities and to act together for better housing . . . .
- **A young woman** guiding a troubled mother and father to understand and help their child grow in self-reliance and maturity . . . .
- **A former college athlete** getting acquainted with members of an adolescent street gang, winning their trust and guiding them into constructive activity . . . .
- **A pair of newly-weds,** living in a South American village, directing Peace Corps volunteers and helping the villagers to get a community health program underway . . . .
- **A mother** of four teenagers helping a recently discharged mental patient find his way back into community life, and helping the community to accept him . . . .
- **A former volunteer** working with experienced staff to help families obtain the variety of assistance they need to break the poverty cycle . . . .
- **A social work professor** on sabbatical leave, spending a year in Africa to help leaders of a new nation develop a child welfare program attuned both to their traditions and the changing world . . . .
- **A former campus leader** mobilizing middle class citizens to fight poverty and discrimination in their town . . . .

These are social workers

ALMOST ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD

By ALTON A. LINFORD

Social Work offers interesting and challenging opportunities for service to people who require help with social and personal problems. Social workers are employed as case workers, group workers, community organizers, executives and consultants in a wide range of agencies, which serve dependent and delinquent children, aged, sick, disabled, dependent, and troubled families.

This is a profession that offers unique opportunities for advancement. Social workers are in such demand that a graduate of an accredited School of Social Work can almost select the agency and the part of the world where he wishes to live and work.

Entrance to an accredited school of Social Work is open to people who have a bachelor's degree, a good academic record, and a wholesome personality. Scholarships are usually available to students who need them.

DEAN LINFORD heads the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago.

Horace Mann: "Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity."

Profile of a Social Worker

By ALICE H. COLLINS, Community Council, Portland, Oregon

WE WANT so much to welcome you into our profession that we are inclined to show you only its smoothest side. Yet, I can't help believing that the hard side is the one that makes social work the challenging, rewarding profession that we find it.

Social work deals with troubled people—people who are having difficulties in their adjustments to each other, to their society at large, and it deals with the forces in our society which contribute to such trouble. As social workers, we don't deal exclusively with the nicest of us—in fact, as social workers, we need to learn to care about and help the many, who are, by our personal standards, not nice.

We work with parents whose immaturity makes them physically or emotionally cruel to young children; adolescents whose dissatisfaction with our society makes them destructive, violent and dangerous to people who have done them no harm; groups of citizens outraged by such actions and demanding vindication no less violent; law-making bodies punishing the innocent in the name of economy. As social workers, these are the people you will need to like.

But acceptance is not enough, for ours is the task of bringing about change—change in the relationships of individuals to each other, change in the social conditions that prevent them from developing to their own greatest potential. To many of our clients, change is too frightening to risk and the hand we offer may be seen as stretched out to hurt rather than to help.

Another feature of social work you need to know about, though we don't very often mention it in public, is our relative inability to achieve the goals we set for ourselves. We do it every day, of course—in the lives of individuals, groups and the community they make up. But we fail every day too, and it is that failure that you have to be able to face.

If you have the features of a social worker you will meet this unhappy experience as most of us do—you will spend some sleepless nights going back over your practice, recognizing what you should have done differently, what more you need to do it better. And then you will get up one morning and take on another, similar, situation with hope and courage, knowing that the strength of the human spirit is limitless and that this time you and your client may be able to use successfully what you have learned from past failure. Otto Pollack once said that one of the signs of a high degree of maturity in our profession is our ability to recognize that in human affairs "there is no peace and there are no final solutions. Every effort creates new problems and every solution creates new ones in turn."

If you have the capacity to accept people as they are while you help them to change to what they can become, courage to continue to learn in spite of inevitable failure, you can look forward to a rewarding career in social work. We look forward to your joining us.

For further information about social work careers or for additional reprints, write to:
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SOCIAL WORK CAREERS, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

June 1, 1954

Mr. Morris H. Rubin
Editor
The Progressive Magazine
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Rubin:

How very nice to have your letter of May 26, and to know that my friend Alvin Friedman, had pressed you toward interest in our Council.

We are delighted to make you a subscriber to New South, and herewith send you a bill for the bold sum of $1.50.

I take The Progressive and really read it. Mighty near all of it every time. Good stuff, well put, right point of view, nearly every time!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

FORTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY 1909-1954 FOUNDED BY ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, SR.

The PROGRESSIVE magazine
MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL MONTHLY MORRIS H. RUBIN, EDITOR

AMONG
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May 26, 1954

RECEIVED
MAY 31 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Alvin Friedman, who has been taking his apprenticeship at the ILGWU in New York, has told me of the fine work you are doing. He has stirred my interest in the publication you are getting out. I should like to be included as a subscriber to New South. Would you put me on the list and bill me?

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

MHR/bh

Published by The Progressive, Inc., a Non-Profit Foundation

AIRMAIL - SPECIAL DELIVERY

October 3, 1956

Mr. Morris H. Rubin
The Progressive
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Morris:

Many thanks for your good letter which was awaiting me on my return from New York the other day. I agree thoroughly with your thoughtful comments on the three pronged approach to the problems of segregation, and I hope I can promote this kind of treatment for the Progressive.

I was sorely tempted by your invitation to do a joint review for your December issue. Unfortunately - for reasons that I hope to communicate to you one of these days - I would be ill advised to take on anything that I would want to do well just now. I do have a suggestion. James McBride Dabbs, Mayesville, South Carolina (total address) is a farmer and scholar who lives on his ancestral acres in the middle of the black belt. He is deeply religious and widely read and is forthright in his opposition to segregation. At his best, he writes very well indeed. At the moment he is writing a book with the help of a grant from the Fund for the Republic. If he will take it on, I think he would do a wise and provocative review for you.

I wish I could take on the assignment myself. You can be sure that one of these days I will be knocking on The Progressive's door.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

FORTY-EIGHTH YEAR FOUNDED 1909 BY ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, SR.

The PROGRESSIVE magazine
MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL MONTHLY MORRIS H. RUBIN, EDITOR

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JERRY VOORHIS
JAMES WARBURG
ALFRED WERNER
CHARLES ALAN WRIGHT

September 25, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
2892 Ridgemore Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your note of September 19 and the accompanying copy of your talk to the psychologists. I have read it with great interest and appreciation. I think you did an excellent job in focussing their attention on some of the urgent needs in one of the most critical areas of our national life. It seems to me that your emphasis on the need of bringing together scholarship, scientific methods, and public opinion techniques in a wide and deep-going attack on the problem might well be the basis of the piece we discussed. I remember reading in Robert Penn Warren's little book the other day his recital of an experience with one of the professional haters in the South. The man said that Southerners felt in their guts their instinctive rejection of "niggers" but that they needed to be supplied with arguments and reasons to give their emotions some semblance of reason. I wouldn't for a moment, of course, compare this with the need for "reasons"--i.e., scholarship and scientific study--but I do feel that there is an enormous need for a soundly based approach that will arm those who want to do the Lord's work.

I wonder, Harold, if we could persuade you to do a joint review of three books for our December issue, the deadline for which would be November 1. The books are: Warren's Segregation, Margaret Just Butcher's Negro In American Culture, and Marian Anderson's My Lord What A Morning. We have the first two on hand and can ship them to you at once and could mail the Anderson book as soon as it arrives.

It seems to me that this would give you an excellent opportunity to comment on some of the problems associated with the vital work you are doing and have three books as a point of departure. As you know,

the Warren volume is very slim and Butcher is not long either. I hope very much that the answer will be yes. We need to know as soon as possible. I would be grateful if you would put your answer on the enclosed card and return it to me as soon as you can decently manage.

It was grand seeing you and talking with you when you were in Madison. I know all of us benefited greatly from exposure to your clear thinking. Your insights have provided the basis for several lively discussions since you left.

Mary joins me in sending our best.

Cordially,

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

MHR/bh
Air Special
P.S. If by any chance you don't think you can manage the review, heaven forbid!, could you suggest someone in the South who might do an understanding job for us? I even hate to raise the possibility of a substitute, for you are our first choice by all odds.

THIS SIDE O

VIA AIR MAIL

Morris H. Rubin
Editor
THE PROGRESSIVE
408 W. Gorham St.
Madison 3, Wis.

The most
talked about
magazine
of the year

The Progressive MADISON, WISCONSIN

The 45th Anniversary Issue of The Progressive

First printing 140,000 ● Second printing 65,000 ● 205,000 in six weeks!

ADLAI E. STEVENSON: "The documented record on McCarthy; a valuable public service."

DR. ROBERT M. HUTCHINS: "Congratulations! An important public service."

WALTER P. REUTHER: "Excellent . . . a contribution to the cause of civil liberties and human decency."

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SEN. HERBERT A. LEHMAN: ". . . arresting and impressive . . . a fine job."

STUART CHASE: "A wonderful encyclopedia on McCarthy; cool, factual, invaluable."

THE PROVIDENCE BULLETIN: "One of the most thoroughly documented studies of McCarthyism yet published."

ALFRED A. KNOPF: "An absolutely first-class job."

ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH: "Separates fiction from fact . . . "

JAMES A. WECHSLER: ". . . a memorable piece of journalism and an invaluable service to democracy."

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CHICAGO SUN TIMES: " . . . devastating but dispassionate."

The PROGRESSIVE • MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

AIRMAIL - SPECIAL DELIVERY

October 23, 1956

Mr. Morris H. Rubin, Editor
Progressive
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Morris:

I'm delighted that the Benjamin Fine piece caught your attention, since I had a meddler's hand in the getting-up of the statement by the eighteen social scientists. When the McGurk piece ran in U. S. News, making a case for inherent inferiority, I got in touch with my SPSSI friends in New York, they assembled a group of top people in New York, with whom I met, and the Fund for the Republic's public relations guy agreed to handle the release statement.

Enclosed is a copy of the release and the full text of the statement, including a list of the signers. I have also asked Joe Lyford at the Fund for the Republic to send you a couple of other relevent things: a report of the findings of one Robert North, who did a scholarly study of all the scientific literature on race and intelligence; and a copy of a statement issued by Catholic social scientists in response to the McGurk article.

The article you want might be handled in one of several different ways. You might want to use, either as is or rewritten, the North report. Or you might want to do a staff written job on the several statements and reports. (I could supply a few more things.) If you want a contributed piece, I suggest that you drop a note to Dr. Martin Deutsch, 465 West End Avenue, New York City, telling him your needs and asking him if he or one of his associates would be willing to take on such an article. Deutsch is one of the prime movers in SPSSI and thoroughly understands our idea of public interpretation of social science data.

You might be interested to know that I think I have sold the idea of a major wire service series on the social sciences and segregation. We are making some headway!

Mr. Morris H. Rubin October 23, 1956

Let me know if I can advise further or help in any way with the development of your good idea.

All best wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbc
Enc.

FORTY-EIGHTH YEAR

FOUNDED 1909 BY ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, SR.

The PROGRESSIVE magazine
MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL MONTHLY

MORRIS H. RUBIN, EDITOR

October 19, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
2892 Ridgemoor Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

In the New York Times this week Benjamin Fine has a story quoting a study completed by a group of "prominent social scientists" which emphasizes that "there is no evidence that Negro children are intellectually inferior to white children." Fine does not identify any of the "18 of the nation's recognized authorities in the field." Are you familiar with this study? I am on the hunt for someone, perhaps one of the 18, who might do an article on the subject for us. I think there is great need for factual materials in this area. Possibly a first-class piece in The Progressive could then be made available in reprint form for wide distribution. As we agreed that weekend in Madison, this is the kind of basic data that friends of integration need to combat some of the unsupported arguments bandied about so recklessly by those who would make segregation a permanent institution in American life.

Anything you can suggest that would help us get the kind of article we want will be deeply appreciated, Harold.

With best wishes,

Cordially,

MHR

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

MHR/bh

Published by The Progressive, Inc., a Non-Profit Foundation

January 9, 1957

Mr. Morris H. Rubin
Editor
The Progressive Magazine
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Rubin:

I, Mitchell, who have been running the Southern Regional Council these last ten years, am about to move myself bag and baggage to the other side of the world.

One or two of the officers of our Council asked me to write up some parting advice and send it up to the New York Times Magazine. I did, and they sent it back. Among other comments it was suggested that if I had been really prepared to tell the white folks off it might have landed. But I never think that is truthful or wise.

My next choice would be The Progressive.

Would you like it?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

By: George S. Mitchell

Ten or twelve years on race relations in the South; and a lifetime before of being a Southerner and knowing about the South. ~~A mother from South Carolina and Kentucky; a father from Mississippi, and yourself born in Virginia.~~ And now you knock off and go to Scotland to read your dear-bought books. What to say about how to get on with the job? ~~of finding a way for whites and blacks to live in peace together?~~

First thing is about hills and flats. Slavery stuck to the flats. It was so inefficient a system that it lived by chewing good land; the way a coal-mining machine digs coal. It spread over Eastern Virginia, and down in a great fishhook through the coastal plain of the Carolinas and Georgia and Alabama, with a dip into North Florida. It ate up the Delta, in Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee; took bites into Kentucky, and chunks out of East Texas. Over all of that area the dominant arrangement was the ~~large place~~ big farm and black labor. And both are still there.

Nobody took slaves to the hills. Hill farming needs personal attention. So the mountains are white, and the Piedmont Country is mainly white.

There was more flat land right around the Coast, but sandy or swampy, and not for slavery. A scattered population, white and black; mostly white, and few people with money. That's four different kinds of situations; plantations, mountains, hills, and piney-woods.

The South has its own, exaggerated, version of the National ill of lopsided and unrepresentative State Legislatures; and in the Lower South at least this puts the predominant power in the hands of the old plantation country. Wherefore Southern politics represents the views of a disappearing economy; and the newer South, which pushes up industrially and could accommodate itself to change, is politically a whisperer. ~~[For the moment, the last gasp of confederatism has even an occasional mountainy man waving the Stars and Bars.]~~

STET

Never mind the history of each sub-region; but on complying with what the Supreme Court said about schools, the point is that it will be tough in the plantation country, not so tough in the coast, still less tough in the Piedmont, and quite manageable in the Mountains. Most people say this is because there are so many Negro people still in the Old South, and fewer in the new parts. It would be Fairer if somebody had the clerks to work out the statistics on the degree of diffusion of individual well-being and responsibility area by area. Up in the mountains, most people do pretty well, at least in comparison with their neighbors. In the Piedmont, the land is in farms that people own and work themselves, and a job in a mill is easy to get to. In the Coast we need more development of the one great resource (the timber), and a better spread of the money from the trees, but we are getting it. The real trouble is in the old slave country, where Mr. Big is still Mr. Big, and John is just John. And John usually has no lease on the land he farms, and just hopes Mr. Big will say that next year John can stay on. John is careful not to vote and generally speaking he's scared and hasn't gotten very far. Mr. Big and his friends are responsible for most of what happens in the County. Where everybody has some standing, some independence, some settled earning-power, civil rights and even school desegregation can be faced. Where most people haven't got much, civil rights come hard.

Which is to say: do it where it can be done. Take the easier spots first. (italics)

The thing has already taken that course. We keep a map on the wall in the Southern Regional Council office, and the counties where the schools are open are in the easier places. Now that's not to deny any American citizen his right to sue for compliance tomorrow in his schools; fair enough, and I hope the lawsuit succeeds. But it is to say that for two or three years to come, it is likely that it will be the easier places that will open; and that's

healthy and wise. Because eventually the tough ones will find that things went all right, and they will come around, too.

All this business of cultural and geographical differences establishes a need for a differential pace in change. But law is for accomplishing change over quite large chunks of territory, without refinements of concession to local variations. Which is another way of saying that a citizen's constitutional rights are the same in the Mississippi Delta as in Keokuk, Iowa, and should be so respected. And the way out, in a voluntary society, is for people to agree locally on the pace at which change in their community will proceed. And therein lies the probable solution.

When you get right down to it the only way to dissolve race prejudice is to get people of similar background from the different groups to work together on a matter of common interest. Two drops out of that bottle and any amount of race prejudice disappears. And the thing to do is to open the bottle in every affected community. Which means: bring together twelve or fifteen people, of similar standing and responsibilities, some of them white and some of them Negro, and probably most of them Church women. They agree that they will over quite a string of afternoons cast up the exact facts about their local schools. How many schools, exactly where located in regard to white and Negro centers of population; buildings of what age; for how many pupils? How many teachers, with what training and experience, and at what salaries and on what tenure? What are the established school district lines? If you undertook to use the existing plant just to get education to the existing children, how would you do it? And a plan of compliance pops up at the committee. Usually they are startled by the slightness of the change. In this process a lot of things happen. What was a bugaboo, an unknown, becomes named, described, ticketed, local, and hence acceptable. Also, and most important, the indispensable drops

of prejudice-solvent have been at work. Further, in the many meetings the committee people sort~~ed~~ themselves out by their specialty interests. Mrs. Johnson, who worries about class-room lighting, ~~found~~ finds out that Mrs. Thompson is worried about the same thing. From then on, if any question arises in the Negro community about class-room lighting, the two ladies get on the telephone, and the principal straightens it out!

Still another thing: the ladies have all got ~~wiggly-waggly~~ wiggley-wiggley ~~gossiping~~ tongues, and in not many minutes after agreement is reached it is all over town that the thing has been worked out, and it can go in such and such a way. And that groundwork laid underneath, plus the pressure of the change in the law from above, is enough to accomplish the actual change in the town.

Although there is one further thing that the social science people know. They have a rule called the anti-wobble. Which is that if authority knows the law, intends to go through with it, and is lastingly firm, the change gets made, and little or nothing happens.

Still another queer aspect, not in the books. If you ask people in any town whether they want to stick with good old Southern tradition they will say you bet they do. But if some townspeople find a different course that suits their town, they will say, "Well, we are not trying to tell any other town what it ought to do, but we have decided in this place that the right thing for us to do is so and so." And that pleasant human failing for doing what is locally wise will spread, and at a pleasant pace.

There are some rules about the local committees. No good if even some of the Negro people on the committee are old-timers, anxious first of all to do what will please the white people. Get the vigorous and the representative; indeed, get the very ones whom the powerful people in the town are skittish about having on! Then the decisions will stick. In some places there will be

no one of the Negro group capable of holding up his people's end of the argument. In those cases bring in somebody from a Negro faculty, who can ask for all that is possible.

Insert A

All of which leads to where the N.A.A.C.P. comes in. Wisdom about it comes from a man who some years back addressed one of their conventions. This was a Southern white man. He said: "The United States of America can thank its lucky stars that for more than forty years the organization which has best represented its most oppressed racial minority has sought a program no more radical than the full enforcement of the Constitution of the United States." That's true, and no one can get around it. In the back places of this earth, in the last twenty years, people after people has resorted to weapons cruel and intolerant as it made its way toward equality. Assassination, sabotage, war, communism, and rebellion. Whereas in this country Negro people in pursuit of equality have engaged brilliant Negro lawyers to stand before the robed justices of our Courts, and ask for their written rights. That's the method of civilized change. It is the most precious inheritance of a thousand years of political experience -- the white man's experience. And here in the South when some people newish to the white man's laws have learned the rules, and have taken some tricks, it is a little unworthy to say (as so much of the white South says): "Why we've changed the rules, and we took those tricks, not you."

Southern towns that proceed in old grooves on matters of race are like autos out on the highway with the ~~back wheels~~ brakes locked. (STET) ~~Hold down there where the Negroes are objecting, and saying "we won't go," and feigning ignorance of public affairs.~~ Thing to do is to take the brakes off. Elect or appoint go-ahead Negro persons to public office; ask them responsibly into the councils of the city, private as well as public; simply recognize equal human dignity; and for resistance they will substitute a strong push. And the towns that do

Insert A (P. 5)

You may say that there are some people so bigoted that they will never be persuaded. The best I can answer is, try the droplets on them; they frequently work miracles. But people live who can resist that, or who can't be brought to where the flit is. You just have to out-organize them. Persuade so many people around them that they begin to get the drift of things. If they won't, they'll just have to lash about like the last of the diplodocci. Only I doubt if many people were moved by the final threats of critters obviously doomed.

Also there are timid people, who see what's right but don't want to be the ones to start doing it. Simple remedy is for the school officials to ask them to serve on an official committee on what to do about the schools and the Court. Many who won't come along as a voluntary matter will do their official duty, if asked to. The other thing is for all who love democracy and who have a stake in having it succeed (ministers, mayors, Church lay people, all our local leadership) to begin to point out that this question tests our democracy. If we want democracy, this is the way to keep it. Maybe we'll lose it; but a lot of people would greatly like to keep it. And to keep it we must enlarge it. This is the testing-time of our leadership.

it will get ahead! The South's greatest and most neglected resource is the unused energy of the Negro people.

There really is only one way to meet the change, and that's with the grace of concession. The change has behind it a relentless world-wide pressure, mounting each year. It will succeed. It is fundamentally the American purpose.

In the mind of every person who loves the South there lurks somewhere the notion, ~~somewhat~~ perhaps romantic, that the society he has known does have a special quality, little known elsewhere. Clearly the special thing that we have is that we are accustomed to having two races together. In the past it has usually been on terms, and on terms ~~which are~~ intolerable to-day. But there is something to being accustomed to being together. And I cannot but believe that when the South puts its shoulder to the job of making friends we will get further than the rest of the world. I expect to see the day when Virginia sends missionaries to Chicago to teach Chicago how to behave!

FORTY-EIGHTH YEAR FOUNDED 1909 BY ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, SR.

The PROGRESSIVE magazine
MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL MONTHLY MORRIS H. RUBIN, EDITOR

File

AMONG RECENT WRITERS

Arthur J. Altmeyer
Michael Amrine
Wilbur H. Baldinger
Alan Barth
Carleton Beals
Robert Bendiner
Arthur Bestor
Chester Bowles
Ralph Bunche
Stephen Cary
Stuart Chase
Edward Crankshaw
Elmer Davis
Paul Douglas
William O. Douglas
James E. Doyle
Martin S. Dworkin
Sherwood Eddy
Learned Hand
E. Nelson Hayes
William B. Hesseltine
Lewis Funke
Murray Kempton
George F. Kennan
Robert Lasch
Herbert Lehman
Robert G. Lewis
Sidney Lens
Patrick Murphy Malin
Milton Mayer
Karl Menninger
Wayne Morse
A. J. Muste
Robert R. Nathan
Reinhold Niebuhr
Richard L. Neuberger
Max C. Otto
Robert Pickus
Ralph Barton Perry
Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.
Walter Reuther
Robert L. Riggs
Fred Rodell
Irwin Ross
Richard Rovere
Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.
Bishop Bernard J. Sheil
Howard K. Smith
Lillian Smith
Norman Thomas
Jerry Voorhis
James Warburg
Alfred Werner
Charles Alan Wright

January 23, 1957

Wrote Rubin OK to hold for a while. 2-5-57 HCF

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I appreciate your sending me your summing up, which I have read with great interest and appreciation. Unhappily, however, we're hopelessly overcommitted just now and it might be a longish time before I could carry it.

I write to inquire whether you would mind my holding it for a fortnight more. I raise this because there is always a chance that articles for which we have commitments might not come through, in which case there would be a chance of my jamming it into an early number. I would know definitely where I stand on the March issue, for example, by February 2 and could let you know then. If you would rather have the manuscript back in view of all this iffiness--and I wouldn't blame you at all--please let me know on the enclosed postcard and I'll rush it to you.

Sincerely,

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

MHR/bh
Enc.
Airmail

Feb. 1.

Dear Harold.

I attempted to send you (an admittedly verbal) message by Emory that this is your business; and next thing I got was the whole

business back at me, further delayed. Please you do what you think is wise. I claim no entitlements to the article, You place it, or bury it, as seems propagandistically helpful.

George.

April 4, 1957

Miss Mary Sheridan
Associate Editor
The Progressive
408 West Gorham Street
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Mary:

I am sorry to be so long in answering your letter, but I am just back in the office after a lengthy spell of travelling. You and Morris tempt me mightily with the invitation to do a review of Carl Rowan's latest book. Dismally, however, I must decline for the same reason that I did the last time I had such an opportunity. Our work here has mounted at such a tremendous rate that I am literally engulfed, as is the entire staff.

I am sure you know that nothing would please me better than to contribute something to the Progressive, and I will look forward to the blissful day when I will be free to accept an invitation from you or even to initiate an idea myself. Meanwhile, I must content myself with reading the magazine and enjoying the fine job that you folks do.

All best regards to you and to Morris.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

VIA AIR MAIL

Mary Sheridan
Associate Editor
THE PROGRESSIVE
408 West Gorham Street
Madison 3, Wisconsin

March 25, 1957

Miss Mary Sheridan
Associate Editor
The Progressive
408 West Gorham Street
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Miss Sheridan:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 22nd, which arrived during Mr. Fleming's absence from the office. He will be writing you shortly after his return on Monday, April 1st.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Brantley
Secretary

eab/

The PROGRESSIVE magazine
MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL MONTHLY

MORRIS H. RUBIN, EDITOR

AMONG
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MICHAEL AMRINE
WILBUR H. BALDINGER
ALAN BARTH
CARLETON BEALS
ROBERT BENDINER
WILLIAM BENTON
ARTHUR BESTOR
CHESTER BOWLES
RALPH BUNCHE
STEPHEN CARY
STUART CHASE
O. EDMUND CLUBB
EDWARD CRANKSHAW
ELMER DAVIS
PAUL DOUGLAS
WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS
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MARTIN S. DWORKIN
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SIDNEY LENS
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MILTON MAYER
KARL MENNINGER
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LILLIAN SMITH
NORMAN THOMAS
JERRY VOORHIS
JAMES WARBURG
ALFRED WERNER
DAVID C. WILLIAMS
CHARLES ALAN WRIGHT

March 22, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Morris and I are hoping that you might like to write a short (600-700 words) review of Go South to Sorrow by Carl T. Rowan. The book is scheduled for April publication, and we could clear on a mutually convenient deadline as soon as a review copy is available.

It would be good to have you in The Progressive.

Cordially,

Mary Sheridan (bh)

Mary Sheridan
Associate Editor

bh

Enclosure

Airmail

Published by The Progressive, Inc., a Non-Profit Foundation

August 26, 1957

Miss Ada M. Field
New Garden Road
Route 1, Guilford College,
North Carolina

file

Dear Miss Field:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your good letter to Morris Rubin of the Progressive. I am acquainted with both Morris and the magazine and think very highly of both.

I share your feeling of frustration at the inadequate interpretations of the South that appear in the national magazines, and I heartily endorse your proposal that the Progressive undertake a more mature and constructive analysis in an early issue. Certainly I would be glad to cooperate in every way I can in such an undertaking.

I appreciate especially your kind comments about the Southern Regional Council. When and if I hear from Morris Rubin, I shall let you know.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED AUG 26 1957

New Garden Road
Route 1, Guilford College, N.C.
Aug. 24, 1957

Dear Dr. Fleming:

The enclosed carbon is probably self-explanatory, but in case the editor of The Progressive writes you about the contribution under discussion I wanted you to know about what had preceded.

I do not know how you regard The Progressive, but I believe it has a high class readership, and is doing a good job on the whole. Maybe I am mistaken, but I do not feel that Morris Rubin is himself sufficiently acquainted with the South to get the best kind of report such as we have discussed. I know you can help him out, and I am sure he will be appreciative.

You may think from my letter to him that I am personally acquainted with him, but I am not. However, we have had quite a bit of correspondence over the years since he has been editor of The Progressive, and he has done some work in cooperation with the American Friends Service Committee,-which is one of my chief interests.

The Progressive is pretty good on reprints, so an article which really did a good job of giving a picture of the agencies at work constructively in the South,could doubtless be reprinted for wider distribution.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Ada M. Field

Ada M. Field

Copy for Mr. Fleming

New Garden Road
Route 1, Guilford College, N.C.
August 21, 1957

Dear Mr. Rubin:

A few days ago I posted a letter intended for the Peoples' Forum, but this is for you only. I hope you will not dislike it too much.

More than a year ago you wrote me that you were planning to have an article written by a resident Southern leader giving a summary of the agencies which exist in the South and have been working for a longer or shorter time for better race relations. But I have not seen it, and I am sure I read The Progressive pretty carefully. (In fact I like it in most respects!) So I am wondering what happened to that much-to-be-desired report. Then here comes this article on the Silent South by an able writer, no doubt with the best of intentions, but hopelessly inadequate as a picture of the real situation.

In the first place the South is not one, it is a larger number of units than the number of states, even. And in the second place it cannot possibly be represented by a few stories gathered here and there, any more than Pennsylvania is represented by what is happening in Levittown now. And in the third place, it is just the "silent treatment" which is most devastating to the publicity seeking White Citizens Councils and KKK. Perhaps I should not say exactly "silent" treatment, - rather it is knowing when it is time to take a forward step, what kind of step and how far this time, when to take the next one. Rightly done, as when Greensboro first appointed its first Negro policeman, or elected its first Negro member of the City Council, or the first Negro member of the city School Board, or when the formerly separate Ministerial Associations last winter consolidated, after long and careful conferences, study and planning;- rightly done, they "do not cause a ripple", to use the words of the Dean of the State University of N.C. regarding the entrance of their first Negro student. Sometimes I am tempted to think we did not learn much from the Civil War, but many southerners did learn this:- "Going overboard and making a big noise on the impulse of the moment does not pay." Possibly it is most clearly shown in the type of Southern senator that has emerged in the Civil Rights debate, - legal-minded Sam J. Ervin, and former firebrand Richard Russell have, at long last, made it clear that the "States Rights" we seek is not some favor for the Southern States, but the inherent requirement for local democratic responsibility for all states in a democratic federal union. It is a far cry from them to Bilbo and Huey Long.

Now before you come back with a "Well, if you know so much, why don't you write the article you are fussing about?" I don't know enough, not nearly enough. Have you asked the Ex. Sec. of the Southern Regional Council, Harold Fleming? He could, or if not, he can tell you who could and would.

The Southern Regional Council is one of the foremost of those "silent agencies" that I am talking about, and in its recent decentralizing action in helping to form the affiliated state "Councils on Human Relations" it has greatly strengthened its influence. No doubt you know its official organ "The New South", copy enclosed. It is important not to confuse SRC with the ill-starred Southern Conference on Human Welfare, which supported the Progressive Party and is now represented by the "Southern Conference Educational Fund." Southern Regional Council was founded by deeply religious and devoted men and women of the Southern Methodist Church many years ago. Excepting the really blind fanatics, everyone respects SRC even when they do not agree with it.

Another all-Southern group working definitely for better racial cooperation and understanding is "The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen." It is not large, but has had an influence out of proportion to its numbers. It is, of course, completely non-segregated.

What I consider the high water mark of Southern journalism, - or any journalism, for that matter, - is Southern School News. Has The Progressive ever mentioned it? Although only three years old it has exerted incalculable influence both in disseminating factual, unemotional information regarding desegregation in educational institutions, and also in giving individual newspaper editors the consciousness that they are not altogether alone, that the ablest editors and the biggest dailies of the South have united behind an agency of sanity and truth. (Copy of current issue under separate cover).

Negro leadership in education and religion have probably done more to revolutionize (or is it "evolutionize", rather?) the situation than any other one agency, - or maybe all of them. What is called "the new Negro" is the result of years of heroic, devoted hard work on the part of leaders who recognized that freedom must be <u>achieved</u>, that worthiness must be demonstrated by "making good" in every field of worthy endeavor, and then standing firmly with dignity, but without ostentation or injustice, for the feasible "next step." It is said that the Negro public school teachers of my state receive an average higher salary than the white, simply because they have done more graduate study. Salaries here are graded on several considerations, scholarship being one. In the N.C. Council of Churches a Negro receives appointment to Committee chairmanships and other responsibilities on the basis of his qualifications as any white religious leader would. Negroes are "at home" in those meetings. Of course you know that social occasions are our "last ditch" symbols of segregation. The State Council of Churches attacked that one by quietly saying they would accept no invitation for the holding either of their annual meetings or the meetings of their Executive Committee unless they could all have lunch together. At first the places were raher few, now almost ~~any~~ any city has a church or educational institution which will serve.

(i)

The non-segregated city Ministerial Association of Asheboro not long ago had a Negro Chairman, and the same is true of Asheville or Charlotte now, I belive, though I forget which. Just last winter the two ministerial associations of Greensboro combined after long and careful study and planning for it. This is the kind of thing which is making our real history, not the temporary flare-up of some KKK performance. My own community had, two years ago, some fine story material, complete with minor bombing, a small mob on the opening day of school,-over nothing really,-my own pastor among others annoyed by anonymous telephone calls at night, efforts at boycott, and wildly exaggerated rumors. But, so far as I know, nobody ran. The local law officers, on hand to prevent trouble at the school, let the noisy demonstrators "blow off steam" for awhile, then said: "Now you have told Carl what you think of him. Now you had better go home." And they went.

Even the one story from this state that is told in the Silent South article gives a very wrong impression because of omissions and wrong emphasis. What Mr. Gililand said at the Charlotte hearings of the Un-American Committee was just one instance of his sincerely intended stand for right race relations; but his trouble seems to be a lack of diplomacy. And far from anti-communist fervor having "died out" here, I would say that it is doubtless second to race relations in most areas,but only second. Mr. Gilliland's statements and participation at the hearings at Charlotte was the fuse that started long-standing criticism into excessive action. My own opinion is that those Charlotte hearings were staged in the first place because of a very successful piece of "silent treatment" (literally) that had been administered on the occasion of the Junius Scales trial,for Smith Act violation, in Greensboro. From its very first day, the public "visitors area" held leading citizens, - judges, lawyers, civic and church leaders, educators. I was told that one whole class in sociology from a local college was assigned observation of the trial as a class project. The local newspapers were pretty sane. It was thought that the trial was shortened and one or two of the most spectacular witnesses not called at all. Very little propaganda could be made for anti-communist hysteria, hence another try at Charlotte. For a local lawyerto help spoil that "show" was just too much for the super-patriots such as some Legionnaires are. Now I do not know about the stories from other states, but that N.C. story made no useful contribution of any kind so far as I can see, and it created some very misleading impressions.

I recognize that we Americans are demonstrating to the whole world our insane obsession that we know just how everybody else should "run his business", and that we are sure of a Divine call to show him how, by the obsolete methods of military force and plain bribery; so you "dumb Yankees" cannot be blamed too much for relying only on reports from Yankee "observers" as to what the South is doing. By contrast, I like to think of capable writer Bayard Rustin burying his own identity to act as private secretary to Martin Luther King for maybe a year, and letting it be known so little that even those of us most interested in Montgomery did not know it until recently.

I mentioned above the powerful influence of the "new Negro." When he is also a "new Christian" he becomes one of the most important factors in American life. When Martin Luther King told the editor of The Christian Century, "Of course I studied the work of Gandhi in theological seminary, but most of our people never heard of Gandhi. But they know their New Testaments," he was stating the most significant thing in the whole situation, as I see it. And what do they ask of others? Our prayers and understanding and some financial help with the rebuilding of their bomb-wrecked churches. Living the religion of Jesus seems to me the most significant thing in the community of Montgomery, in the South, in the United States today.

And do not forget that the Negro is not the only one to suffer because of racial discrimination. On the edge of the Cherokee Indian Reservation in western N.C. "Unto These Hills" has played in beautiful drama the objective story of our mistreatment of the Indian, and has presented the story so vividly that one woman of culture in Greensboro said after seeing the play, "It made me ashamed of being a white woman." It is not the oldest of our historical dramas but was the first to reach the million mark in attendance. One young Negro in a conference in N.C. is said to have made the remark, "I would rather be a Negro than an Indian when it comes to opportunities."

Above I mentioned the importance of Negro achievements in education, business, the professions. The enclosed program of one of several conferences held in western N.C. (nearly or quite all non-segregated) shows part of the "silent method." The two speakers checked might have escaped notice as to race if attention was not called. The man who was, I think, the chief planner of that program is, or was, an official of the American Legion.

Several years ago some citizens became disturbed by discriminatory reporting in our local newspaper. They saved up clippings and sought an interview with the editor. He protested that The News was trying to do what they suggested. They showed him the clippings, and he spread them out and examined them. "I did not know we were as bad as that", he said, "We must do something about it." And they did, with the result that they have had almost unobjectionable reporting concerning Negro enterprises and events since. Silent treatment.

One of our most vocal racists was Dr. W.C.George, a good teacher of histology, I am told, in UNC. His hobby, "Mongrelization." He became president of the state White Citizens Council (Patriots of N.C.) After awhile an interview appeared in the daily press. "It has come to our attention that no one in the University has made a reply to the statements of Dr. W.C.George. --------- Dr. George claims that all scientific evidence supports his position. We know of no scientific evidence supporting Dr. George's prejudices." Signed by a distinguished psychiatrist, and two of his colleagues. Result. Resounding silence on the part of Dr. George ever since, and his resignation as president of the "Patriots."

Yes, I know this is too long. But this matter is too important. For the sake of The Progressive, the whole country, and the world-wide cause of racial justice, "you all" must do a thoroughly first-rate job of picturing the real factors that have made for progress here, and are now making for progress, and will continue to do so. At least if too many "do-gooders", self-appointed, and self-sufficient, do not overwhelm us. But there is hope; our "Patriots" sent word to John Kasper, I understand, that he was unwelcome in N.C.! Our home-grown "Patriots" are sensitive to the "silent treatment."

Very sincerely,

Ada M. Field

VIA AIR MAIL

September 25, 1957

Mr. Morris H. Rubin, Editor
THE PROGRESSIVE MAGAZINE
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Morris:

Thanks for your recent letter.

Things are happening at such a rate down here that I am not sure anyone can write any commentary that will not be out-dated by the time it gets into print. I do feel, however, that the time has come for me to offer something more constructive than excuses about the demands of this work. We are obviously in a state of permanent crisis and might as well accept the fact. In short, I will undertake the kind of occasional piece you suggest. When necessary, I will try to arrange a suitable substitute.

The good Miss Field of North Carolina wrote me about her suggestion to you that the Progressive devote a special issue to the South. Perhaps in view of the momentous developments of the last few days this proposal will strike you as a timely one. We have given some thought here about what a special issue might contain and who the appropriate contributors might be. If you are seriously interested in this idea, let me know and I will pass along our ideas.

In any case, could you ~~write~~ give me your thinking on the length and subject matter of the first roundup piece? What kind of background and analysis of recent events, from our vantage point, seem to you most needed? Perhaps your trip to Texas sparked some ideas.

I am delighted that Gaylord is sharpening his political axe. Do give him my regards and encouragement. Since my vote doesn't count for anything in Georgia, I will even be willing to establish residence in Wisconsin so that I can vote for him.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

FORTY-NINTH YEAR FOUNDED 1909 BY ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, SR.

The PROGRESSIVE magazine
MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL MONTHLY MORRIS H. RUBIN, EDITOR

September 6, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I don't doubt that you are as greatly swamped as ever, but I wanted to raise again the possibility of your doing an occasional stint for The Progressive. Too much of what we carry, I suspect, is on the negative side. I feel urgently the need to have periodic reports on the more hopeful and creative developments in the South--a roundup say every three or four months, emphasizing the more heartening and affirmative tendencies in breaking down the barriers of segregation and discrimination.

If you feel that you are not yet in a position to do this, I would be grateful if you would suggest a competent substitute--someone who is in constant touch with developments throughout the South and could provide us with the kind of material that would enable The Progressive to present a balanced picture.

I spent a week in Texas just recently and was greatly encouraged by some of the evidences of growth and maturity I encountered. There are many, many dark spots, of course, but there was enough evidence of improvement to give me a more cheerful impression than I expected might be the case.

How goes it with you? Drop me a note when you get a moment, won't you? Gaylord is giving serious thought to announcing his candidacy for governor, for he and others here are greatly heartened by Bill Proxmire's recent victory in the race for United States Senator.

With best wishes,

Cordially,

MHR/bh

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

Encl. Congressional Record

File

VIA AIR MAIL

October 18, 1957

Mr. Morris H. Rubin, Editor
THE PROGRESSIVE MAGAZINE
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Morris:

I've been holding off on a reply to your good letter of September 30 until circumstances would permit me to do justice to our suggestions for a special issue on the South. Because of flux and impending travel, that time isn't yet, so I'm writing you thus hastily and incompletely.

Your proposal for a January piece is fine. I will aim for the deadline you suggest.

There is not much of note to say about me, beyond the fact that I have been a staff member of the Southern Regional Council for ten years plus. I was born and raised in Georgia; went off to Harvard, where I got an A.B., served a three and a half year hitch in the Army during World War II, one of the outstanding features of which was making Gaylord's acquaintance. Since I first joined SRC in 1947 (as director of information), I've written a good deal for liberal magazines (Reporter, New Republic, the old Survey) and periodicals (The Annals, most recently, and co-authored one quasi-book Integration North and South). I've taken leave for a few extra-curricular projects, but it comes down to the fact that my claim to notoriety rests on my identification with SRC.

I have one foot out the door for a week of travel. When I return, I will write you a more leisurely letter about the proposed special issue. Meanwhile, my warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure. 1

FORTY-NINTH YEAR FOUNDED 1909 BY ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, SR.

The PROGRESSIVE magazine
MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL MONTHLY MORRIS H. RUBIN, EDITOR

September 30, 1957

RECEIVED OCT 3 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I was delighted to get your letter of September 25 with the news that you will be able to undertake the occasional commentary on developments in the South. I don't know of anyone who could do a better job, or whose judgment I would respect more.

It seems to me that our best bet to launch your periodic reports from the South would be the January number. This is our Holiday Issue, one in which we like to accent the positive wherever decently possible. I should think that you might be able to do a roundup for this number, a sort of casting of the accounts of the year 1957, the good and the bad, hopes crushed and hopes realized.

We might then consider a second piece for about the April issue. The third possibility might be at the end of the school year in June, or perhaps the beginning of the new year in September. This I am confident we can work out as we go along.

Let me know how this suggestion for January strikes you, won't you? If you have a better notion of when and how to start, you'll find me wide open to suggestion. If we go ahead with my proposal for the January number, I would have to have copy no later than November 22. While I would prefer the article to stay within the range of 3,000 to 3,500 words, I can well understand that any effort to do a decent survey of the year might take 4,000 or more words.

Yes, I agree with you and the good Miss Field to devoting a special issue of The Progressive to the South. I might want to do this next fall, or if developments justify, in mid-spring. You say you have given some thought to what

such a special issue might contain and who might be our best bets for contributors. Do let me know what your ideas are as soon as you can conveniently, for I certainly have this in mind as a real possibility for us.

I wonder, Harold, if you would be good enough to send me a paragraph or two identifying yourself so we can do a bit of promotion on the survey commentaries you will be doing for us.

Gaylord is certainly deeply involved in the race for governor now. The public announcement of his candidacy has brought a wonderful response. I saw him the other evening and he seems most heartened by the prospects.

With best wishes and many thanks,

Cordially,

MR

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

bh

HCF:

Some Rough Scratches on the Progressive Issue idea.

It seems to me our overall aim should be to give the nation a coherent, meaningful view of the South and to play up the positive forces and agencies at work. We should present to Southerners a frame work, a variety of "arguments", and a variety of "program" suggestions which individuals and groups can use. If the flavor can be left that there are things to do, there are groups and individuals working and willing to work, and that to stand, speak, and work for improvement & decency, is the responsibility and (over)

decent thing to do, then we would have a useful distributing point for ourselves and other agencies as well.

Sub-Articles

Religion:

Associational Statements & Actions
general (Presby, Baptist, Richmond, etc.)
tension situations (e.g. Henderson)

Individual ministers
Statements (e.g. Columbus Presby. in Look
Actions (e.g. - Turner in Clinton

Fundamental principles
(The losing fight of segregationists
efforts to use "Bible" →
meaningful Relig. must embrace human dignity.
What Segregation means to the Church
The Church's role in social change

Put the bee on the negative boys and the unnecessarily quiet.

Negro church — Religious overtones in demand for freedom, etc.

Progressive Issue on the South

[Most important to get broad-sweep in analysis of factors at work and in orientation than detailed coverage]

Over-all analysis

Balanced — but all positive forces brought to the front

General frame of the situation in which action must take place

Generalized program suggestions (possibly expanded in sub-articles)

e.g. National opinion } How mould, use, make responsible — Southern opinion } Correctives: e.g. misuse of "extremism"

Support for law & order — law enforcement

Community planning for desegr.

The Economic front { what's happening in business, industry, labor

Pressure

Southern improvement of standards.

Road ahead — better race relations

The role of voluntary associations

South and the Nation: Are we a part — economically, politically, culturally.

"Economy

The different Souths

Southern industrial & business advance is making a qualitative difference to the South ("balanced economy") as contrasted to some areas whose rate of growth might actually match that of South.

What economic leadership could do.

Why it should for long-run economic gains.

The struggle for industry and policies of state & local industrial boards

Politics

The desegregation struggle related to democratic concepts and practices — what are the interests of the power elite —

Normatively, phrase this one so those who are interested in democracy per se or see their own interests ~~are~~ or getting best attention from true demo. participation will see value of democracy for all.

What do the voting studies and civil rts bills mean.

Whither the Parties?

What bases for group alignment.

The Nature of political power, ex toto, or related to Southern Scene — differentiating from just "voting" or other specifics.

What to do:

Fed. Govt.

State Govts.

Local Govts

Community Organization

Local govt - "semi official" bodies -
Voluntary Associations.

Individual Action:

Keeping informed

joining organized efforts

Expressions to papers, politicians,
and other "opinion makers".

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

Notes for Progressive Article –

1. Newspapers – war Corresp. technique
2. Year in a panorama of soc + ec change.
3. Complex of attitudes – leadership important (cf L.R. Charlotte, N'ville)
4. Constructive attitudes – L.R. etc. Subsequent ministerial statements, awakening of "moderates"? Other effects of Little Rock.
5. Self-interest
6. Bus data – Clement reelection, Hartfield reelection – Pleasanton election –
7. Ck ltr from Miss Field, 6-mos. SRC rept – New South for yr.
8. Voting legis., debate, SRC facts
9. Conformity – national vice

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November 22, 1957

Morris Rubin
Progressive Magazine
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Deeply sorry combination of illness and SRC crises prevent my making deadline. Can you extend?

Harold Fleming.

November 27, 1957

Mr. Morris H. Rubin
Editor
The Progressive Magazine
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Morris:

For this relief much thanks, as the man said.

I had done a beautiful job of painting myself into a corner, with endless help from human and natural forces of every description. With the reprieve you have given me I should be able to deliver.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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FORTY-NINTH YEAR

FOUNDED 1909 BY ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, SR.

The PROGRESSIVE magazine
MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL MONTHLY

MORRIS H. RUBIN, EDITOR

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January 14, 1958

Endorsed to SRC

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing our check for $25 in payment for your article. I wish it could be more, but we've been having more than our share of financial difficulties in these days of galloping inflation.

Do send us a list of persons to whom we should send marked, complimentary copies of the February number with your article.

With best wishes,

Cordially,

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

bh

Enclosure

P.S. A little later on I want to go into a long distance huddle with you about a special issue on the South--but there's still ample time.

Published by The Progressive, Inc., a Non-Profit Foundation

List of Src Consultants
also sent - 1/16/58

January 16, 1958

Mr. Morris Rubin
Editor
The Progressive Magazine
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Morris:

Thanks for your letter. I'm glad my article serves the purpose.

Enclosed is a goodly list -- or, rather, lists -- of persons who might be sent complimentary copies. As you will see, I took you at your word that the number of names was immaterial. I do think this is a prime group of people who ought to be, if they aren't already, readers of the Progressive.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures. 5 Lists

1/15/58

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January 16, 1958

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FORTY-NINTH YEAR

FOUNDED 1909 BY ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, SR.

The PROGRESSIVE magazine
MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL MONTHLY

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HOWARD K. SMITH
LILLIAN SMITH
NORMAN THOMAS
JERRY VOORHIS
JAMES WARBURG
ALFRED WERNER
DAVID C. WILLIAMS
CHARLES ALAN WRIGHT

January 10, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Forgive me for not writing sooner, but I have been under the weather and this is my first chance to write. I think your article is excellent in every way and I am happy to have it for The Progressive. It will appear in our February issue which goes to press in a few days.

I wonder if you would send me a list of friends and associates to whom we might send marked, complimentary copies of this issue containing your article. Make the list as long as you like for this is good promotion for The Progressive.

I shall see that a check for the article goes out to you shortly.

With best wishes,

Cordially,

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

bh
Airmail

Published by The Progressive, Inc., a Non-Profit Foundation

50th year

THE PROGRESSIVE

MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

MARY SHERIDAN
Associate Editor

Suggested Review 8/16/58

August 7, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Morris and I are hoping that you might like to take on a joint review of two forthcoming books on the South: The Southern Heritage by James McBride Dabbs and Stride Toward Freedom by Martin Luther King. The Dabbs book is scheduled for late August publication and the King for September; we could clear on a convenient deadline as soon as review copies are available.

Hope you have had a pleasant summer.

Cordially,

Mary

Mary S. Rubin
Associate Editor

bh
Enclosure
Airmail

November 20, 1958

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Charles Alan Wright
Law School
University of Texas
Austin 12, Texas

Dear Mr. Wright:

We are interested in seeing the article, "School Integration: An Almost Lost Cause" which appeared in the August 1958 issue of The Progressive, get a wider circulation. And so we are writing to ask permission to reprint this excellent article in our monthly magazine, NEW SOUTH. We also are writing to the Progressive to obtain their permission should yours be forthcoming.

Enclosed is a copy of our magazine for your information.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosure

November 20, 1958

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Morris H. Rubin
Editor
The Progressive
408 W. Gorham Street
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Rubin:

We are interested in reprinting the article by Dr. Charles Alan Wright which appeared in the August 1958, issue of The Progressive under the title, "School Integration: An Almost Lost Cause." If we obtain permission from you and from Dr. Wright, the article will appear in our monthly publication, NEW SOUTH.

Please let us know at your earliest convenience if reprint privileges concerning this one article are available to us.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

file NS

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
AUSTIN 12

SCHOOL OF LAW

November 25, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Of course, you have my permission to reprint my article on school integration in your publication, "New South." I will appreciate your sending me a copy of the issue of your magazine in which my article appears.

Very truly yours,

Charles Alan Wright

Charles Alan Wright

CAW:ks
cc: Morris Rubin

FILE

50th year

THE PROGRESSIVE

MORRIS H. RUBIN
Editor

MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

December 4, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

I hope you'll forgive the unconscionable delay in responding to your note of November 20. I have been away from my desk a good deal of late. We are more than glad to give you permission to reprint Charles Alan Wright's article, "School Integration: An Almost Lost Cause," which appeared in the August 1958 issue of The Progressive, provided, of course, full credit is given Mr. Wright and The Progressive.

Sincerely,

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

MHR/bh
Airmail

September 23, 1959

Mr. Morris H. Rubin, Editor
The Progressive
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Morris:

Milton Mayer's treatise on miscegenation may arouse mixed emotions, but I can't imagine anyone reading it with other than unmixed enjoyment. He has done a brilliant job of dissecting -- or rather vivisecting -- this old issue that ought to be dead but won't lie down. The only trouble with his article is that he hasn't left anything for anybody else to say. Having turned the subject this way and that, upside down and backwards, discussing each facet with an indecent amount of wit and insight, he's left me awed and inarticulate. No doubt your more dauntless readers will find plenty to add, pro or con, but until the psychiatrists dig out some new meanings from the psychic sub-basement, I'll string along with Mayer.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

50th year

THE PROGRESSIVE

MADISON 3, WISCONSIN • ALPINE 5-6543

September 10, 1959

RECEIVED SEP 14 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Milton Mayer's "The Issue is Miscegenation" in the September Progressive is creating a great deal of national interest. We are rounding up comments from distinguished Americans for use in the November issue of The Progressive. These comments range from 50 to 200 words, and we welcome participation by those approving and those who reject Mr. Mayer's principal thesis. I would very much like to have you in this symposium and urgently request that you get your comments to us by September 30, earlier if possible.

Sincerely,

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

bh
Enclosure

RECENT WRITERS ARTHUR J. ALTMEYER MICHAEL AMRINE ALAN BARTH CARLETON BEALS ROBERT BENDINER WILLIAM BENTON HAL BORLAND CHESTER BOWLES RALPH BUNCHE STUART CHASE EDWARD CRANKSHAW SENATOR PAUL DOUGLAS JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS MARTIN S. DWORKIN CYRUS EATON LOUIS FISCHER LEWIS FUNKE SELIG GREENBERG SEYMOUR HARRIS WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY MURRAY KEMPTON GEORGE F. KENNAN SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY ROBERT LASCH HERBERT LEHMAN SIDNEY LENS PATRICK MURPHY MALIN MILTON MAYER KARL MENNINGER EDWARD P. MORGAN SENATOR WAYNE MORSE A. J. MUSTE ROBERT R. NATHAN SENATOR RICHARD L. NEUBERGER REINHOLD NIEBUHR MAX C. OTTO SENATOR WILLIAM PROXMIRE JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR. WALTER REUTHER FRED RODELL RICHARD ROVERE HARRISON SALISBURY ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR. BISHOP BERNARD J. SHEIL HOWARD K. SMITH LILLIAN SMITH NORMAN THOMAS JERRY VOORHIS JAMES WARBURG ALFRED WERNER DAVID C. WILLIAMS CHARLES ALAN WRIGHT

Founded in 1909 by Robert M. LaFollette, Sr. • Published by The Progressive, Inc., A Non-Profit Foundation

via air mail special

December 9, 1959

Mr. Morris Rubin, Editor
The Progressive Magazine
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Morris:

I couldn't get this off to you, as promised, last night, but trust it will get there in time to be useful. While the following list is far from comprehensive, any or all of those on it are deserving of a Christmas accolade from the Progressive.

REV. ROBERT McNEILL whose stand for racial justice lost him a pulpit in Columbus, Georgia, but won him the appreciation of fair-minded Americans, north and south. (McNeill is now associate pastor of a Charleston, West Virginia church.)

RUSSELL SUGERMON of Memphis, Tennessee, who impressive bid for municipal office (though he lost by a narrow margin) taught the politicians a new respect for the Negro candidate and the Negro voter.

RALPH McGILL (an obvious choice) whose syndicated columns for the Atlanta Constitution have kept up a steady drumbeat of good will and good sense in the heart of the Deep South.

J. L. BLAIR BUCK and the Virginia Committee for Public Schools (he's president) for their effective fight against "massive resistance" and padlocked schools in the Old Dominion.

MRS. JOE R. BREWER and the Women's Emergency Committee of Little Rock (she's chairman) for showing that city's business leaders the way to forthright action against Faubus's destructive policies.

REV. L. F. GRIFFIN and the Prince Edward County Christian Association for courageous leadership of the Negro community in this rural Virginia county which has closed its schools rather than desegregate them.

REV. CARLOS E. MARTIN of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, who has preached against local hatred and bitterness despite segregationist threats and attempted reprisals.

IRA F. WILLARD, city manager of Miami, who quietly ordered local recreational facilities desegregated because "that is the law." (Even though the City Council later reversed him.)

REV. ROBERT HUGHES, executive director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, for his activities in behalf of interracial understanding, in the face of denunciation by segregationist churchmen and cross-burnings by the KKK.

ELLIS JAMES and the other white parents who brought the case of James v. Almond in Norfolk, Virginia, toppling key resistance statutes and forcing reopening of the public schools in Norfolk, Charlottesville, and Front Royal.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

PR

50th year

THE PROGRESSIVE

MORRIS H. RUBIN
Editor

MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

December 11, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

Thanks so much for getting your suggestions for Holiday Greetings to me. They help enormously. In fact, they were so well and crisply written that I am using them just as you sent them.

With best wishes and many thanks,

Cordially,

MR

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

bh

Leslie Dunbar

October 3, 1961

Mr. Morris H Rubin, Editor
The Progressive
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Rubin:

You did not need to send me sample copies of The Progressive. I know it well and I admire it highly.

I would like some time to write for you and would be honored to be published in your magazine. Right now I seem to have neither time nor insistant ideas. But I'll remember your invitation.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

50th year

THE PROGRESSIVE

MADISON 3, WISCONSIN • ALPINE 5-6543

MORRIS H. RUBIN, EDITOR

September 22, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have long been on the hunt for more thoughtful articles from and about the South. Harold Fleming, an old friend, has suggested that you and two others on your staff, Paul Rilling and Miss Margaret Long, might be in the mood to do occasional articles for us. I am writing to them as well.

I have no specific subject in mind at the moment, but we are deeply interested in every phase of the changing South. I would appreciate greatly having any suggestion you might have for article possibilities in the months ahead. It would be most helpful if I could hear from you at your convenience.

I don't know if you are familiar with The Progressive, and I am therefore enclosing copies of our last two issues.

The Progressive is a non-profit enterprise with limited resources, but we are in a position to pay from $50 to $100 for an article.

Sincerely,

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

MHR/bh
Enclosures

RECENT WRITERS ARTHUR J. ALTMEYER MICHAEL AMRINE ALAN BARTH CARLETON BEALS ROBERT BENDINER WILLIAM BENTON HAL BORLAND CHESTER BOWLES RALPH BUNCHE STUART CHASE EDWARD CRANKSHAW SENATOR PAUL DOUGLAS JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS MARTIN S. DWORKIN CYRUS EATON LOUIS FISCHER LEWIS FUNKE SELIG GREENBERG SEYMOUR HARRIS WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY MURRAY KEMPTON GEORGE F. KENNAN SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY ROBERT LASCH HERBERT LEHMAN SIDNEY LENS PATRICK MURPHY MALIN MILTON MAYER KARL MENNINGER EDWARD P. MORGAN SENATOR WAYNE MORSE A. J. MUSTE ROBERT R. NATHAN SENATOR RICHARD L. NEUBERGER REINHOLD NIEBUHR MAX C. OTTO SENATOR WILLIAM PROXMIRE JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR. WALTER REUTHER FRED RODELL RICHARD ROVERE HARRISON SALISBURY ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR. BISHOP BERNARD J. SHEIL HOWARD K. SMITH LILLIAN SMITH NORMAN THOMAS JERRY VOORHIS JAMES WARBURG ALFRED WERNER DAVID C. WILLIAMS CHARLES ALAN WRIGHT

Founded in 1909 by Robert M. LaFollette, Sr. • Published by The Progressive, Inc., A Non-Profit Foundation

July 5, 1962

Mr. Morris Rubin, Editor
The Progressive
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Morris:

I must apologize for not writing earlier this week as I had promised. I had to go to Nashville, and things have been generally hectic.

You had a fine party last week and I enjoyed both it and the opportunity of meeting the Madison people.

Enclosed are recent issues of New South. In the March issue you will find the Lillian Smith article which I mentioned to you and your wife. Personally, I think this is one of the finest things she has done, and in my book that means one of the finest things that has been done. If you would want this for your centennial issue, you are fully free to use it provided Miss Smith would assent.

The reason I am sending the other issues of New South since July 1961 is my belief that you and Mrs. Rubin would enjoy reading Margaret Long's monthly column "Strictly Subjective." I think, read in sequence, they make a notable essay about the South. Some of them, such as September, October, and December 1961, and April and May 1962, I thought were really memorable.

I wish I had been able to put more time into thinking about people you might consider for your centennial issue. Herewith, however, are some names; I should be glad to oblige should you want me to send more information about any of them. And if I get further ideas I shall be quick to let you know.

First off, I would heartily urge Vann Woodward. He could substitute for one of your four "big names", if one of them does not come through, or he could handle beautifully any other assignment.

Eric Lincoln, Professor of Sociology, Clark College, author of the Black Muslims; Eric can write. So also, as you know, can Louis Lomax. Howard Zinn, Professor of History, Spelman College, author of a biography of LaGuardia, has occasionally contributed to The Nation; he wrote a brilliant piece for it a few months ago on non-violence and did a good special report for us on Albany; he is a first-rate writer. Samuel DuBois Cook, Professor of Political Science at Atlanta University, writes well, is an able scholar and maybe a profound one; he could do a good job for you on Negro voting or the politics of race generally. Paul Gaston, young historian at the University of Virginia, is an authority on what he calls the ideology of the "New South"; Paul's writing is easy to read though rather primerish.

John Wheeler, Chairman of our Executive Committee and one of the most distinguished Negro Americans, banker in Durham, North Carolina, writes with clarity. He is a member of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and could articulate well the problems in this area. Two other SRC people you are familiar with: James McBride Dabbs and Marion A. Wright.

If you wanted a piece on Negro education, particularly higher education, I would recommend Stephen Wright, President of Fisk, who has written about Negro colleges not only with authority but with courageous candor; Steve writes well.

Horace Mann Bond, Professor of Education at Atlanta University, is an authority, perhaps the authority, on Negro achievement and the academic performance of Negroes, and is also an especially knowledgeable person about Africa. Benjamin E. Mays, President of Morehouse College is, I am sure, familiar to you.

Benjamin Muse of our staff, author of Virginia's Massive Resistance, is, as a result of his field work for us, perhaps better qualified than anyone to describe and interpret the thinking of Southern moderates and "power structure" people during these recent years; Ben is a good writer.

Pat Watters, a daily columnist for the Atlanta Journal, is a very unusual guy and someone whom the national magazines should begin to pick up. Margaret Price, who works for Harold now, did two pamphlets for SRC on Negro voting. Kenneth Morland, anthropologist at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, would be an authoritative person on mores.

Perhaps this will do for a start. Let me know if we can be of any other help.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

Founded 1909

THE PROGRESSIVE

MORRIS H. RUBIN
Editor

MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

December 28, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thanks for your note of December 19. It is most heartening to have your warm comment on our special issue commemorating the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.

With best wishes,

Cordially,

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

bh

December 19, 1962

Mr. Morris Rubin
Editor
The Progressive
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Morris:

I finished yesterday reading your special Centennial issue. It is really an excellent job--the editorial planing as well as the writing. As has been recently said, you ought to be pleased with yourself this Christmas.

With all good wishes to you and Mrs. Rubin,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

File Newspapers, et al
Progressive

via air mail special September 29, 1967

Mr. John McGrath
Progressive Magazine
408 W. Gorham Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53703

Dear Mr. McGrath:

Enclosed please find photo proofs of the copy which we wish to run as a one-column ad in the November issue of Progressive, per our telephone conversation of this morning.

Sincerely,

James N. Wood
Executive Assistant

JNW/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Founded 1909

THE PROGRESSIVE

MORRIS H. RUBIN
Editor

MADISON, WISCONSIN 53703

December 14, 1965

Mr. Edwyn E. Lewis
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Lewis:

In response to your request of December 7, I enclose a rate card which contains our advertising rates. Copy must be submitted by the 27th of the month preceding the publication date of the issue. Thus, copy for the February issue would have to be in our hands by December 27.

Sincerely,

Morris H. Rubin

MHR/bh
Enclosure

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

H/c
608

257-4626

John McGrath

MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

The Progressive

Monthly
Rates effective with
August, 1959 issue.

1—GENERAL ADVERTISING

a. Per agate line.....$ .80
Full page (393 lines)..... 285.00
⅔ page (2 col., 262 lines) 195.00
⅓ page (1 col., 131 lines) ~~100.00~~ 120.00
1/6 page (65 lines).....$ 50.00
Per inch (14 lines)..... 11.00

b. Minimum depth 1 col. ad: 1 in.
2 col. ad: 2 in.
3 col. ad: 3 in.

c. Preferred Position:
3rd cover $290.00
4th cover 300.00

2—CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING

a. Per line (8 pt.).....$ .80

b. Minimum charge $2.40

c. Discount: Over 3 insertions same ad, 20%.

3—COMMISSION AND CASH DISCOUNT

a. Agency discount 15%.
b. Cash discount 2%.

c. Time and space discounts on request.

d. Invoices rendered 1st of month of date of issue; must be paid by the 15th of same month to receive cash discount.

4—MECHANICAL REQUIREMENTS

a. Full page, 44 ems x 9⅜ in.
⅔ page, 29 ems x 9⅜ in.
⅓ page (1 col.) 14 ems x 9⅜ in.
Col. width, 14 ems (2-5/16 in.)

b. Bleed Size
8⅝ in. x 11-5/16 in.
Trim Size
8½ in. x 11 in.

c. Halftones: 85 screen.

d. Cuts, electros and plates blocked on wood; mats acceptable. Stereotyping, etc., charged at cost.

e. Advertisements of standard newspaper column width acceptable.

f. Closing date: 1st of month preceding date of issue.

5—CIRCULATION

a. Character: The Progressive goes to thoughtful, intelligent Americans interested in the political, social, and literary developments of the world. Included is unusually heavy proportion of teachers, ministers, professional men and women, Government officials, with strong representation of alert workers and farmers.

b. Location: National. The Progressive goes into every State in the Union and every province in Canada. States with largest circulation are: California, Illinois, Minnesota, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Wisconsin, Washington, D. C.

c. 95 per cent of all circulation is mail circulation, going directly to paid-in-advance subscribers.

d. How obtained: Virtually all new subscriptions received either from friends of present subscribers, or persons who respond to direct-mail promotion.

e. Published monthly. In circulation last week of month preceding date of issue.

6—MISCELLANEOUS

a. The Progressive was founded in 1909.

b. Price: Single copy 50 cents. By subscription: One Year $5; Two Years $9.

c. The publisher reserves the right to reject any advertising that fails to meet the standards of The Progressive.

d. Published by The Progressive, Inc., 408 W. Gorham St., Madison 3, Wisconsin. *Editor:* Morris H. Rubin; *Book Editor:* Mary Sheridan; *Advertising Manager:* John McGrath.

Telephone Murray Hill 3-4331

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS

22 East 38th Street, New York 16, New York

RECEIVED MAR 1 1954 Southern Regional Council

The Public Affairs Committee: ERLING M. HUNT, *Chairman* • TELFORD TAYLOR, *Vice Chairman* • BEULAH AMIDON, *Treasurer* • THEODORE ABEL • ETHEL J. ALPENFELS
ELEANOR C. ANDERSON • FRANCIS J BROWN • STUART W. COOK • C. WARD CRAMPTON • ROBERT E. CUSHMAN • HUBERT T. DELANY • THOMAS D. DUBLIN
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F. ERNEST JOHNSON • OTTO KLINEBERG • HARRY W. LAIDLER • BENSON Y. LANDIS • ALFRED McCLUNG LEE • KAY W. LEVIN • EDWARD S. LEWIS
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MAXWELL S. STEWART, *Secretary and Editor*
MABEL C. MOUNT, *Managing Editor*

LURA STREET JACKSON, *Educational Director*
DALLAS JOHNSON, *Educational Associate*

February 26, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

When I wrote to you asking you to undertake the summary of the Ashmore Report, I was unable to find some notes I had made indicating what sections I felt to be particularly important and which ones might be omitted. I have since then found my notes, and they may or may not be helpful to you.

I find, for example, that in Chapter II the most useful material was from pages 5--9 and that the rest could probably be omitted. In Chapter III, the most useful pages were from 3--6. Chapter IV, on the other hand, seemed to be all rather important, but could be summarized rather briefly. It seemed to me that Chapter V represented perhaps the most important section of the report for our purposes, and should be emphasized. In Chapter VI, I felt that pages 4--5, 9--12 were particularly important, and in Chapter VII it occurred to me that you could pick out one or two cities as examples. Chapter VIII could be summarized as a whole, and Chapter IX briefly mentioned, while Chapter X could be omitted and Chapter XI summarized briefly. I hope these rather random notes will be of some value to you.

Sincerely yours,

Maxwell S. Stewart

Editor,
Public Affairs Pamphlets

mss/mm

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS
22 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.

copy to file

April 22, 1954

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks for the manuscript. At first reading it seems to me to be excellent.

I am having it mimeographed and hope to have comments on it soon.

Sincerely,

Maxwell S. Stewart
Editor,
Public Affairs Pamphlets

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

mss/mm

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

DRAFT

THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS

Since the earliestyears of public education in this country, the schooling of Negro children has given rise to controversy and concern. Before the civil war, some of the slave states made it a crime to teach a Negro to read and write. Even in the "free" states, some communities made no provision for Negro education, while some others operated racially separate schools. Fortunately, we have come a long way in the last century. No state now denies its obligation to give every school child equal opportunity in the classroom, regardless of race. But the gap between principle and practice is uncomfortably wide. At the beginning of 1954, 17 states * and the District of Columbia imposed racial segregation by law in their school systems. There the longstanding "separate ~~ay~~ but equal" doctrine has meant separate but usually grossly inferior schools for Negroes. In the large cities of the North and West, school segregation, though not prescribed by law, ~~generally~~ frequently goes hand-in-hand with residential segregation.

THE LAST DECADE

World War Two brought these and other shortcomings in our treatment of Negro citizens into bold relief. The struggle against a racist enemy and the emergence of the United States as the ranking world power have made many Americans think twice about our racial practices. Negroes themselves have showed a heightened determination to eliminate the

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*Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

barriers to full citizenship. In the last decade, many of these barriers have fallen. Court action and an increasingly enlightened public opinion have given Negroes access to the ballot and have undermined segregation in the Armed Forces, interstate travel, sports, and higher education. But the problem of discrimination in the common schools has remained unsolved. In the Southern and border states, where two-thirds of Negro Americans live, the dual school system is the last great bulwark of legal segregation.

In the last few years, this institution has come under heavy attack. Under the leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Negro parents asked the Federal courts to strike down state laws requiring separate schools. In December 1952 five such cases were first agrued before the United States Supreme Court. The NAACP attorneys charged that segregation of school children was a direct violation of the Fourteenth Amendment of the the U.S. Constitution. The Amendment forbids any state to "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The states involved claimed that their right to maintain separate schools was the settled law of the land. They pointed to current "equalization" programs as evidence that old inequalities in the Southern school systems were on the way out.

THE ASHMORE REPORT

By June of 1953it was clear that decision was still some time off. The Court had called for more arguments on the issue later in the year. Meanwhile, people North and South, white and Negro, saw profound significance in the questions that the lawsuits had raised. Plainly the

Court's decision, whatever it might be, would vitally affect the future of public education in this country. If it should uphold segregation, it would probably insist on rapid across-the-board equalization of facilities. That would mean heavy economic strain on the region least able to bear it. If, as seemed more likely, the decision departed from the "separate but equal" doctrine, a large part of the nation would face a major adjustment, in attitudes as well as practices.

In a series of conferences held by the Fund for the Advancement of Education, educators of both races from all parts of the country agreed that this was perhaps the most pressing issue in American public education. They recognized that the problems involved, though brought to immediate focus by the five pending lawsuits, were long-range in nature. The legal questions would presemably be disposed of by the Court's ruling. But would school administrators and the general public be prepared for the consequences? There was clearly an urgent need for a new look at the whole pattern of bi-racial education in the United States.

The Fund for the Advancement of Education assembled a temporary staff to carry out such a study under the overall direction of Harry S. Ashmore, executive editor of the Little Rock Arkansas Gazette. During the summer and early fall of 1953, some 45 scholars -- sociologists, educators, economists, and lawyers -- took part in an objective appraisal of the Negro in the public schools. Their findings will appear in four volumes published by the University of North Carolina Press. The first of these, a report on the study by Mr. Ashmore

entitled The Negro and the Schools, is summarized in this pamphlet.

THE GENESIS OF BI-RACIAL EDUCATION

The legal doctrine of "separate but equal" education goes back more than a hundred years. In 1849 the Supreme Court of Massachusetts turned down the complaint of Sarah Roberts that she was barred from the school nearest her home because of her race. Under the terms of a Boston city ordinance, she was required to attend an all-Negro school somewhat farther away. Her attorney, the noted abolitionist Charles Sumner, argued that the ordinance violated the Massachusetts constitution, which declared that all citizens were born equal. Segregation by law, he said, "tends to deepen and to perpetuate the odious distinction of caste, founded in a deep-rooted prejudice in public opinion." The court disagreed. Race prejudice, held Chief Justice Shaw, "if it exists, is not created by law and probably cannot be changed by law."

This decision was handed down in a social climate that was soon to be drastically changed. The abolitionist crusade was sweeping the North. Within a few years, Sumner and his friends successfully sponsored a Massachusetts law banning segregation in the public schools of the state. And not long afterward four years of bloody civil war freed the slaves in the South. However, emancipation marked the beginning rather than the end of the American Negro's uneven journey toward full citizenship. Under the Reconstruction state governments, Southern Negroes voted freely, held public office, and in a few scattered instances went to unsegregated schools. But by 1877 Reconstruction was at an end.

In the South, the reins of political power were returned to the "Bourbon" leadership, which set about restoring white supremacy. In the North, abolitionist zeal gave way to indifference and conservatism in racial matters.

So it was that the Roberts decision, a dead letter in Massachusetts, came to life in other states. State-enforced segregation was upheld by the courts of Ohio, Indiana, California, New York, Missouri, and West Virginia, following the same reasoning as the earlier Massachusetts court. Then, in 1896, the United States Supreme Court made that reasoning its own. The case at hand -- Plessy v. Ferguson -- did not deal with schools, but with the right of Louisiana to enforce segregation on intra-state trains. Plessy, a man of one-eighth Negro descent, had attacked the Louisiana statute as a violation of his rights under the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. The Court denied his plea, holding that segregation laws did not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race and were plainly within the police power of the state. As the most common example of this, the Court pointed out: "The establishment of separate schools for white and colored children,...has been held a valid exercise of the legislative power even by courts of states where the political rights of the colored race have been longest and most earnestly enforced."

This dictum, or side remark, of the Court has been the authority for the "separate but equal" rule in education ever since. It came at a particularly crucial time when the public school system as we know it today was beginning to take shape in the Southern states. Before the Civil War there were few public schools in the South outside the larger

cities. Uniform systems of "free schools" were first called for in the state constitutions adopted under the Reconstruction governments. But poverty and political unrest held back the new school systems. Only after the turn of the century did the public education movement in the South gather real momentum. By that time school segregation was firmly fixed in law and in custom.

"SEPARATE BUT EQUAL"

From the beginning, "separate but equal" was more a popular slogan than a serious policy. There was no doubt of the South's determination to keep segregation, but the nod in the direction of equality was only a token gesture.

During the early nineteen-hundreds public schools multiplied rapidly over the region. Contributions from such Northern philanthropists as Rockefeller and Peabody gave great impetus to the drive for public education. By the end of World War One, every Southern state had a compulsory school attendance law and enough schools to give it meaning. The Negro's share in this general movement, though far from equal, was also boosted by Northern philanthropy. The Anna T. Jeanes Fund set up the "Jeanes Teacher" program to improve the quality of instruction in rural Negro schools. And between 1913 and 1932 the Julius Rosenwald Fund helped finance the building of 5,000 Negro schools in fifteen Southern and border states.

By any measure, however, the Negro branch of the dual school system lagged far behind. At the end of the Rosenwald building program, the per-pupil value of Negro school property was less than one-fifth

* Not in orig.

that of the white schools. Between 1900 and 1930, the average white salary rose from about $200 to $900, while the average Negro salary rose from $100 to $400. These inequalities mirrored the accepted notion of Negro education. In the view of most white Southerners, Negroes needed only the bare essentials of schooling to take their traditional "place" as servants and unskilled laborers.

Those who urged more advanced education for the Negro usually gave it the apologetic label "industrial". Booker T. Washington, the founder of Tuskegee Institute for Negroes, won the support of many white leaders by stressing the vocational side of Negro education. In practice, this had little effect on the public schools, since vocational education costs more than the usual "classical" variety. Negro children continued to get the same kind of education as the whites; they merely received much less of it. In 1916 there were only 67 Negro high schools, with fewer than 20,000 students. In 1920 85 per cent of all the Negro pupils in the South were in the first four grades.

THE DEPRESSION

The great depression of the Thirties dealt public education a crippling blow everywhere in the country -- and nowhere more than in the South. At the bottom of the economic trough, the South found itself trying to educate a third of the nation's children with only a sixth of the nation's school revenue. The operating expenditure per pupil stood at $45 -- less than half the national figure. Building and maintenance funds were only $6 per pupil, as against $14 for the rest of the nation. Even the millions spent for school-building by the Public Works Administration did not prevent many local systems

from breaking down completely.

The Negro schools were hardest hit. Two-thirds of the South's Negro children attended rural schools, which were at the very bottom of the heap. The authorities who headed up the dual school system continued to give the Negro schools the lowest priority. In those desperate times that often meant no support at all. More than half of all rural Negro schools were one-room frame buildings, wholly lacking in modern facilities. Many classes met in churches, lodge halls, or abandoned tenant houses. Although Negro pupils made up 30 per cent of the South's total school attendance in 1935, Negro school property was only about 8 per cent of the total.

Nevertheless, the Thirties saw some important gains in Negro education. More Negroes were attending school and were staying longer. What with the scarcity of jobs, many a Negro youth literally had nothing to do except go to school — and Negro high-school enrollment shot up five times the 1920 peak. The average length of school term for Negroes was extended. Negro teachers' salaries, though still far below the white level, rose substantially.

Most important of all, new ideas about Negro education were stirring. The old double-standard still applied, but the whites were increasingly uneasy about it. And as Negro pressure for higher education built up, the Plessy doctrine was brought back to court.

TWO PIONEERS

Two cases of the Thirties foreshadowed the end of legal segregation in state-supported graduate and professional schools. The first was brought by a Negro who was excluded from the University of Maryland

Law School. Since the state had no law school for Negroes, Donald Murray was told that he might apply for a scholarship to an institution outside the state. Instead, he turned to the state courts. He pointed out that there were only 50 out-of-state scholarships available to Negroes -- too few for a qualified applicant to be sure of getting one. Moreover, these scholarships covered only tuition, unfairly burdening the Negro students with the cost of living away from home.

The Maryland Court of Appeals ordered Murray admitted to the state law school in 1935. The decision did not directly tamper with the Plessy doctrine. Instead the Court carefully explained that no other avenue of relief was open. Since none of Maryland's officals had the legal authority to set up a separate law school, the court could not order them to do so. So the only way Murray could get equal treatment was by admission to the state university. Although this decision left the Plessy doctrine intact, it made a significant breach in the wall of educational segregation. For the first time in a Southern or border state, non-segregation was prescribed as a remedy for inequality.

In 1938, the United States Supreme Court went much farther in applying the yardstick of equality to higher education. Missouri, like Maryland, offered out-of-state scholarships to Negroes in lieu of a separate law school. Lloyd Gaines protested in the state courts that he was entitled to equal opportunity within the boundaries of Missouri. Although the state courts ruled against Gaines, the U. S. Supreme Court reversed them on a new point of law:

> Manifestly, the obligation of the state to give the protection of equal laws can be performed only where its laws operate, that is,

within its own jurisdiction....Nor can we regard the fact that there is but limited demand in Missouri for the legal education of Negroes as excusing the discrimination in favor of whites/... Here petitioner's right was a personal one. It was as an individual that he was entitled to the equal protection of the laws, and the state was bound to furnish him within its borders facilities equal to those which the state has afforded for persons of the white race.....

The Supreme Court did not directly order the University to admit Gaines. His case was simply sent back to the Missouri courts for "appropriate action" under the terms of the decision. By the time a rehearing was scheduled, Gaines had dropped out of sight. But the way was paved for more farreaching decisions after the war years.

UNIVERSITY INTEGRATION

In 1946 Ada Lois Sipuel sought to enter the law school at the University of Oklahoma. After two years of court hearings and appeals, the U.S. Supreme Court held that Oklahoma must furnish her a legal education within the state -- and do so as soon as it did for any other applicant. Oklahoma authorities promptly set up a one-woman law school at the State Capitol. Miss Sipuel rejected this makeshift arrangement and went back to court. She was finally admitted to the University of Oklahoma in 1949.

In the meantime, another Negro applicant had already sued successfully for admission to the University of Oklahoma. He was G. W. McLaurin, an elderly professor emeritus at Langston University, the state college for Negroes. A three-judge federal court ordered him

admitted to the only graduate courses in his field offered by the state. But once in the state university, McLaurin faced campus segregation. He was required to sit apart from the white students in the classroom, the library, and the dining hall. Once again he sought relief in federal court. When the case reached the U. S. Supreme Court, the old interpretation of Plessy suffered another setback. The Court found that segregation impaired McLaurin's ability to study, to exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession. It concluded that McLaurin, "having been admitted to a state-supported school, must receive the same treatment at the hands of the state as students of other races."

On the same day, June 5, 1950, the Supreme Court handed down its momentous decision in the case of Sweatt v. Painter. Herman Sweatt's suit — initiated in 1946 — differed from all the others in one important respect: It made, for the first time, a frontal attack on segregation as such. The NAACP attorneys representing Sweatt offered testimony by sociologists, educators, and other social scientists to the effect that segregation is harmful to personality and learning ability. In sum, they argued that the separate law school which Texas had hastily set up for Sweatt could never be truly equal.

The Court obviously gave weight to this argument, though it refused to outlaw segregation as such. After finding the Negro law school inferior by the usual measurements — size of faculty, courses, library, and the like — it went on to say:

> What is more important, the University of Texas Law School possesses to a far greater degree those qualities which are incapable of objective

are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school....: reputation of the faculty, experience of the administration, position and influence of the alumni, standing in the community, traditions and prestige.

Few if any Negro colleges in the South could meet this test posed by the Supreme Court. And obviously no brand new institution, jumped up to meet the threat of a court order, could point with pride to its traditions and prestige. In law, the "separate but equal" doctrine still stood. In effect, however, the Supreme Court had undermined it in the field of graduate and professional training.

Seeing the legal trend in bordering states, Arkansas moved voluntarily to admit the first Negro to its school of law in 1948. Since then — with a spattering of lawsuits to spur the process — twenty previously segregated public institutions have followed suit. By 1954 universities had opened their doors to Negroes in all but five states — Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina. Most of the new Negro students have been enrolled in graduate and professional courses. The only significant exception is the University of Louisville, which absorbed Municipal College (for Negroes) in 1951.

It is impossible to fix the exact number of Negroes who have entered formerly all-white institutions. The best available estimate is 1,000 to 2,000 during regular sessions. If summer school attendance is taken into account the total figure is probably three to four times as large. Moreover, racial bars have been dropped by 13 private or church-related institutions, 12 Protestant theological seminaries, and 21 Catholic institutions in Southern and border states.

CAMPUS EXPERIENCE

How have these newly integrated Negro students been received? Donald Murray, the first to cross the color line, later wrote:

> My experience, briefly, was that I attended the University of Maryland Law School for three years, during which time I took all of the classes with the rest of the students***and at no time whatever did I meet any attempted segregation or unfavorable treatment on the part of any student in the school, or any professor or assistant professor.

For the most part, Mr. Murray's experience is typical. With only a few exceptions, Southern universities have followed a consistent pattern: First, official resistance to Negro enrollment until — either voluntarily or as a result of court action — the admission policy is changed; then impartial treatment of the Negro students, once they are admitted. Field studies of 17 of the 22 integrated campuses in the summer of 1953 turned up several minor instances of near-friction. But Professor Guy B. Johnson of the University of North Carolina, who directed the studies, concluded that the process of transition was a peaceful one. He reported: "In almost every instance when a state institution was faced with the fact that it might actually have to admit Negroes, there were serious predictions of violence and bloodshed <u>if</u> this thing came to pass. To the best of our knowledge, the first drop of blood is yet to be shed."

The attitude of faculties toward the new Negro students has been generally sympathetic. In 1946, a survey at the University of Kentucky showed 60 per cent of the faculty in favor of removing all legal obstacles

to non-segregated education. Only 22 per cent were opposed, and only 11 per cent said they would find the presence of Negroes in their classrooms offensive. On the question of whether there was a racial difference in intelligence, 66 per cent said no, 7 per cent said yes, and 26 per cent didn't know.

This mainly favorable attitude has carried over in actual classroom experience — at Kentucky and elsewhere. There have been some academic problems. Many of the Negro students have had difficulty competing on equal terms with the white students. This is not the result of any racial trait. Rather, it reflects the infereor quality of education that most Southern Negroes have received under the dual system. A few have performed well at the state universities, but the majority have fallen below their class average. The problem is made worse by the fact that some of the best qualified Negro students still go outside the South for their graduate or professional training.

The Negroes' academic handicap has posed a dimemma for many teachers. A faculty member who grades all students by exactly the same standard may find himself flunking a high proportion of the Negroes in his classes. He may run the risk of being accused of discrimination. There is some tendency toward more "sympathetic" grading of Negro students to compensate for their poorer scholastic backgrounds.

Most white students have been either indifferent or sympathetic to their newly arrived Negro colleagues. There have been few cases of rudenessor antagonism. On the campuses a small minority is quite bitter about the presence of Negro students. On the other hand, white students have also championed equal privileges for Negroes, both on and off the

campus. And at the University of Arkansas, a Negro law student was elected president of his predominantly white dormitory. In the main, however, the white students have made no show of special interest, one way or the other.

Prevailing Southern customs make relaxed, give-and-take relationships difficult. White students often fear that they may unintentionally offend their Negro classmates. They are also aware of the social risk if they are overly friendly. Racial practices in the surrounding communities are ~~also a~~ an added bar to normal social activity. Segregation is still rigidly observed in those off-campus resorts where students gather.

The Negro students have generally gone out of their way to avoid unpleasantness. The first Negroes to enter each institution usually thought of themselves as "pioneers" — and were so looked upon by the Negro community. Negro leaders have actively encouraged studious, well balanced persons to blaze the trail. By the same token, they have discouraged inferior students and those with personality problems.

Official discriminations against Negro students have now disappeared, except for occasional special housing arrangements. Yet university administrators are more conservative than faculty or students on the question of Negro enrollment. In practically every school surveyed, administrators were concerned with holding down the number of Negro students —or at least making sure that any increase would be gradual. So far this has come about naturally, since the demand for admission by Negroes has been quite small. University officials have also sought to limit or control publicity about their Negro students. Their general attitude might be described as the hope that everybody on the outside will forget

that Negroes are on the campus. In practice this has usually been the case, once the first flurry of public attention has died down.

The new policies of the state universities have aroused remarkably little public protest. Nowhere have they occasioned anything like a boycott or become a major political issue. This may be explained in part by the limited nature of the experience. Negro enrollment has been confined mainly to the graduate and professional schools — and so to a select group of individuals. The proportion of Negroes in the student bodies is small, which also reduces the likelihood of racial tension. Nevertheless, the fact remains that white Southerners have taken the transition in stride. They have not cheered integration in the graduate schools, but neither have they condemned it out of hand. And nobody in the region seriously expects to see the tide turned back.

CURRENTS OF CHANGE

The admission of Negroes to Southern universities was only one manifestation of the huge forces buffeting education in the Forties.

The war and its aftermath first drained, then flooded the college campuses; delayed the school-building effort so badly needed after the depression; produced a record crop of post-war babies; sharpened the ideals of democracy; and, above all, redistributed the population of the country as if by a giant eggbeater. For the Negro, the war and post-war changes had profound meaning. Within ten years, Jim Crow had been drummed out of the armed forces. By 1950 there were more than a million eligible Negro voters in the South, as against a handful in 1940. A presidential Committee on Civil Rights flatly recommended "the elimination

of segregation, based on race, color, creed, or national origin from American life." By the beginning of 1954, segregation had been ended in all schools directly operated by the Defense Department on Southern installations.

All Americans were affected by the push and pull of the war years, but the movement of the Negro population was without parallel. In the ten years after 1940, the migration of Negroes was greater than in all the earlier years combined. Large numbers left the South to seek jobs in the big industrial cities of the North and West. Many others moved from farm to city within the South. In both cases, Negroes settled in the blighted and overcrowded sections that skirt the cities' downtown areas.

More than one million Negroes left the South between 1940 and 1950. The region's gain in Negro population was less than 150,000, in contrast to a two-million increase in the rest of the country. Moreover, the ratio of Negroes to whites in the South dropped sharply. The white increase of 4.5 million during the Forties was 33 times as great as the Negro gain. The same trend appeared in population shifts within the region. The great exodus from the rural areas caused Negro farm population to shrink by 1.3 million. Although many of these migrants moved to Southern cities, even there the white population grew faster than the Negro.

These great population changes held critical significance for Negro education. In the rural South — where Negroes have been most concentrated and school facilities poorest — the pressure of numbers is easing up. This means fewer Negro school children — and the economic

* Not in orig.

problem of maintaining separate Negro schools for a steadily falling attendance. On the other hand, the cities are facing increased demands for more and better facilities in the central sections, where the schools are old and often run down. At the same time, there are burgeoning white suburbs with new school needs of their own. Underlying all these problems is the continuing rise in overall Negro attendance. More family income and fewer infant deaths have resulted in more Negro children going to school, and staying in school longer.

Since 1940 the South has made its greatest efforts on behalf of public education, and Negro children have received a larger share of the total outlay than ever before. In 1951-52 the 13 Southern states spent more than $1.2 billion for school operations -- nearly four times as much as in 1939-40. Of this amount, some $220 million went for Negro schools. The same states spent $315 million for school construction and upkeep in 1951-52 -- nearly eight times the 1939-40 figure. An estimated $65 to $70 million of this went into Negro schools and equipment, approximating for the first time the Negro poportion of school attendance.

Despite these gains, the gap between white and Negro education is still far from closed. The size of the gap varies from state to state, of course, but for the South as a whole these were the facts:

The Negro share of operating expenditures in 1951-52 was less than two-thirds of parity -- $116 per Negro pupil, against $180 per white pupil.

The number of pupils per teacher stood at 23.6 for white schools and 25.6 for Negro.

No state showed a difference of as much as ten days between length of school term for whites and that for Negroes.

Near equality had been attained in the average training of white and Negro teachers, but Negroes lagged behind in salaries by 15 per cent.

The number of books available through school libraries per Negro pupil was less than half the number per white pupil.

The percentage of whites eating in federally-aided school lunchrooms was almost twice as great as the Negro percentage. An average of $8 more per pupil was spent to feed the white pupils.

CLOSING THE GAPS

How much would school "equalization" cost the South?

The size and shape of the task ahead of the region in the next decade were measured by a staff of educators and economists for the Ashmore report. They pointed out that no simple or final answers could be given. In the first place, their findings were cast in region-wide terms, thus smoothing out great differences from state to state and from community to community. Moreover, they had to take into account many variables — political and educational as well as economic — which could not be forecast with pin-point accuracy. So their study aimed at an approximation rather than a precise estimate of the cost of equalization.

It is unrealistic to consider equalization of Negro and white schools in a vacuum. In theory, of course, the white wing of the dual school system could simply be "frozen" at present levels until the Negro wing has caught up. But in practice that is hardly a serious possibility. There are other serious shortfalls in the South's educational system that make their own demands on school budgets.

Foremost among these is the gap between rural and urban schools. Though increasing state aid and the move toward consolidated schools has narrowed the gap percentagewise, it is still considerable. In

1952 the per-pupil expenditure for instruction in metropolitan counties was $44 more than in rural counties, and for capital outlay it was $37 more. The question of racial inequalities is closely bound up with the urban-rural gap. Many urban Negro schools are far better than many rural white schools. At the same time, the inferiority of Negro to white schools is much greater in the country than in the cities of the South.

The several deficits that burden public education in the South must be measured two ways — in terms of current expenditures for day-to-day operation of the schools, and in terms of capital expenditures for school buildings and equipment.

The region's white-Negro gap in current expenditures is closing at an accelerating rate, particularly in the large cities. If every Southern community equalized them in the 1953-54 school year, the additional cost for the 13 states would be about $90 million --6 per cent of the yearly operating budget. If the South undertook to close the urban-rural gap as well, another $240 million would have to be added. This would bring the per-pupil expenditure in rural areas up to the metropolitan level, estimated at $200. Together these increases would raise the region's estimated current expenditures in 1953-54 from $1450 million to $1,780 million, or 26 per cent.

Measuring the deficit in school buildings and equipment is much more complicated. In the light of both long-range goals and political reality, most state officials have lumped racial inequalities in with the other deficiencies. The resulting "capital deficit programs" are aimed at wiping out all sub-standard schools, white and Negro. Their

total cost currently is about $1.7 billion. Some $600 million of this would be needed for new Negro facilities. This means that about one-third of the present capital deficit is accounted for by Negro facilities, though Negroes make up only about one-fourth of the school population.

The $1.7 billion deficit has to do with the replacement or improvement of existing facilities. Over and above that is the need for new classrooms to house the growing school population. It is estimated that by 1962 the South's average daily school attendance will reach 9,100,000 pupils — a 16 per cent increase over the current figure. The farm-to-city flow of the population adds to the pressure for new buildings. More consolidated schools are needed to serve the increasingly scattered population of the rural areas, while new buildings must also be built in the expanding metropolitan suburbs. To meet these demands -- quite apart from the "capital deficit" -- would cost about $1.3 billion.

The total bill of $3 billion is clearly more than the South could handle in any one year. Therefore, it was assumed that the outlay would be spread over an eight-year period, at the rate of $375 million a year. If this were done, the South's total school budget for all expenses in the eighth year would amount to $2.5 billion or 50 per cent more than in 1951-52.

Can the South afford it? The experts concluded that it could -- if its income continued to rise and it continued to spend the same percentage on schools. For though the Southern states average less income than the other states, they have spent proportionately more of it — 3.3 per cent -- for public education. Yet even if these gains were achieved much more would remain to be done. The South's average current

expenditures per pupil would still be well below the 1951 average of many non-Southern states.

No weight was given in these estimates to the effects of possible integration. Contrary to popular belief, segregation has not been a big factor in school costs and is not likely to be in the immediate future. Up to now, discrimination against Negroes could have been remedied only by pouring more money into the dual system, or by lowering the standards of the white schools. Under integration some Negroes would have gone to better schools and some whites to worse. However, no great ecomomies would have resulted.

Examples of waste can be cited, of course. Some rural counties with few Negroes have paid heavily to haul their Negro pupils long distances to a segregated school rather than admit them to a local white school. And in some cases a thinly attended Negro school might be eliminated entirely if the white school were opened to all pupils. But these cases do not yet bulk large in the total school budget of the region -- and probably won't in the coming decade.

As the South continues to improve its school system, however, the price of segregation will go up. The higher the quality of schooling, the higher the cost of duplication. The shrinking proportion of Negroes in many rural counties will also make separate schools more expensive. Shifting residential patterns in the cities will produce the same result in "fringe" areas where white and Negro neighborhoods overlap. Thus a real economic pressure for integration will build up. Many schoolmen, recognizing this, privately concede that integration is coming -- not overnight and not necessarily as a direct result of legal action -- but

as the logical outcome of current trends. In the long run the big questions are when? and how?

OUTSIDE THE SOUTH

Following the first great wave of Negro emigration from the South, Charles S. Johnson wrote, "With increased numbers of Negroes in the Northern cities the tendency to segregation increases, and this tendency is viewed with apprehension by many Negroes." The Negroes, like many an immigrant group before them, have settled in the decaying hearts of the large metropolises. But unlike the earlier arrivals -- the Jews, the Poles, the Germans, the Irish -- they have not moved upward in the social order and outward from the older neighborhoods. As a "visible" minority, they have remained hedged in by discrimination. This has inevitably made for school segregation. A child normally attends the school nearest his home. If he lives in an all-Negro neighborhood, he will most likely attend an all-Negro school.

Tthere have been exceptions, to be sure -- in small towns, in mixed neighborhoods, in many places where Negroes are few in number and take full part in community life. But for the majority of Negroes outside the South, school segregation hasbeen the rule. In some cases, this "natural" segregation has been bolstered by administrative policies that ignore or violatestate law. Only four non-Southern states -- Arizona, Kansas, New Mexico, and Wyoming -- leave it to local school authorities to decide whether school children shall be separated by race. Of the remaining Northern and Western states, 12 have no laws regarding segregation, while 15 have laws prohibiting it.

New Jersey, Indiana, and Illinois have lately taken measures to root out segregation where it has been practiced in defiance of the law. In other states, communities have moved voluntarily to desegregate their schools. These actions are part of the general trend toward integration that has followed in the wake of World War Two. The broad underlying cause is the new concern for minority rights that grew out of the war. This has been reflected in heightened pressure by Negroes themselves, human relations agencies, church and civic groups, the press — and by enlightened school administrators as well. The threat of court action and economic factors have played a part, too. There has been a growing realization that it is cheaper to integrate than to provide new or improved facilities for a small group of Negro pupils.

In the late summer of 1953, field studies were made of 25 communities which had made or were making the transition from segregated to integrated schools. All of these communities were, necessarily, outside the South. They ranged in size from 8,500 to 3,600,000 and in location from New Jersey to New Mexico. The experiences reported were as varied as the communities themselves; the following brief samplings can only suggest the general nature of the findings.

TUCSON, ARIZONA

Tuscon integrated its public schools with noteworthy smoothness. The city's substantial Mexican-American community had not been segregated for some years. However, Negroes, who made up 6.1 per cent of the population, had been required to send their children to separate schools below the high school level.

In 1951 Arizona amended its segregation law to make school segregation a matter of local option. The superintendent of schools was ready with a plan for desegregation, which he promptly put before the Tucson Board of Education. Within a few days the board announced that the dual school system would be abandoned at the beginning of the next term. The decision was actively supported by church and civic groups. A call for white volunteers to teach in the mixed schools produced twice the required number of teachers. A Negro principal was accepted without protest by a mixed teaching staff. The superintendent summed up Tucson's experience this way:

> We treated the program as a natural, democratic and right thing. The School Board, the administrative staff, and the community backed us up completely. I had expected some opposition, but I actually received far less than I anticipated.

EVANSVILLE, INDIANA

Evansville lies across the Ohio River from Kentucky and has a distinctly Southern orientation. Negroes make up 6.6 per cent of the population. Until 1949, when Indiana passed a statute making integration mandatory within five years, the Evansville schools were completely segregated. The school board met the new law by allowing the pupils to decide which schools they would attend. This, said the official announcement, will "provide thepeople of our community with a choice and their own actions in the coming years will indicate the pattern our schools will follow in the future." When the new policy went into effect, only 18 Negro children enrolled in formerly all-white schools. Three years later, approximately 50 Negroes were attending the six "integrated"

elementary schools, and only one high school student had made the change. There had been no move to integrate the faculties. This was not surprising, since the dual system had continued virtually intact under the new policy.

NEW JERSEY

In 1947, New Jersey put teeth into its longstanding ban on school segregation. Up to that time, separate schools had been provided as a matter of custom in the 10 southernmost counties of the state. The job of enforcing the desegregation policy fell to a new Division Against Discrimination, created in the Department of Education. Although it has the power to cut off state aid to districts that fail to comply, it has relied mainly on persuasion -- and with remarkable results. In 1948 the Division found 43 school districts with deliberately segregated schools. By the opening of the next school term the number had dwindled to 13, and by early 1954 to three. Integration of teachers has usually kept pace with integration of pupils.

WAYS AND MEANS

No two communities are exactly alike, and no two of those studied want about integrating their schools in exactly the same way. In general, the communities with small Negro populations and good race relations have gone the whole way at a stroke, as in Tucson. In every instance of this kind reported, the transition was rated a complete success. It must be noted, however, that these cities, having few Negro residents, were not handicapped by large-scale housing segregation.

Most communities have taken the more roundabout way of gradual integration. Some have started at the top, like one New Mexico community that began with grades nine through twelve. Others have started at the bottom with kindergarten and the first few elementary grades. Still others combine the gradual approach with a "voluntary" system that puts the burden of choice

on the pupil. This is the ultimate in delayed integration. It is based on the theory that when a choice is provided, most Negro pupils will elect to remain in segregated schools. So far, that theory has held true in most cases. But it is not clear whether this expresses real choice or only inertia bolstered by negative official attitudes.

The reason usually given for the gradual approach is fear of adverse public reaction, but other reasons have also played a part. Some public officials have expressed doubt that Negroes could hold their own in mixed classrooms. So, they argue, the dual school system should be abandoned in easy stages to soften the problem. Many officials are reluctant to assign Negro teachers to white or mixed classes. Yet many of these teachers are protected by tenure laws and cannot simply be dismissed. The readiest way to avoid the issue is to postpone the end of all-Negro schools.

The gradual approach has been criticized on several counts. Some school officials believe it makes for more, rather than less, public resistance. They argue that it not only encourages troublemakers but also gives them time to organize. The case histories show clearly that, once the question of integration is raised, both sides are likely to apply political pressure. And when policies remain unsettled for some time, the pressures mount. One school board member privately said he wished the state law had ordered all-out integration, so that the local board would not have been "on the spot."

Most officials have considered the question of mixed faculties thornier than that of mixed classes. Even in places where pupils have been integrated successfully, school authorities frequently are doubtful that white parents will tolerate Negroes teaching their children. For entirely different reasons

some Negro teachers have quietly opposed faculty integration. Their fear has been that discrimination or competition with better trained whites might cost them their jobs.

Actual experience with mixed faculties has not borne out these doubts and fears. With few exceptions, white teachers have accepted the new policy in a professional spirit, putting aside any personal prejudices they may have had. Protests from parents have been common but have tended to melt away after the first few weeks. The school systems that made the smoothest transition handpicked the teachers to serve on the first mixed faculties. They also saw to it that the change was explained in advance to parents of both races.

Some white parents who resisted the idea initially had a change of heart after first-hand experience. In one community the local PTA asked that a popular Negro teacher be rotated, so that more white pupils might have a wholesome interracial experience. The shortage of trained teachers has also curbed discrimination against Negroes. In 1945 415 of New Jersey's 497 Negro teachers were employed in the nine counties that maintained segregated schools. The most recent record shows 425 Negro teachers still employed in those counties under integration, while the statewide total has risen to 645.

In most of the communities that have desegregated their schools the common reaction might be summed up by the remark, "It wasn't as bad as we thought it would be." Wherever there has been an active and well-planned program to sell integration to the community, it has succeeded. And success has come most easily where there is a history of cooperation across group lines. State laws and regulations can play an important part in the shaping of local school systems. But the final outcome rests with the skill and good faith of community leaders.

A COMMUNITY CHALLENGE

How can we work for more democratic school systems in which race will not be the measure of the child?

The Ashmore report, as an objective appraisal, took no partisan stand on segregation. The facts presented in the report, however, are useful to people in every part of the country who are concerned about bi-racial education. They point to many things that we can do -- as parents, voters, club members, teachers, church workers, and so on -- to help bring about successful integration in our schools.

Above all, we can get the facts about the schools in our own communities and then work closely with school officials. Local attitudes have the last and usually the loudest word in the shaping of the school system. People feel strongly about public education because it affects the family more closely than any other public institution. Out of long experience, superintendents and boards of education have learned to keep a sensitive finger on the pulse of the community. In matters involving the delicate question of race, they are not likely to move forward unless they have the cooperation and support of right-thinking citizens.

Intergroup relations in the schools cannot be separated from intergroup relations in the community as a whole. The places where classroom integration has worked best are those in which there have been effective efforts to eliminate prejudice and discrimination. This is a goal that all of us can further through the organizations to which we belong.

Organizations of many different kinds can play a part in advancing sound human relations in the schools. Church groups have a special opportunity to foster understanding and acceptance of group differences. Parent-teacher groups can be agencies of wise planning in which persons of all ethnic and

racial backgrounds can pool their efforts. Civic organizations can strengthen the hand of forward-looking public officials and can create a favorable climate of opinion. Citizens' groups of whatever kind can collect information from communities where school integration has succeeded — and profit from their experience. All the channels of communication can be put to effective use -- the press, the pulpit, speakers' bureaus, radio, television, conferences, workshops, and the rest.

In short, our responsibility to the children of all races does not end with public education. We must also build equal opportunity in government, employment, housing, health, and recreation. For in the long run the only path to democratic schools lies through democratic communities.

Public Affairs Committee

May 18, 1954

Miss Dallas Johnson
Public Affairs Pamphlets
22 East Thirty-Eight Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Dallas:

Nobody has sent me the manuscript of "The Negro and the Schools," as about to be published by Public Affairs Pamphlets, but I read it when Harold Fleming here writ' it.

To tell you the truth, we think the form in which you are putting it out is best adapted for the nation-wide -- not quite to say the Yankee -- market. We are going to get out one ourselves, presumably just a few days after the Court speaks, which we think will be still more useful within these Southerns. Ours proposes to still surpass the summary of Ashmore's, analyzing the meaning of the decision and spouts and says to the South some things to do.

But we are telling all inquirers that you are about to get out a honey of a pamphlet. Some people would write to us for them and we had better have on hand 100 copies of yours. But no imprint except your own imprint. So, here is sixteen bucks, transportation charges included, for 100 copies of yours.

It takes strong will to stay home and do all that we will have to do. The easy thing is to take off and sit high in fancy hotels while the ladies stay at home and scrub and cook and baby tend. Howsomever, I notice these husbands are mighty glad to get back home.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P.S. Why not consult your high boss and see whether it is in his big heart to give us 100 copies for free, on account of Mr. Harold C. Fleming writ' it. If you find that in the big heart, send the check back to SRC.

GSM/eab
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Telephone Murray Hill 3-4331

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LURA STREET JACKSON, *Educational Director*
DALLAS JOHNSON, *Educational Associate*

May 6, 1954

RECEIVED
MAY 10 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Poppa George:

By now I trust you have had a chance to read our THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS manuscript.

We would like very much to have your reaction to it, also to know to what extent this coincides with what you are planning to do under your own imprint.

For example, will you be able to use quantities of our pamphlet in your program, as well as of your own? If so, you should consider the possibility of having a special imprint on the cover of the pamphlets that you buy. I'm enclosing a sample of our recent Social Security pamphlet with the Bartenders imprint (cooling thought) so you can see what our imprints look like. I'm also sending a quantity rate sheet.

Nick is in Mississippi making his welfare film so we are fatherless. When I look sad about his being away, which he has been quite often on his new assignments, he says "look at Mary Stoney, now there's a strong woman." So I'm getting strong, but I do miss him.

My best to all of you,

Dallas
K.V.

DJ:KV

APRIL, 1953

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May 27, 1954

Mr. Maxwell S. Stewart
Editor
Public Affairs Pamphlets
22 East Thirty-Eighth Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Stewart:

I have read the galleys of the segregation pamphlet and find very little to comment on. The typo on galley seven is of the variety that often eludes proofreaders, so I call attention to it.

The sentence circled on galley three lost its meaning in the revision. The original sentence was admittedly inaccurate in referring to "few, if any, Negro colleges." I should have said "few, if any, state supported colleges for Negroes." The whole point is that the Sweatt decision effectively nullified "Separate but Equal" at the graduate and professional level. As the sentence now stands the point is lost.

It seems to me that, with the last sentence of the manuscript deleted, the pamphlet ends rather abruptly. If the original sentence seems inappropriate, you might want to consider adding another that would sound a note of finality.

In all other respects I think the changes in the manuscript are excellent.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/eab
Enclosure

See Fleming

Telephone Murray Hill 3-4331

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LURA STREET JACKSON, *Educational Director*
DALLAS JOHNSON, *Educational Associate*

June 9, 1954

RECEIVED
JUN 11 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I was glad to learn in your letter of May 18th to Dallas that you liked Fleming's manuscript and thought it would do a lot of good. We like it. And the general reaction has been very favorable.

The pamphlet will probably be off the press by next Tuesday and we shall rush your hundred copies down to you, plus another hundred with our compliments. I would like to have given you the whole bunch free but as I told you earlier we are operating on a shoestring made possible by your generosity in lending us Fleming's talented services. The National Citizen's Committee for the Public Schools is distributing a thousand copies free which they wangled from us at below cost. The pamphlet is so timely and so good that I am very hopeful that we will make out and I am very grateful to you for your help without which we would have had no pamphlet at all.

With best wishes,

Maxwell S. Stewart

Editor,
Public Affairs Pamphlets

MSS:SW

June 16, 1954

To: Katherine Stoney

I take it that I have committed us to buy 100 copies of Harold's pamphlets and will get 100 free, as this letter confirms.

Encl: Ltr. from Maxwell Stewart

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NEW YORK CITY

December 2, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing a list of those who like yourself have expressed their willingness to serve on a citizen's committee to appraise and advise on the conduct of our program of assistance to the underdeveloped countries, popularly called the Point Four program. You will recall that in asking you to join with us in this endeavor, Morris L. Cooke and I assured you that no publicity, final organization or programming of activities would be undertaken until you had been furnished a list of those who will join forces in this enterprise.

We will proceed now to lay out an organization and an administrative plan for the committee, and let you have it as soon as possible. Likewise, Mr. Cooke and I intend calling upon Mr. John Hollister, the Administrator of Point Four, within the next two weeks to apprise him of the existence of this citizen's advisory committee, and extend to him every opportunity to keep us informed of matters of broad policy, assuring him of our deep concern that Point Four render that great service to peace and security which it has the potential to do.

Enclosed are two recent pieces from the Washington Post which may have escaped your reading. They point up quite sharply the need for such a committee as we are forming. I also enclose a few excerpts from letters received in response to our letter, to give you the "feel" of our collective thinking.

To save time, if we do not hear from you otherwise within the next ten days, we will assume that you are agreed to go forward with us in this endeavor.

We suggest that pending the committee's own first announcement, no publicity be given to the contents of this communication.

Sincerely yours,

Dewey Anderson

Dewey Anderson
Executive Director

Enclosures

CITIZEN'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON POINT FOUR
(In Formation)
(Acceptances)

Dewey Anderson, Washington, D. C.
Frank App, Bridgeton, N. J.
Frank Aydelotte, Princeton, N. J.

Roger N. Baldwin, New York, N. Y.
William H. Baldwin, New York, N. Y.
Solomon Barkin, New York, N. Y.
Francis Biddle, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Curtis Bok, Philadelphia, Penn.
Mrs. W. Russell Bowie, Alexandria, Va.
Elizabeth Brandeis, Madison, Wisc.
Charles F. Brannan, Denver, Colo.
Rabbi Balfour Brickner, Washington, D. C.
Baker Brownell, Fairhope, Ala.
Henry Bruere, New York, N. Y.
Thomas C. Buchanan, Beaver, Penn.
Pearl S. Buck, Perkasie, Penn.
Monroe Bush, Washington, D. C.

Rev. Daniel M. Cantwell, Chicago, Ill.
Stuart Chase, Georgetown, Conn.
Elisabeth Christman, Washington, D. C.
Morris Llewellyn Cooke, Philadelphia, Penn.
Albert Sprague Coolidge, Belmont, Mass.
Grace L. Coyle, Cleveland, Ohio

Michael M. Davis, Washington, D. C.
Watson Davis, Washington, D. C.
William H. Davis, New York, N. Y.

Kermit Eby, Chicago, Ill.
John W. Edelman, Washington, D. C.
Thomas H. Eliot, St. Louis, Mo.
Harold Evans, Philadelphia, Penn.

Rev. Patrick W. Gearty, Washington, D. C.
Aron S. Gilmartin, Seattle, Wash.
Philip M. Glick, Washington, D. C.
Clinton S. Golden, Solebury, Penn.
Dr. Israel Goldstein, New York, N.Y.
Maurice S. Goodman, Washington, D. C.
Charles A. Graham, Denver, Colo.
Samuel B. Guze, St. Louis, Mo.

William Haber, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Mrs. Charles Hamlin, Albany, N. Y.
Prof. Seymour Harris, Cambridge, Mass.
Haldore Hansen, Aldie, Va.

Samuel P. Hayes, Jr. Ann Arbor, Mich.
Melvin D. Hildreth, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Earle T. Hobart, Oakland, Calif.
Henry G. Hodges, Gainesville, Fla.
Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago, Ill.
Theodore B. Hetzel, Haverford, Penn.
Robert W. Hudgens, New York, N. Y.
Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, Washington,D.C.
Barton Hunter, Indianapolis, Ind.

John Ise, Baltimore, Md.

E. J. Johnson, Washington, D. C.
Mary Dublin Keyserling, Washington,D.C.
Huber F. Klemme, Cleveland, Ohio

Harry W. Laidler, New York, N. Y.
Walter H. C. Laves, Bloomington, Ind.
Gov. George M. Leader, Harrisburg, Penn.
Max Lerner, New York, N. Y.
Richard A. Lester, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. L. A. Ligutti, Des Moines, Iowa

Gov. William C. Marland, Charleston,W.Va
Mike M. Masaoka, Washington, D. C.
Albert Mayer, New York, N. Y.
E. C. Miller, New York, N. Y.
George S. Mitchell, Atlanta, Ga.
Mrs. Greenville D. Montgomery,Phila.,Pen
Robert J. Mozer, New York, N. Y.

Robert R. Nathan, Washington, D. C.

Rabbi David H. Panitz, Washington, D. C.
Miss Marion Edwards Park, Plymouth, Mass
James G. Patton, Denver, Colo.
Robert B. Pettengill, Oberlin, Ohio

Lewis H. Rohrbaugh, Fayetteville, Ark.
Morris S. Rosenthal, New York, N. Y.

Robert Satter, Hartford, Conn.
Bishop William Scarlett, Castine, Me.
Harry W. Schacter, Indianapolis, Ind.
Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. Cambridge, Mass.
Karl Scholz, Philadelphia, Penn.

Clarence Senior, New York, N. Y.
Walter R. Sharp, New Haven, Conn.
Lawrence M. C. Smith, Philadelphia, Penn.
George Soule, Bennington, Vt.
Oscar H. Steiner, Shaker Heights, Ohio

Kurt P. Tauber, Buffalo, N. Y.
Howard R. Tolley, Washington, D. C.
Rexford G. Tugwell, Chicago, Ill.

Rev. Edward W. Ullrich, Miami, Fla.

William Vogt, New York, N. Y.
Jerry Voorhis, Chicago, Ill.

Edgar M. Wahlberg, Dearborn, Mich.
James P. Warburg, New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Alston Waring, New Hope, Penn.
Rev. Robert L. Wilkin, Greensboro, N. C.
M. L. Wilson, Washington, D. C.
Clarence A. Wimpfheimer, Stonington, Conn.
Edwin E. Witte, Madison, Wisc.

"I am terribly interested in this committee"	Frank Aydelotte
"...an admirable idea, which will have significance..."	Francis Biddle
"...the committee will have value, because it may become a symbol of public concern in the matter"	Baker Brownell
"I have always believed in...Point Four...shall be happy to join with others."	Pearl S. Buck
"It has seemed to me that the dictates of both morality and expediency require every effort on the part of the United States to narrow the economic gulf that exists between ourselves and the technologically retarded regions."	Monroe Bush
"I heartily agree with the importance of the matter. Indeed I think the happenings within the last few weeks have demonstrated what I have long believed, that we really have to go all out in a major international peace effort along economic and social lines."	William H. Davis
"...our very security as a nation depends more, ultimately, on our response to the needs of the peoples of the world than it does on our armed forces and our positions of strength."	Theodore B. Hetzel
"I agree that certainly something is needed to stimulate the old idea and philosophy of Point 4, as you proposed in your letter of November 1st."	Fred K. Hoehler
"Your proposal is sound."	Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey
"It seems important enough to me that I would be glad to set aside a certain amount of time to work with any such committee in ways that might seem helpful."	Barton Hunter
"Next to the problem of preventing the out-break of a suicidal world war there is no more important issue of American foreign policy than that of how best to help the hundreds of millions of people in economically underdeveloped countries achieve a decent way of life and an opportunity to participate equally in world affairs. I am delighted that you propose to establish a national committee and I should be very much honored to serve on it."	Walter C. Laves
"I believe you are on the right path - and that actually such a step is needed and will be valuable and perhaps appreciated."	Rev. L. A. Ligutti

"I strongly feel there is a need for intelligent, imaginative and persistent pressure not only to serve the purposes you mention, but to alert public opinion, which is not at all active or influential in this field, so far as I can see. In almost every realm of Government activity, there is some influential and respected group that does not permit Congressional or Administration action to sink below a certain level--even in such matters as Schools, Hospitals, Conservation, Public Housing--or tries not to. But in this field of foreign aid I see no such "public cushion" or "public floor" - to put it at its lowest, so that all sorts of arbitrary decisions, changes, can happen." Albert Mayer

"I can see no hope of solving many of our problems, including the major problem of building a lasting peace, except as we develop a world program of technical assistance coupled with food, fiber and adequate capital to help the developing countries get their economic airplanes off the ground." James G. Patton

"I have a deep concern for the problems mentioned in your letter of 27 October, feel work on them to be of more current and eventual significance than most realize, and will be happy to serve with a group so concerned." Lewis H. Rohrbaugh

"Like many others, I have been considerably concerned over some of the announced policies and confusion of policies that now appear to characterize the conduct of the program." Walter R. Sharp

"I share your grave concern over Point Four, particularly in the hands of an economy-minded administration, and am therefore glad to accept your kind invitation." Kurt P. Tauber

"Your idea of setting up a committee in the field of technical assistance and, I assume, economic aid is a very good one." Robert R. Nathan

"The Point Four concept has a tremendous significance and has large potentialities for good as part of American foreign policy." William Haber

"Because I believe with you that "Point Four" must be carried on by our country in "broad terms of a major international peace effort along economic and social lines..." Mike M. Masaoka

"I like your idea of a Citizen's Committee to push Point Four. I think it could be useful, and the issue is one of primary significance." Thomas H. Eliot

"First, I think the establishment of such a committee is a completely worthwhile undertaking. There has been a tragic neglect of our national moral responsibility to aid other countries in their quest for the solution of the problems which stand between them and a better standard of living. When these answers are found, the answer to the question of peace will not be so formidable." Charles F. Brannan

"In view of my deep interest in extending the aims and objectives of the Point 4 program, recognizing the possibilities of developing this program to promote permanent peace, I shall be glad to join with others in establishing the proposed citizen's advisory committee." Karl Scholz

"In view of the large and continuing unmet need and the current curtailment of assistance, such a Committee could play an important role. I am glad to join with you and to help in any way possible." Mary Dublin Keyserling

"From what you say of your ideas about Point Four, I think we are in agreement concerning its appropriate objectives. Therefore I would be happy to serve on "a Citizen's Advisory Committee" to observe, appraise and influence decisions of a policy character during the next few years." Robert B. Pettengill

"Just a line to say that the proposal for a Point Four watch dog committee seems to me excellent." Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

"Since I believe that Point Four was one of the most progressive steps taken by this Nation, I would like very much to do my small bit to help the program along." Harry W. Schacter

"I feel very strongly that the Point Four plank of our foreign policy is one of the most significant contributions we can make to the peace of the world, and I would be in favor of enlarging it many-fold, particularly at the expense of some of our military commitments in the backward areas of the world." Robert Satter

Matter of Fact

They Add Up to a Hidden Crisis

By Joseph and Stewart Alsop

IT IS VERY LUCKY that the President is now gradually resuming command of the American Government, for a sort of hidden crisis of foreign policy is now going on that demands a long series of presidential decisions of the gravest sort.

There are two reasons why this crisis has been hidden from the country thus far. The Eisenhower team has been trying desperately hard, first of all, to keep up the appearance of Government-as-usual, and this could not be done, obviously, without denying the need for grave decisions which the President was in fact not ready to make.

The other reason why the crisis has been hidden lies in the nature of the crisis itself. It is shapeless, amorphous, scattered. Superficially, it does not look like a crisis at all. It resembles, rather, an accumulation of critical but local situations without any unifying, over-all pattern. The pattern is seen to be there, however, if the several situations which compose the crisis are listed and analyzed together, item by item.

ITEM ONE on the list, in alphabetical order, is Afghanistan. Soviet infiltration of the historic approach-route to India is now so deep that the Afghan government has actually forbidden any foreigners but those approved by the Soviet embassy to visit the richer and more important half of the country lying to the north of the Hundu Kush. The Afghans already have a mission in Prague haggling for Soviet arms. When Khrushchev and Bulganin come home from India by way of Kabul, the Afghans are expected to accept a modified status as a Soviet satellite in return for economic and military aid.

Item two is Ecuador. Offers of Soviet arms have also been made to this small Latin-American country which is involved in a bitter dispute with its larger neighbor, Peru. There is some evidence that an Ecuadorian mission has left secretly for Prague to negotiate an arms purchase agreement. The situation is regarded as sufficiently serious to justify Henry Holland, the Assistant Secretary of State for Latin-American Affairs, hurrying to Quito for talks with the Ecuadorian government.

Item three is Egypt. Here the problem arises from the fact that the Soviets have offered to build the High Aswan Dam for the Egyptians and to lend them $600 million on easy terms for this purpose. The deal, if it goes through, will give the Kremlin something close to a stronghold on the Egyptian economy. But the alternative is for America to offer to build this gigantic dam on the Nile with foreign aid funds plus a loan from the World Bank. For us the cost will be no less than $1.2 billion because our engineering estimates are not politically shaded. And the situation is further complicated by the Soviet-Egyptian arms deal, which has so inflamed the whole Middle East.

Item four is Saudi Arabia. The Saudi Arabians also have an arms deal with the Soviets simmering on the fire. Since their army is inconsiderable, the Saudi Arabian arms deal is not intrinsically serious. But it is strongly suspected that it carries a subordinate clause. If this suspicion is correct, the Saudi Arabian government will expel the Strategic Air Command from its biggest Middle Eastern airbase, Dhahran, when the airbase agreement comes up for renegotiation next spring.

THESE ITEMS are only a brief selection to illustrate the new ways the Soviets are playing the game they call "competitive coexistence."

Two different and novel devices have now been adopted by the Kremlin. The first is to offer arms at bargain basement prices from the vast Soviet surplus stocks to those countries where the arms will make the most trouble and/or most effectively extend Soviet influence.

The second device is a kind of parody of a leaf from our own book. The Soviets now have their own foreign aid program, typified by the High Aswan Dam project. But there is nothing governessy about this program. There is no nonsense about telling the aid recipients that they cannot do this and must do that because "it's all for your own good." Where aid is offered, only the Soviet political advantage is considered.

The Soviet aid program is thought to be financed by the huge Soviet annual gold output, which the new masters of the Kremlin are too shrewd to go on hoarding as the old Georgian peasant Stalin hoarded it. Other manifestations of this program, in India and Burma for example, are soon to be expected.

WHILE THESE new devices have been adopted, the old methods of underground infiltration and overt military pressure have not been abandoned. The preparations for an air blockade in the Formosa Strait are going forward apace. The Communist infiltration in Malaya and Indochina has never abated. Even Thailand, once so closely allied with this country, is now reported to be leaning toward neutralism.

In short, the hidden crisis that is now going on is caused by far more intense, far bolder Soviet pushing into soft but strategically vital areas. How to hold the line for the free world is the question the President must somehow answer. And any effective answer will require this country to make much greater efforts and run much greater risks.

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The Washington Post

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AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER * THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1955 PAGE 18

Penny-Wise Foreign Aid

The reported decision in the Administration to hold back as much as 20 per cent of the foreign aid funds appropriated by Congress could not have been more badly timed. If the reports are true, this retrenchment in one of the most significant expressions of foreign policy comes at the very moment of the failure of the Geneva conference, at the moment when the intensified Soviet economic push into the Middle East and Asia is becoming more and more obvious. In view of the bad psychological impact alone, it is hard to understand how either Secretary Dulles or the President could approve such a course.

A democracy which debates its policies in public is at a permanent disadvantage respecting the favorable psychological impact of its programs abroad. The Russian masters formulate their plans in secret, announce them and carry them through without public dissent. In the United States, by contrast, the plans drawn up by the executive departments are often publicized before the Budget Bureau has revised them; they are then subject to pulling and hauling in Congress; and finally they are implemented or vitiated by administrative agencies. At each stage in this process there is a reaction abroad; the hopes of foreigners are either confirmed, raised or dashed. This is a necessary process in free and representative government. But the requirements of procedure should not blind us to the damaging effect of unnecessary vacillations—especially at a time when all the Soviet Union seemingly needs to do to win applause is promise a steel mill or dam she may never be able to build.

One of the countries to be affected by the cutback in International Cooperation Administration spending is India, where a program which the Indians have been led to expect would amount to $50 million is to be reduced to $40 million. The saving to the United States will be relatively insignificant. But the proposed reduction, or even the talk of the reduction, could seriously weaken American prestige in all of Asia. Russia will have a propaganda field day with this news. Ironically, it comes just as the State Department is increasingly concerned by Soviet moves in Afghanistan because of their effect there and on neighboring countries.

The argument that the withheld money will be put into an emergency reserve for possible later use does not stack up. Plans are made well in advance of the actual disbursement of funds, and decisions made today affect the emergence of plans on the drawing board. Without further justification, the cutback smacks of a shortsighted and distorted yielding to domestic pressures for economies to balance the budget at the expense of our vital interests abroad. Yet the International Cooperation Administration, whose director has initiated the slash, is responsible to the Secretary of State. Does the left hand really know what the right hand is doing?

April 9, 1956

AIRMAIL

Mr. Maxwell S. Stewart, Editor
Public Affairs Pamphlets
22 East 38th Street
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Maxwell:

Thanks for your good letter and apologies for my tardiness in writing you. I took this long because I was struggling with a conflict: on the one hand my strong urge to do the pamphlet; on the other hand my doubt about being able to get it finished in a reasonable time.

I have put nothing in writing yet, but have been thinking a good deal about what form the pamphlet should take. If you want me to undertake it on with a somewhat fluid deadline (I would shoot for six weeks hence) let me know. If your answer is favorable, I would appreciate your off-the-top ideas on content and organisation.

I seem to recall that the optimum length desired in the case of the earlier pamphlet was approximately twenty-five double spaced pages. Is that about right?

We have under way a survey of the amount of desegregation in the seventeen Southern and border states since the May '54 decision. The slightly deferred deadline I have suggested would give us a chance to draw on those findings.

Let me hear from you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:o

Telephone Murray Hill 3-4331

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MAXWELL S. STEWART, *Secretary and Editor*
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Educational Associates: IRA GLICK
DALLAS JOHNSON
ANNETTE TOCCI

March 29, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 2, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I have been expecting word from you saying that you will be able to undertake the new segregation pamphlet for us. I trust that no word means that you are going to do it and are already laying plans for it.

I shall, of course, adjust the deadline entirely to your convenience. In a word the important thing is for you to do it for us.

Sincerely yours,

Maxwell S. Stewart

MSS:er

Maxwell S. Stewart
Editor

Telephone Murray Hill 3-4331

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ANNETTE TOCCI

April 10, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Rm 432
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I was very glad to receive your letter and I am terribly pleased that you are prepared to undertake the job. I think the deadline of six weeks is okay since the important thing is to get a good pamphlet.

As to organization, I should imagine a geographic organization such as the Times carried would be the easiest to handle. The main new idea that I would like to suggest is the possibility of including a fairly large section on segregation and integration in the North. There seems to be a great deal of interest in that subject and, of course, a great deal of important things to be said. Do you have the materials to handle this section or would you prefer that I get someone up here to handle it? I, naturally, would like to have you do the whole pamphlet but if this adds an intolerable burden I am sure we can find someone here to undertake that section.

Our pamphlets run from 30 to 32 double spaced typewritten pages in length. Of this I should think at least 8 pages should be given to the situation in the Northern states, leaving 23 or 24 for the Southern and border states.

I am terribly pleased that you are going to undertake the job as I think you hit just the right note in "Segregation and the Schools," and this would be a companion piece in every sense of the word.

Sincerely yours,

Maxwell S. Stewart

Maxwell S. Stewart
Editor

MSS:er

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April 12, 1956

Miss Annette Tocci
Public Affairs Pamphlets
22 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Miss Tocci:

Dr. Mitchell has passed on to me your letter forwarding a copy of "Who's on First?" by Jack Mabley. We have read this with great interest and congratulate you for a solid contribution to the public interest in desegregation.

As it happens, we had previously done a treatment of this subject with respect to professional baseball in the South, and that serves our purposes somewhat better than Mr. Mabley's national treatment. However, try us again whenever you have a pamphlet dealing with inter-group relations or integration. We follow with interest the good job you folks do.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o

HCF

Telephone Murray Hill 3-4331

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RECEIVED APR 7 1956

April 5, 1956

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E. Rm 432
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Enclosed is an informational copy of our latest Public Affairs Pamphlets - Who's on First? by Jack Mabley which I thought would be of interest to you.

Won't you please look it over and let us know about the possibility of using it in your education program. As you know, when purchased in quantity we offer special rates, so I am enclosing a schedule for your convenience.

Do let us know what you think of this pamphlet and the possibility of using it.

Sincerely yours,

Annette Tocci

AT:er
enc.

Annette Tocci
Educational Associate

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Telephone Murray Hill 3-4331

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ANNETTE TOCCI

1785 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.
April 12, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Papa George:

I hope I'm not presuming on the close relationship of the Read-Stoney brothers to you. After all, I'm kind of a step daughter. But your name is always uttered around our household as if Papa George were all one word, and it seems strange to say anything else.

since I didn't write it due to not modesty

I thought you'd like to see our latest effort, or perhaps I should say my latest effort, since this is one of my projects. I think it is one of the best pamphlets we've ever done on this subject, and I'm sending it to you especially because I thought you might want to mention it in your publication. Am sending three (3) copies actually since I thought you might want to send a couple with press releases on to other interested persons.

Read your letter to Nick about the film possibilities. You certainly said a great deal in not many words. It would be fine if the boys could do a film on that subject, wouldn't it?

We spent Easter in Montgomery, but found it filled with tensions. The South certainly is not a very pleasant place to be these days.

If you get up this way, let us know. We'd love to see you.

Yours,

Dallas

Dallas

Public Affairs Committee
22 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.
Murray Hill 3-4331

For Release: April 16, 1956

BASEBALL SHOWS WAYS OF FAIR PLAY
FOR ALL AMERICANS

"In all my years in baseball I have never yet seen an infielder scoop up a baseball and pause before he threw in order to determine for himself whether the first baseman was of a suitable race or religion," reports Lou Boudreau in an introduction to Who's On First, a 25¢-pamphlet published today by the Public Affairs Committee in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, both of New York City.

"Discrimination has no place in baseball," says Mr. Boudreau, "and I hope that baseball may be an instrument to show that it has no place in America."

The author of the pamphlet, Jack Mabley, a Chicago sports reporter for 18 years, vividly reports on the necessity for fair play in all of American life. His story is dramatic -- he lets our great athletes tell their own stories. Ralph Metcalfe, who ran for Marquette University and for America in the Olympics, tells of the difficulties of Negro runners 15 years ago. "When I started running, I didn't worry about form...I had to put daylight between me and the next man..."

Mr. Mabley recaptures in a few pages Jesse Owens' stirring victory over Luz Long in 1936, when Hitler snubbed the famous Negro runner. He also reviews the famous Jackie Robinson story. Branch Rickey, as many fans will recall, warned Robinson of the insults and abuse he would face, and demanded that Robinson accept all and keep silent.

Robinson recoiled. "Do you want a man who's afraid to fight back?" Rickey was firm. "No, I want a man with enough guts not to fight back." Robinson, with

guts, broke baseball's color line and made history.

Through actually quoting famous athletes, Mr. Mabley illustrates how teamwork and cooperation make for championship sports. The manager of a baseball team, he reminds readers, does not say, "We can have just one Jew on the squad, and three Negroes, and only one Italian because we already have one in the outfield."

Mr. Mabley also highlights the need for fair play everywhere. He tells how an Italian immigrant, Enrico Fermi, contributed to the development of atomic power. And an American doctor of Jewish descent, Jonas Salk, finally made possible the polio vaccine bearing his name.

Mr. Mabley finds the cause of prejudice in ignorance. Fortunately, he says, "the sports fan and the participant see for themselves a man's value to a team, see that his race and religion have no bearing on whether he is a good sportsman and have nothing to do with his ability to hit a baseball over the center field wall."

SPECIAL NOTE TO EDITORS:
Kindly insert in your story the price of this pamphlet which is 25¢ and include the address of Public Affairs Committee which is a non-profit educational organization located at 22 E. 38th St., New York City. This will prevent your receiving requests for copies and additional information.

Telephone Murray Hill 3-4331

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MABEL C. MOUNT, *Managing Editor*

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DALLAS JOHNSON
ANNETTE TOCCI

May 22, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I had expected some word from you by this time on the new Segregation pamphlet. I trust that it is coming along and that you will be able to give me some idea soon as to when I may expect the completed copy.

It is such an important project that we are very anxious to move ahead with it.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Maxwell S. Stewart

Maxwell S. Stewart
Editor

mss:ew

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AIRMAIL

May 23, 1956

Mr. Maxwell Stewart
Public Affairs Pamphlets
22 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Maxwell:

This is a hasty note to assure you I have not forgotten about the segregation pamphlet. The deadline for our desegregation survey, which I mentioned in my last letter was pushed back by various complications, thus effecting all my deadlines. I am working on it, however, and hope to have something for you soon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

June 29, 1956

Mr. Maxwell S. Stewart
Public Affairs Pamphlets
22 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Stewart:

You have every right to be impatient, as I have every right to have a bad conscience. The truth is that I should have had more will power than to have taken on the job at so hectic and unmanageable a time as this. But I didn't and I still want to complete it, for my own peace of mind as well as yours.

In view of the disappointing results of my earlier deadline setting, I am reluctant to set another. I will make every effort to have something for you in about two weeks.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

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DALLAS JOHNSON
ANNETTE TOCCI

August 9, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have been looking forward to receiving your manuscript or definite word from you regarding it. I trust that it is coming along and that you will have it for me soon.

Sincerely yours,

Maxwell S. Stewart

Maxwell S. Stewart
Editor

MSS.at

August 13, 1956

Mr. Maxwell S. Stewart
Public Affairs Pamphlets
22 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Stewart:

In Mr. Fleming's absence I am acknowledging your letter of August 9th. It shall be brought to his attention when he returns from vacation next Monday.

Sincerely,

Sec'y to Mr. Harold C. Fleming

September 21, 1956

Mr. Maxwell S. Stewart, Editor
Public Affairs Pamphlets
22 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Stewart:

When the recent outbreaks occurred, I had managed to get a draft a little better than half done. My situation has seemed to grow steadily worse than better.

I finally did what I should have done sometime ago - namely enlist the collaboration of a fellow staff member who is not quite so hard pressed. John Constable is working on the second half of the job, and I hope between us we will be able to come through at last.

One of the worst things about the delay is that the manuscript periodically becomes anachronistic while you are working on it. The short summaries on Tennessee, Texas and Kentucky will have to be somewhat revised!

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Telephone Murray Hill 3-4331

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MAXWELL S. STEWART, *Secretary and Editor*
MABEL C. MOUNT, *Managing Editor*

Educational Associates: IRA GLICK
DALLAS JOHNSON
ANNETTE TOCCI

September 13, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In view of everything that has happened recently, I can well imagine that you are kept terribly busy. But in view of developments, I am also extremely anxious about the manuscript. Is there any chance of my getting it soon?

Yours sincerely,

Maxwell S. Stewart

Editor,
Public Affairs Pamphlets

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NIGHT LETTER

October 23, 1956

Mr. Maxwell S. Stewart
Public Affairs Pamphlets
22 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.

You can have draft of integration manuscript middle of next week.

John Constable
Southern Regional Council

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63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

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AIRMAIL - SPECIAL DELIVERY

November 1, 1956

Mr. Maxwell S. Stewart, Editor
Public Affairs Pamphlets
22 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Stewart:

Here, at long last, is a draft manuscript on the South and segregation. I am quite dissatisfied with parts of it, particularly the short section on the non-South. Rather than delay the manuscript longer, however, I am sending it to you as is.

Over the long and painful period the last few months, I have developed strong doubts about this attempt to sum up the whole complicated situation in one pamphlet. But I will let you be the judge of whether or not this is the substance of a Public Affairs Pamphlet.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

DRAFT

THE SOUTH AND SEGREGATION

by Harold C. Fleming and John Constable
Southern Regional Council

On May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court spoke the decisive words in a legal debate that has stretched over 100 years of American history. For a unanimous court, Chief Justice Earl Warren declared:

"To separate [Negro children] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone... We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

The decision was rightly termed "historic." It overturned the 58-year-old Plessy ruling, under which 17 states and the District of Columbia had maintained separate and usually inferior school systems for Negroes. It also foretold the doom of legal segregation in such other public facilities as parks, playgrounds, and local buses. Moreover, it brought into sharper focus the extra-legal segregation common in Northern and Western cities with large Negro populations.

In short, the Supreme Court's school decision set the stage in law for a major revision of racial practices in this country. Yet, for all its far-readhing implications, the decision was not an abrupt departure from current trends. In the years immediately preceding the decision, and particularly since World War Two, segregation had been steadily crumbling. Through court action, Southern Negroes had won the right to cast their ballots in the all-important Democratic primaries to

to serve on juries, to enroll in the graduate schools of state universities, and to ride unsegregated on interstate trains. In parts of the South, Negroes had sought public office for the first time since Reconstruction -- and some of them had won, with the support of white as well as Negro voters. Whites and Negroes in the Armed Forces had served side by side for several years, many of them at Southern military posts.

Not all of the Negro's advances were the result of court rulings and executive orders. Many private and church-related colleges in the South had voluntarily opened their doors to Negro students. Professional associations had begun accepting into membership Negro doctors, nurses, lawyers, ministers, and the like. Sixty-odd Southern cities had newly admitted patrons of both races to their main public libraries. Professional baseball teams in many a deep South town included one or more Negro players on their rosters.

The school decision, then, did not mark a sudden change of direction. But it did extend the principle of equal citizenship farther than ever before. Potentially, it could affect the daily experiences of millions of school children, and it challenged a "way of life" in the South traditionally based on subordination of the Negro.

Aftermath of the Decision

All things considered, the initial reactions to the school decision were surprisingly favorable. In the North and West, the general view was that the Supreme Court had righted an old wrong. It was also widely recognized that the United States' moral position had been strengthened throughout the world, particularly among Asians and Africans.

Even in the South, the reaction was milder than most people expected. A few political figures breathed defiance, but most public comment was restrained. Newspapers, with few exceptions, greeted the decision as

"inevitable" and expressed confidence that the South could work out a gradual adjustment. All of the major religious groups active in the South, including the Southern Baptist Convention, endorsed the ruling as being in harmony with Christian and Judaic principles.

This restraint was explained in part by the way in which the Supreme Court dealt with the school issue. The decision of May 17, 1954, ruled out the doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities. But it was not until a year later, after further hearings, that the Court spelled out the process by which desegregation must be achieved. This implementation ruling of May 31, 1955, was both moderate and flexible. The high tribunal charged Federal district judges to see that the defendant school authorities made a "prompt and reasonable start" toward desegregation. The district judges were empowered to take local conditions into account in considering plans for compliance formulated in "good faith."

At this point, the 17 states and the District of Columbia, where school segregation had previously been compulsory, adopted varying courses. The nation's capital and several of the border states proceeded promptly with statewide desegregation of their public schools. Other border states experienced greater doubts and problems, but in all of them delay was clearly only temporary. At the other extreme, the deep South states assumed defiant postures which grew increasingly rigid as the months passed. The states in between took a cautious, "wait-and-see" position; by the summer of 1956, however, most of them had moved gradually into the resistance column.

DESEGREGATING STATES

Five states -- Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia -- and the District of Columbia have undertaken school integration as a matter of official policy. Together, they account for more than a quarter of a million Negro children newly attending classes with white children. Although each of them has areas where pro-segregation sentiment

is strong, firm state direction has assured the outcome. It should be noted that these are states with relatively small overall percentages of Negroes in their populations. (Maryland, with 17 per cent in 1950, ranks highest.) In this, as in other respects, however, the District of Columbia is an exception.

District of Columbia

The seat of the nation's capital is under the direct control of the Federal Government. For several years prior to the school decision, the Government's policies had been aimed at the elimination of segregation in Washington. Longstanding racial barriers were lowered by hotels, restaurants, parks, and public housing projects, as well as in Federal operations themselves. A number of voluntary organizations were working to prepare the city for desegregated schooling. Immediately after the 1954 ruling, the District Board of Education ordered "complete desegregation" with the least possible delay. By the 1955-56 school year, 147 of the District's 169 public schools had racially integrated classes, and a majority of the schools included both white and Negro teachers on their faculties.

Unlike most cities of comparable size, Washington has a high proportion of Negro residents -- about 43 per cent -- and an even higher proportion of Negro pupils -- now approximately 65 per cent. Moreover, the housing pattern does not provide the kind of "natural" segregation that is common in other big urban centers. For these reasons, Washington's swift compliance with the Supreme Court edict has had sweeping effects.

Segregationist critics have sought to discredit the Washington experience as an abject failure. They have spotlighted the relatively few unpleasant incidents involving white and Negro children. They have also emphasized the drop in scholastic levels in newly desegregated schools. But school authorities maintain that behavior problems have showed no

abnormal increase and are generally of the same variety as those found in any metropolitan school system.

No one contests the fact that desegregation has sharpened academic problems. But educators deny that these problems are fundamentally racial in origin. Rather, the lower achievement records of most Negroes reflect their inadequate schooling under the old dual system, and to some extent the poorer socio-economic setting from which many of them come. Thus Washington's schools are confronted by an acute educational problem that is chronic in most large public school systems: that is, how to give children with disadvantaged backgrounds the special attention they need without penalizing the more advanced pupils.

Washington has recently instituted a remedy for this problem called the "four-track" plan of education. On the basis of present ability and achievement, children are assigned to one of four curricula, ranging from an honors course to a "basic" course in the elementary skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The aim is to give the individual child, white or Negro, the chance to learn at the level for which he is equipped. If a pupil's performance warrants, he may move from one "track" to another.

The States

The five desegregating states have moved at varying rates of speeds toward the official goal of a single school system. West Virginia, for example, has gone forward with phenomenal rapidity. By the summer of 1956, out of a total of 44 counties with Negro school-age population, all but a handful had desegregated completely or partially. As school opened for the 1956 term, only three far eastern counties retained segregated schools, and they are small compared to counties where integration is well under way. As the Charleston Gazette commented, "Segregation is about over in the Mountain state."

Though affirming its intent to comply from the beginning, Kentucky

has moved more deliberately. Kentucky took its first step toward integrated education in 1948 when the law was changed to permit white and Negro medical and nursing students to be trained in the same institutions. Since that beginning, all higher education facilities have been opened to Negro students. As school opened in September 1956, trouble hit three of Kentucky's desegregating communities. Mobs harassed Negro students in Clay and Sturgis and a school at Henderson was subjected to a boycott. White mobsters temporarily won out in Clay and Sturgis, and the schools were reopened on a segregated basis. But court action in these two places seems inevitable. The interracial Henderson Ministerial Association valiantly fought the Citizens' Councils with a truth campaign and broke the school boycott in that community.

Organization poor

With Louisville beginning a "free choice" system this fall and integration going smoothly in other schools, the state now has 92 integrated districts while 17 others have formulated plans to open their schools to all students. Kentucky now has 125,665 white and 8,114 Negro pupils attending mixed classes in 232 public schools.

Nearly 85 per cent of Missouri's Negro school children attended desegregated schools in 1955-56. This large-scale changeover is explained mainly by the desegregation of school systems in St. Louis, Kansas City, Springfield, and other cities, where most of the Negro population is concentrated. In the fall of 1956, out of 172 high school districts in Missouri, 166 were integrated.

Racial barriers have been tumbling in Missouri for several years. Catholic schools in St. Louis were desegregated as long ago as 1948, and court rulings opened swimming pools in St. Louis and Kansas City in subsequent years. Moreover, planning and preparation for school desegregation by religious, civic, labor, and educational groups had been under way for some time prior to the 1954 decision.

Oklahoma's outlook, once markedly Southern, has shifted westward in

recent years. This, plus court-ordered desegregation of higher education in the late 'forties, prepared the state for calm acceptance of the Supreme Court's decree. The state decided to defer any action until after the implementation ruling of 1955. Once that ruling was issued, Oklahoma officials not only sanctioned local school desegregation, but used financial inducements to speed it up. School boards were advised that, beginning with the 1956-57 term, state funds would not be paid for the extra expenses of maintaining separate Negro schools. In 1955-56, about half of Oklahoma's Negro enrollment was in desegregated schools. Or, as reported in other terms by the New York Times, 47 counties had desegregated some portions of their school systems, 15 counties had postponed desegregation, and 15 counties had no school-age Negroes. As school opened in 1956, two more schools in Tulsa and one more district in the state integrated.

Of the states in the "desegregating" category, Maryland has had one of the most challenging transitions to make. Some of its rural counties, by virtue of economy and racial pattern, have had a strong identification with the traditional South. Yet, under the leadership of a forthrightly pro-integration governor, Maryland has maintained its unity. Baltimore and eight out of the 23 counties in the state had mixed classes in 1955-56; three others said that requests of Negroes to transfer to white schools would be considered. Only 12 per cent of the state's Negro enrollment was in desegregated schools, but the proportion rose in September 1956. Now the state has approximately 200 desegregated schools.

The impact of desegregation has been cushioned in Maryland by the use of the free-choice method. Pupils are permitted but not required to transfer to schools formerly closed to them. This has led there -- as it has elsewhere -- to a markedly gradual transition. Baltimore, which granted unrestricted choice in September 1954, enrolled only 1,576, or three per cent,

of its Negro school children in formerly white schools during the first year. In the 1955-56 term, the figure rose to 4,601, and an additional 2,701 attended formerly all-Negro schools in which white pupils had enrolled.

The important point is that Baltimore has displayed a steady determination to comply in good faith with the Supreme Court's decision -- despite the fact that its 41.3 per cent Negro population is greater than that of many deep South cities. In the first weeks of desegregation, demonstrations touched off by pro-segregation organizers were halted abruptly by firm official action. By every present indication, Maryland is moving slowly but steadily toward full desegregation.

STATES DIVIDED

It is generally recognized that the effects of the school decision fell unevenly on the 17-state area directly involved. There has never been a truly "solid" South of race relations, and the differences have increased in recent years. We are used to thinking of such differences in state-by-state terms. But geographical, economic, and cultural diversity is no respecter of state lines. The contrasts to be found within a single state are often extreme. That is the case with the four states -- Arkansas, Delaware, Tennessee, and Texas -- here called "divided."

Of course, all of the 17 states dealt with have their internal variations in racial attitudes -- between urban and rural areas, industrial and non-industrial cities, counties with many Negro residents and counties with few or none at all. Most of the state governments, however, have settled on racial policies that can be imposed statewide, at least for the time being. The "divided" states are exceptions. The differing areas within their boundaries have moved in opposite directions, while state leadership has leaned first one way and then another.

Delaware is literally divided by a canal which separates the northern, industrial county of New Castle from the southern, agricultural counties of

Kent and Sussex. In the northern third, Wilmington partially integrated its schools between 1954 and 1956 and laid plans for complete integration of its 3,829 Negro pupils in the 1956-57 term; full integration of the remaining 5,500 Negro pupils in New Castle County is expected soon. By contrast, in the two southern counties only the state capital, Dover, has gingerly approached desegregation. There fifteen Negroes attended formerly white schools in the 1955-56 school year.

The prospects for statewide desegregation of Delaware's schools were dimmed by the widely publicized disorders in Milford during 1954. In September of that year, the Milford board of education unexpectedly opened the doors of the white high school to eleven Negro students. Ten days later, disgruntled white parents and segregationists from elsewhere gathered under the leadership of Bryant Bowles and his self-styled National Association for the Advancement of White People. After several days of demonstrations and near-violence, the board of education was replaced and the Negroes were withdrawn.

The Milford experience had a pronounced effect on the political leaders of Delaware. Fearful of explosive reactions to a pro-integration policy, they have adopted an uneasy middle ground between the northern and southern areas of the state. There have been no official attempts to impose school desegregation through state authority. But despite resistance in the state, Delaware opened the 1956-57 school year with at least 4,100 Negro children out of a total of about 11,000 in school districts with varying patterns of desegregation.

Arkansas' experience in several respects closely parallels that of Delaware. There, too, school desegregation in one community was countered by pro-segregation demonstrations, spurred and assisted by "outsiders." And Arkansas has also seen its political leadership vacillate between acceptance and rejection of the Supreme Court's ruling. One difference -- and an important

one -- is that Arkansas' embattled community of Hoxie has not yielded to the segregationists, but has maintained its desegregated schools. Two other communities in the state, Fayetteville and Charleston, have enrolled Negroes in formerly white schools since August 1954. Unlike Hoxie, both of them are in the northwestern part of the state, where the Negro population is sparse and race consciousness is relatively slight. Little Rock and Hot Springs have announced plans for very gradual integration within the next two years.

Texas is split along similar cultural and economic lines. Its eastern counties are really an extension of the deep South. Their rich, cotton-growing soil made them a part of the plantation economy. The large Negro population in this area is still subject to the restraints with which the agrarian society replaced slavery. The strong pro-segregation attitudes held by most East-Texas whites are reflected in the politics of the state. The governor and the legislature have advocated continued segregation of the schools.

The western segment of Texas, on the other hand, has little in common with the cotton-growing section. The economy there is Western rather than Southern, and the Negro population is small and scattered. By the 1956-57 term, 100 school districts in this part of the state had begun school desegregation, with little difficulty except in Mansfield. The state now has an estimated 500,000 white and 25,000 Negro students in integrated situations. The large majority of Texas' Negroes will remain unaffected until barriers begin to fall in the eastern counties.

With the Appalachian peaks on the east, the Mississippi Delta on the west, and the rolling bluegrass country in between, Tennessee has a broad range of racial attitudes. In general, resistance to desegregation is greatest in the western area and least marked in the highlands at the other end of the state. Because of this, few people expected the flare-up in Clinton when it emulated neighboring Oak Ridge and integrated its schools in the fall of

1956. However, "outsiders," chiefly Citizens' Council leaders from north Alabama and Washington, D.C., came into the Clinton area in a last-ditch stand to keep Tennessee in the segregationist column. State officials, who had steadily refused to yield to the pressures of pro-segregation groups, held firm in this instance too, and Clinton now is integrated. There are reasonably good prospects for desegregation in other mountain counties with sparse Negro population. Nashville, in the central part of the state, appears to be moving toward a "gradual" adjustment to the Supreme Court decision.

STATES RESISTING

Florida, North Carolina and Virginia have in common an official attitude of stiffening resistance to desegregation. For some time following the school decision, they were commonly described as "wait-and-see" states. But political developments in the past year have moved them steadily closer to the defiant position of their deep South neighbors.

Florida, for example, filed a temperate brief with the Supreme Court during 1955, urging that the court allow time for gradual adjustment and permit local conditions to be taken into account. The implementation ruling later handed down by the court was widely hailed as a victory for this viewpoint. Yet, when fiercely pro-segregation candidates began campaigning for state office, Florida's officials modified their stand. In the summer of 1956, the Governor called a special session of the Legislature to enact legislation aimed at preventing desegregation. A Negro student's attempts to enroll at the University of Florida was also being strongly resisted by the state's legal department.

This pattern, with variations in timing and method, has also prevailed in North Carolina. Virginia earlier and more completely than the other two states gave the leadership to its "black belt" counties, which wield great political power in the state.

There is good reason to distinguish these states, despite their official positions, from the "hard-core" states in the following category. In all three of them, there is considerable dissent from the doctrine of die-hard resistance. And enough of the dissenters are sufficiently influential and vocal to keep the debate alive. It would not be surprising if, during the coming months, some of the less race-conscious communities asserted their independence from state segregation policies. This is particularly likely as additional rulings are issued by the federal courts. For it is not the states, but the communities, which must decide whether to obey or openly defy decrees of the courts.

STATES DEFYING

Stretching through the South from Southeast Virginia to Western Texas is the irregular band of counties commonly called the "black belt." The belt is broadest across the deep South states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Here the proportion of Negroes in county populations ranges from 40% to as much as 80% of the total.

In the rich, dark soil which gave the black belt its name, the plantation system of the last century put down its deepest roots. This was the heartland of the Old South, whose planter-aristocracy led the region into the Civil War. Much of the rest of the South - particularly the mountainous sections - felt little loyalty to the cotton-and-slave society. But the plantation South held most of the political and economic power and used it to forge the solid South of the Confederacy.

The South has undergone many major changes since its defeat almost 100 years ago. Industries have sprung up in the Piedmont area which borders the black belt. Modern cities have claimed an increasing flow of migrants from the land. In the rural areas, cotton has given way to diversified crops and pastures for beef and dairy cattle. The old plantation counties have

lost heavily in population and in economic control.

But in spite of these changes, the black belt has kept its hold on the politics of the deep South. The distribution of seats in the state legislatures remains virtually unchanged since the turn of the century. Devices like Georgia's county unit system also serve to keep the center of political power in those areas where the after-effects of slavery are most strongly felt. Thus in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana the state governments have committed themselves to a last-ditch defense of segregation, and pro-segregation groups like the White Citizens' Councils have mushroomed in the past two years.

Legislation

The five "defiant" states moved swiftly in the wake of the Supreme Court decision to buttress school segregation with new laws and constitutional amendments. These measures are both large in number and varied in approach. Most of them are of one or another of the following types:

(1) Abolition of Public Schools. Most of the "defiant" states have followed South Carolina's early lead (1952) by paving the way in law for an end to operation of public schools. In most cases, this legislative step has been coupled with provisions for some form of "private school" plan. Generally, the states have been empowered to make tuition grants for the education of children deprived of public school facilities.

(2) Non-support of integrated schools. Legislation requires the automatic cessation of state funds to school systems that desegregate in any degree.

(3) Pupil-assignment laws. Local school authorities are granted broad powers to determine the school a child may attend. Such intangible factors as character, health, and welfare replace race as the basis for exclusion.

(4) Coercive measures. Georgia has made it a felony for a school

official to spend public funds on a desegregated school. South Carolina and Mississippi have forbidden teachers and other state employees to belong to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Alabama and Louisiana have acted under existing statutes to prohibit the operation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mississippi has established a system of paid informers and secret police to ferret out integrationists. These and similar measures have been enacted in the deep South to enforce the segregation orthodoxy.

(5) Interposition and nullification. Five state legislatures have adopted resolutions which declare the Supreme Court's segregation rulings of no effect. This doctrine of "interposition" has a long and complicated history. It originated in the 19th century on the theory that a state had the sovereign right to challenge a court decision which it felt violated the constitutional division of powers. Most students of constitutional law, however, have held that interposition has no legal force or value, except as a protest aimed at public opinion.

All told, state segregation laws passed since the school decision numbered approximately 80 as of fall 1956.

Resistance Movements

Immediately following the May 17, 1954 decision, resistance to the decree was slight; but during the year between the two school rulings the pro-segregation movement rapidly gained momentum.

Initial resistance came from the National Association for the Advancement of White People, (NAAWP), organized in Delaware by Bryant Bowles. Bowles and the NAAWP were successful in Milford, Delaware where their tactics were largely responsible for restoring segregation, but Bowles failed in other places, notably in Baltimore and Washington. Although the NAAWP success in Milford undoubtedly gave impetus to the resistance movement in the deep South,

Bowles' career has since been anticlimactic; and at one point he momentarily resigned leadership in the NAAWP, laying the blame on apathy of white citizens.

The Ku Klux Klan also was revived soon after the Court decision, but its career has followed a pattern opposite to that of the NAAWP. Since the old Klan had largely been repudiated, new Klan leaders found it tough sledding in the revival attempt. A South Carolina sheriff spoke out against the group and that state refused to grant its leader, Eldon Edwards, a charter for the organization. However, as resistance grew, Klan activity increased. The group now holds a charter in Georgia, and its meetings are drawing larger audiences.

Although fringe organizations are attracting an increasing number of followers, resistance is centered largely in the self-styled Citizens' Councils, of which the Mississippi group is the strongest and most influential in the region. The movement is now organized into an Association of Citizens' Councils of America with "national" headquarters in Greenwood, Mississippi, also the headquarters for the state group.

Councils have been organized in Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia; and 15 other states have similar organizations.

The Councils' membership claims exceed the half million mark. Recent studies of the groups, however, put their combined membership at closer to 300,000. It is estimated that the Councils collect well over two million dollars each year in membership fees alone.

The main object of the Citizens' Councils' official pronouncements appears to be to create an aura of respectability around the entire movement. But though the movement attempts to embrace all sufficiently "respectable" groups, regional leaders strive to divest the central organization of responsibility for utterances and actions of the local component groups.

This decentralization enables the main Council movement to disclaim credit for any violence which may be undertaken by individual Citizens' Councils or individual members. A case in point was the recent repudiation of the North Alabama Citizens' Council following an attack by some of its members on the Negro singer Nat King Cole.

The Councils, according to published statements, are officially dedicated to "the maintenance of peace, good order, and domestic tranquility in our Communities and in our State and to the preservation of our States' Rights"; and as mentioned, they publicly decry resort to violence. But if, as the Councils claim, the "best" people of the community make up their leadership and lend respectability to flouting the law, it is not surprising that cruder elements in the South are encouraged to try mob action.

Economic Pressure and Boycotts

Initially, the Councils made no secret of the fact that their chief weapon would be the use of economic pressure; but after this method was condemned by newspapers and met by counter pressure from Negro groups, the Councils disavowed organizational responsibility for economic reprisals.

Whatever degree of direct responsibility may be attributed to the Councils, both economic and social pressures have been widely used against advocates of desegregation. Negro farmers and business men have been denied credit, Negro merchants have been boycotted by wholesale distributors, and Negro teachers and other employees have been discharged.

White persons who favor a more democratic way of life are not immune to the economic threat. A growing number of ministers have been forced from their pulpits, and white persons have been ordered to move by angry groups of their neighbors. An attempt was made to cut off the earned retirement pension of a former president of a white Georgia college because he advocated that white and Negro people sit down together and seek local agreement.

In most cases economic pressure is imposed quietly, without publicity, and all too often no weapon is available to fight such tactics. However, in Orangeburg, South Carolina, merchants and food distributors who cooperated in the Citizens' Council economic squeeze found it to be a two-edged weapon. The merchants were boycotted in turn by Negro students of two colleges in the area and by other Negro citizens of Orangeburg. Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama, and Tallahassee, Florida, have also employed the boycott to protest unfair treatment on city buses.

The outcome of this economic tug-of-war cannot yet be determined, but it is at least clear that Negroes will not be the only ones to suffer.

Violence

Although most of the pro-segregation groups publicly deplore violence, this type of resistance has been increasing steadily since the May 17,1954 decision. Recently, the movement culminated in the Clinton, Tennessee rioting mentioned earlier in this article. Nearly 50 cases of violence or threats of violence were reported in 1955 in the 12 Southern states most directly concerned with desegregation of schools. These cases included the murder of at least three Negroes in Mississippi, the wounding of at least one other, the burning of a Negro church in South Carolina, and several bombings. In the Mississippi cases, no person has yet been convicted of these crimes.

Violence has continued in 1956, with such cases as the Autherine Lucy incidents and the Nat King Cole incidents gaining national attention. Incidents receiving less publicity included the bombings of homes of leaders of the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott and the bombing of a store on an inter-racial farm in Georgia.

Prospects of further violence seem to be increasing rather than lessening. Following the Clinton, Tennessee rioting, John Kasper, the man most directly responsible for the disorders there, told a group of Citizens'

Council members that they must "seize control of local governments." "We want trouble," he said. And a "new" Klan, launched recently in Alabama, described the "new" as meaning that the organization would be an "action" group in contrast to the existing pro-segregation units.

Propaganda

Literature of the resistance movements varies greatly, ranging from vulgar diatribes distributed as handbills to articles in national magazines. Underlying most of this literature is a foundation of half-truths and distortion, and some of the pro-segregation exhibits of the Citizens' Councils have been revealed as outright frauds.

Recent examples of the latter were copies of a tape-recorded speech dealing with sex relations, allegedly made by a Negro professor, and a picture which was supposed to depict white women and Negro men at an Armed Forces base in Alabama. Both propaganda pieces were exposed as fakes by the Columbus (Georgia) Ledger.

Churches

The overwhelming majority of religious leaders and official church bodies have spoken out strongly concerning the school decisions. Most of the church statements are in the spirit of the one issued by the Southern Baptist Christian Life Commission: "...we urge Christian statesmen and leaders to use their leadership in positive thought and planning to the end that this crisis in our national history shall not be made the occasion for new and bitter prejudices, but a movement toward a united nation embodying and proclaiming a democracy that will commend freedom to all peoples."

Despite increased efforts of intimidation, there is growing evidence that local pastors and lay leaders are accepting the obligation expressed in statements by their governing bodies. A few formerly all-white churches in the South are now open on an integrated basis, and ministerial associations

scattered throughout the South are integrating their memberships. Here and there, religious groups are holding integrated meetings.

Pressure on non-conformists

But while many church leaders are assuming positive leadership in the segregation controversy and are effectively influencing their congregations, other forthright men are not so successful.

It has become increasingly difficult in much of the South, for individuals to express liberal racial views without suffering heavy penalties. A growing number of courageous ministers have been forced from their pulpits. Some of them did not even advocate integration but merely calm and Christian discussion of the issue.

Ministers are not the only victims of the segregationist demand for conformity. Some newspaper editors have been persecuted, educators have been forced to give up their jobs rather than surrender their principles. In Florida, a white teacher was fired because she expressed sympathy for a white woman doctor who was fired from her job as a health officer after lunching with a Negro member of her staff.

To many concerned persons, the dangers inherent in these violations of the basic freedoms of thought, speech, and association overshadow the segregation controversy itself.

Desegregation Since the Court Decision

On a more positive note, a recent survey by the Southern Regional Council confirms an earlier thesis that the South is moving "with seeming inevitability" toward an increasingly integrated society.

The survey was concerned with examples of desegregation in all fields that had occurred in the 17 Southern and border states and the District of Columbia between May 1954 and May 1956. The common notion that integration "won't work" in the South is directly contradicted by the finding that some

1,100 instances of desegregation had taken place in the two-year span. Examples were not limited to the border states, but were spread throughout the South. And while court decisions and other legal rulings prompted desegregation in certain fields, many changes were the result of voluntary decisions. Few instances of desegregation were highly publicised and little tension accompanied most of the transitions.

Clearly, the South has a greater capacity for racial change than either its friends or critics commonly suppose.

The Non-South

What meaning does the Supreme Court school decision have for the non-South? Legally, the decision applied only to the 17 states in and adjoining the South which enforced segregation by law in 1954. But the spirit of the decision applied equally to many places outside the South where segregation exists by custom and practice rather than law. What is happening in these areas?

(1) Employment -- Both private and public employment opportunities for Negroes in the non-South have increased since the Supreme Court's school decision. To what extent this is a result of the decision is not known. But a recent survey financed by the Fund for the Republic indicates that there have been many new openings for Negro workers in the past two and one-half years. It was feared in some areas of the North that Negro teachers would lose their jobs as school segregation was ended, but the reverse seems to be the case. Negro teachers have been employed in areas where they were not hired before, and some have been employed in schools with no Negro children. Although discrimination in employment is far from eliminated in the non-South, many firms are moving toward a better employment policy. One agency that has facilitated these changes is the President's Committee on Government Contracts, set up to enforce fair employment practices in

Both

firms doing business with the Federal Government.

(2) Housing -- Segregated neighborhoods are still much in evidence in the non-South; but in recent years, a strong trend toward integration has developed. New Jersey, Indiana, and Illinois have taken steps to root out segregation where it has been practiced in disregard of state laws. In other areas, public housing has been newly opened to Negroes, and some private housing developments have acquired their first Negro residents. According to the Fund for the Republic survey, most instances of desegregation in housing in the non-South since the Court decision were accomplished "without bitterness or incident."

(3) Education -- Segregation in education in the non-South has been accomplished in three ways; first, by overtly racial policies; second, by gerrymandering school zones; and third, by segregated housing. Of the three, segregated housing is by far the biggest obstacle to integrated schools in the non-South; as barriers fall there, they automatically fall in the schools. As the Fund survey points out, segregation has been broken down in all three of the above categories since the May 17, 1954 decision.

The trend toward integration is the result of various forces: the war-inspired concern for minority rights; action by Negroes themselves, human relations agencies, church and civic groups, enlightened school administrators and public officials; the growing realization that it is often cheaper to integrate than to provide new or improved facilities for Negro pupils; and last but not least, the spirit of the Court's decision.

* * *

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MAXWELL S. STEWART, *Secretary and Editor*
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Educational Associates: IRA GLICK
DALLAS JOHNSON
ANNETTE TOCCI

November 5, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Many thanks for your manuscript. Far from having any doubts about your attempt to sum up a complicated situation, it seems to me to be an admirable job with just the right combination of facts and interpretation. I agree that the section on non-South might be strengthened somewhat, and I have taken the liberty of adding a few sentences with particular reference to New York. But apart from this very minor change, I feel that it is in excellent shape and we shall attempt to get it into type as quickly as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Maxwell S. Stewart

Editor,
Public Affairs Pamphlets

MSS:vm

November 26, 1956

Miss Mabel C. Mount
Managing Editor
Public Affairs Pamphlets
22 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Mount:

Thank you for sending me the galleys of the forthcoming pamphlet and for your kind words about the Manuscript.

John Constable and I have read the proofs and have indicated a few corrections, most of them minor and self-evident. One notation requires some comment. On galley 5, under "The North and West", "1. Education" the last sentence should be deleted. There have been community controversies and disorders centering about school integration in the North. Since the pamphlet is already subject to criticism for minimizing the existence of segregation problems in the North, we feel very strongly that this questionable statement ought not be added. Of course it would be possible to explain that such resistance as has occurred in the North has been less virulent and much more limited than in the South, but this would take up more space and might best be avoided by deleting the sentence in question.

As to the questions that you raise in your letter, your revised version is correct in both cases.

For your page one note: The SRC is an organization of many years standing, made up of white and Negro Southerners, working in the field of race relations. I am assistant director in charge of information, and John Constable is the editor of the Council's monthly publication New South. This pamphlet is based on several studies recently conducted by the SRC. The findings of one of these studies, along with the results of a similar Northern survey by David Loth, was just published by the Fund for the Republic under the title Integration North and South.

I hope this gives you the information you need; if not, let me know and I will supply more post-haste.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

Telephone Murray Hill 3-4331

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MAXWELL S. STEWART, *Secretary and Editor*
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ANNETTE TOCCI

November 20, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed are galleys of your manuscript. You will be pleased to hear that those who have read it are unanimous in their praise of its excellence.

May I ask you to read the proofs and rush them right back? This is our next Public Affairs Pamphlet and we are anxious to get it into print as fast as we can.

There are just a couple of questions:

(1) Galley 1, under "Desegregating States," line 4 -- "Negro children newly attending classes in integrated schools" originally read "Negro children newly attending classes ~~in integrated schools."~~ with white children." The question arose, Were the classes integrated, the schools, or the districts?

(2) Galley 5, five lines above heading "desegregation since the court decision" -- "Negro nurse on the staff of the Florida State Board of Health" originally read "Negro member of her staff." We think the former is correct, but can you check this for us, please?

We need 6 to 8 lines of copy to appear under the authors' names on page 1. This should include both your associations with the Southern Regional Council, and some word about the nature of the study on which the pamphlet is based. Will you send me the pertinent facts -- or the copy? Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Mabel C. Mount

Managing Editor

mm/s

AIRMAIL - SPECIAL DELIVERY

December 10, 1956

Miss Mabel C. Mount
Managing Editor
Public Affairs Pamphlets
22 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Miss Mount:

We have just received a letter from Mr. Frank Loescher of the Fund for the Republic commenting on the round-up-article on integration written by Harold Fleming and me. Mr. Loescher indicated he liked the article, but pointed out one error which we had overlooked. I hope it is not too late to correct this. The error is in the section on The Non-South under housing. The second sentence reading as follows, should be deleted entirely - "New Jersey, Indiana, and Illinois have taken steps to root out segregation where it has been newly opened to Negroes, and some private housing developments have acquired their first Negro residents."

Mr. Loescher also suggests that a sentence should be added about New York under the housing section. If you are able to do this, the sentence should read - "New York has taken the lead in the use of state legislation and administrative action against segregation in housing."

Hope you can make these changes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Managing Editor - New South

JC:mbo

New York has
taken the lead in the
use of state legislation and
administrative action
against seg in housing.

Mahla ~~Mouth~~ Mount

file

Telephone Murray Hill 3-4331

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MABEL C. MOUNT, *Managing Editor*

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DALLAS JOHNSON
ANNETTE TOCCI

December 14, 1956

Mr. John Constable, Managing Editor
New South
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Your timing was perfect! Your airmail special delivery letter arrived the very morning we were checking the last blue on the pamphlet.

We thought we might be able to make some adjustment, but we didn't particularly want to reset a whole section. We got in touch with Mr. Loescher by phone in order that we might better understand the significance of his suggestions. He is, we believe, well satisfied with the solution we arrived at. We left in the sentence that he, at first, had suggested deleting, but we had the space to add the sentence about New York's taking the lead, etc.

We expect to get our finished copies sometime between Christmas and New Year's. We shall have a batch sent to you directly from the bindery, but I suspect that they won't arrive until after the New Year even though they will be sent "special."

We send you, and Mr. Fleming, and Mr. Mitchell our very best Holiday Greetings.

Sincerely,

Mabel C. Mount

Managing Editor
Public Affairs Pamphlets

mm/s

xxxxxxxxxxx

January 18, 1957

Miss Annette Tocci
Educational Associate
Public Affairs Pamphlets
22 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Tocci:

In answer to your letter of January 10, 1957, concerning promotion of the Integration pamphlet by Harold Fleming and me, I imagine that you will reach many of the people in your regular promotion that we do in ours. However, I am enclosing a list of people who may be interested in helping with the pamphlet. Most of these people are in intergroup work, and we have found them helpful in the past.

If any new names occur to me, I shall send them along.

With best wishes for the promotion campaign.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Managing Editor, New South

JC:fc
Encl.

Harry Alston
National Urban League, Inc.
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, N. C.

Malcolm P. Calhoun
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
Division of Christian Relations
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Fred Fuges
Rights of Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Jack Greenberg
NAACP Legal Defense & Ed. Fund
107 West 43rd Street
New York 36, N. Y.

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
(representing Student Division YWCA)
The Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Florence Harris
National Board, YWCA
Southern Region
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mrs. Clarie Collins Harvey
Bd. of Soc. & Economic Relations
The Methodist Church
740 Rush Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Barton Hunter
Disciples of Christ
United Christian Missionary Society
222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Nelson Jackson
National Urban League, Inc.
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

J. Oscar Lee
National Council of the Churches of Christ
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Arthur J. Levin
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

A. C. Miller
Christian Life Commission of the Sou. Bapt.Con
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

Alfred G. Payne & Paul Rilling
Southern Area Student Council YMCA
706 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mrs. Pauline S. Puryear
Virginia State College
P. O. Box 487
Petersburg, Virginia

Mrs. Jean Russell
Board of Christian Education of
the Presby. Church, U. S. A.
Greenville, Tennessee

Mrs. Patricia Ryan
Commission on Human Rights
Catholic Committee of the South
P. O. Box 694
New Orleans, La.

Seymour Samet
American Jewish Committee
1208 Congress Bldg.
Miami 32, Fla.

Maurice V. Shean & Ed Vales
Catholic Committee of the South
Box 895
Rock Hill, South Carolina

SC -

Telephone Murray Hill 3-4331

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MAXWELL S. STEWART, *Secretary and Editor*
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Educational Associates: IRA GLICK
DALLAS JOHNSON
ANNETTE TOCCI

January 10, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We have started our promotion on the Integration pamphlet and hope we will be able to sell many copies.

In the meantime, I wonder if you could let me have a list of the organizations, with the names of key individuals, who have used the Southern Regional Council's material or who have made inquiries to the Council so that I can promote the Integration pamphlet with them. I trust it will be possible for you to give us this help.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Annette Tocci

Annette Tocci
Educational Associate

AT:vm

cc: and copy of incoming to JC

File

February 1, 1957

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

I was glad to see the Public Affairs Pamphlet based on Selma Hirsh's book. We thought very highly of the book when it was published and distributed some copies of it at that time. I should think that the pamphlet might get good program use.

If you can send us enough copies to circularize our main state people -- anything from a dozen to a hundred -- we can help make its availability known in the South.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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January 23, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The enclosed pamphlet -- Fear and Preiudice by Selma Hirsh -- is about to be published by the Public Affairs Committee. It is really a condensation of The Fears Men Live By, by the same author, which in turn was based upon the American Jewish Committee's Studies in Preiudice.

We would have a small quantity available for you, should you have any need for them.

My warm personal regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig
enc.

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Telephone Murray Hill 3-4331

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DALLAS JOHNSON
ANNETTE TOCCI

February 28, 1957

Mr. John Constable, Managing Editor
NEW SOUTH
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

I want to thank you for your letter of January 18 and the list of people in intergroup work, which you were kind enough to let me have. I am sorry the acknowledgment is tardy, but I have been so swamped.

Again, thank you for all your help.

Yours sincerely,

Annette Tocci

Annette Tocci
Educational Associate

AT:vm

June 11, 1957

Dr. Martin Deutsch
Scientific Motivation and Attitude
Consultants
510 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Marty:

I am sure that by now the text of the Public Affairs Pamphlet is in final form. But I would want to let you know that I read the draft through very carefully and, on the whole, thought it was an excellent job.

I would agree with the decision that had already been taken to cut down the first twenty-five pages of the draft and increase the remaining part. The last third of the draft seems to me to contain the most valuable stuff.

It is good to see this project, which was only a gleam in the eye a few months ago, come to fruition.

All the best to you and Cyn.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

465 West End Ave.
New York 24, N. Y.

August 12, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

It was good hearing from you.

By now you have probably received the final manuscript of the Public Affairs Pamphlet. I believe it to be a tremendous improvement over the first draft. Most of us feel it should meet a real need and be a real contribution.

I thought the story in Sunday's New York Times on Negro voting in the South rather unfortunate. It was too consciously balanced and therefore misleading to the average reader. Also, social change is more a function of disequilibrium and frank recognition of it than reflected in so-called "balanced" reporting that assumes rather fatuously two equal sides and reports the issue as if it represented a polite difference of opinion in the local high school debating club.

Anyhow, if you are in New York let us know--maybe you can clip a few hours off your schedule and come up for dinner or a drink and some talk.

I am chairing a symposium at APA this year on a general evaluation of the work of the social sciences in desegregation. Oscar Cohen is arranging for ADL to publish it, and I am hoping it will be interesting.

Best regards from Cyn.

Sincerely,

Marty

Martin Deutsch

RECEIVED SEP 27 1957

Telephone Murray Hill 3-4331

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MAXWELL S. STEWART, *Secretary and Editor*
MABEL C. MOUNT, *Managing Editor*

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DALLAS JOHNSON
ANNETTE TOCCI

September 25, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter dated September 20 and the lists which you were kind enough to prepare for us for use in connection with the pamphlet A Guide to School Integration.

Thank you very much for all your help.

Yours sincerely,

Annette Tocci

Annette Tocci
Educational Associate

AT:vm

September 20, 1957

Miss Annette Tocci
Educational Associate
Public Affairs Pamphlets
22 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Tocci:

I have read the SPSSI pamphlet with great interest and think very highly of it. I doubt, however, that we will be able to buy more than a modest quantity. At the moment I am waiting for other members of our staff to have an opportunity to read it.

Meanwhile, I am enclosing a couple of lists that may be helpful to you in promoting the pamphlet among ministers and other religious leaders. One of these is a list of religious publications, the other a list of Council of Churches leaders in the South.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2 Lists

RECEIVED SEP 13 1957

Telephone Murray Hill 3-4331

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MAXWELL S. STEWART, *Secretary and Editor*
MABEL C. MOUNT, *Managing Editor*

Educational Associates: IRA GLICK
DALLAS JOHNSON
ANNETTE TOCCI

September 11, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I know I have not allowed you much time to read the pamphlet we sent you last week, but Dr. Deutsch called me this morning and suggested I send another note to you. He asked me to get from you a list of central church officers and leaders who are influential in the South who would recommend the use of the Grambs pamphlet to the ministry.

I hope you will be able to get this information to us soon. Both Dr. Deutsch and I will appreciate any help you can give us.

Yours sincerely,

Annette Tocci

Annette Tocci
Educational Associate

AT:vm

April 9, 1959

Mr. Maxwell S. Stewart, Editor
Public Affairs Pamphlets
22 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Stewart:

As per your request, an additional copy of NEW SOUTH for March, 1959, was mailed air mail to you today.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Telephone Murray Hill 3-4331

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MAXWELL S. STEWART, *Secretary and Editor*
MABEL C. MOUNT, *Managing Editor*

Educational Associates: DALLAS JOHNSON
ANNETTE TOCCI

Sent March New South Air mail 4/9/59 BKC

April 8, 1959

Mr. John Constable, Editor
NEW SOUTH
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Could you please send me another copy of the current issue of the NEW SOUTH by first class mail? I have urgent need for it and would appreciate it very much.

Yours sincerely,

Maxwell S. Stewart

Editor
Public Affairs Pamphlets

vm

RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER
VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE

December 28, 1955

To the Editor

Dear Sir:

Your readers, as educators and education administrators, undoubtedly are concerned with the developments related to the racial segregation decisions by the U. S. Supreme Court. We believe, therefore, that they will be interested in learning of the availability of the RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, which will begin publication in February, 1956. A news story announcing this event is enclosed.

The Vanderbilt University School of Law is pleased to sponsor this means of providing, on a bi-monthly basis, a complete and impartial collection of the primary legal materials in this rapidly developing field of law.

Coverage of particular interest to educators will include decisions and orders of courts; constitutional and legislative provisions; federal, state and local departmental rulings; and opinions of attorneys-general.

We will appreciate your use of this story in bringing our service to the attention of those in the educational field who are likely to be interested. We also would like to have a copy of your publication in which this story is used, or where reference is made to our service, and will be glad to pay the regular price in this connection.

Very truly yours,

Paul H. Sanders

Paul H. Sanders, Director
Race Relations Law Reporter

PHS/a

enc.

ATTENTION: Editor

The RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, first legal reporting service in the nation devoted exclusively to this swiftly developing field of law will begin publication in February at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee.

Announcement of the new service was made by Dean John W. Wade of the Vanderbilt School of Law. The school is sponsoring the publication through a foundation grant.

"The U. S. Supreme Court's sweeping decisions in the racial segregation cases have set the stage for far-reaching developments in American life and our service will report these developments from the legal viewpoint," said Dean Wade.

The new professional magazine will publish decisions of courts, provisions of state constitutions, acts of state legislatures, ordinances of municipalities, opinions of attorneys-general, regulations of state departments of education, and rulings of local boards of education.

A large part of the material presented will be concerned with segregation in the public school systems. The service also will report on similar matters in connection with transportation, recreation, and other areas where legal questions are presented.

The publication will be strictly objective, Dean Wade stated. It will not editorialize, nor express opinions on the legality of particular plans or procedures in regard to segregation. Subscriptions will be offered at $2 for the six issues a year.

The magazine is designed primarily to provide educators, education administrators, attorneys, public officials, and others, with basic legal materials beginning with the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court in the School Segregation Cases. Legal background articles and bibliographies will be included.

gc -
Ra

January 12, 1956

RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER
Vanderbilt University
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Sirs:

Please enter three subscriptions to your publications, check for which is enclosed.

The subscriptions should be entered on your mailing list as follows:

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Leonard Haas
Suite 601, Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

We have advised each of our affiliated State Organizations to subscribe. It might be helpful if you sent a copy of your invitation to each of them; a list is attached.

If you plan to offer quantity subscription rates, I would appreciate your advising me of them for future reference.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf
enc.

AFFILIATED STATE ORGANIZATIONS

The Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Exec. Dir.
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Mr. Nat Griswold, Exec. Dir.
ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. William K. Williams, Exec.
FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
324 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dr. Hugh A. Brimm
KENTUCKY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
4435 Blenheim Rd.
Louisville 7, Kentucky

Dr. Guy H. Wells, Exec. Dir.
GEORGIA COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Milton Conrad Vigo, Exec. Dir.
LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
303 Board of Trade Annex Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Mrs. M. J. Lyells, Exec. Dir.
MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1104 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Mr. Harry S. Jones, Exec. Dir.
NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
121 East Third Street
Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina

Mrs. E. H. Spearman, Exec. Dir.
SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1508 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Mr. Clarence L. Hughes
TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Room 420, Jackson Building
Cherry and Seventh Streets
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Mr. Thomas S. Sutherland, Exec. Dir.
TEXAS COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
309 West 21st Street
Austin, Texas

The Rev. John H. Marion, Exec. Dir.
VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
100 E. Franklin Street
Richmond, Virginia

RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER
VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE

January 23, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of January 12, 1956, and the entry of the three subscriptions to Race Relations Law Reporter.

We are sending further information to the affiliated state organizations which you listed.

At the present time we have no plan for quantity subscription rates. We will adhere simply to the $2.00 per year subscription price for the six issues. Since our first issue will contain over 200 pages of material, you will recognize that the charge amounts to little more than a nominal one.

Thank you again for your interest.

Very truly yours,

Paul H. Sanders

Paul H. Sanders, Director
Race Relations Law Reporter

PHS/a

November 27, 1956

Mr. Paul H. Sanders, Director
Race Relations Law Reporter
Vanderbilt University
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Sanders:

This is in reply to your letter to Dr. Mitchell dated November 10.

The newspaper accounts of our voting study were based on the enclosed release. As the release points out, this is merely a preliminary summary of our twelve-state survey. A detailed analysis is in process and will later be published as a special report.

I shall be glad to see that you receive a copy of the final report as soon as it is ready.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER
VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE

November 10, 1956

RECEIVED NOV 13 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

As you know, the Vanderbilt University School of Law is publishing a legal reporting service in the field of race relations which is to be strictly objective. We plan to include all types of materials pertaining to the problem.

We have seen accounts of a report by your organization on November 4, of the status of Negro vote registration in the South. We would like very much to secure a copy of this report. If your office could furnish it, please indicate what charge will be required.

Your co-operation in this regard will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER

Paul H. Sanders

Paul H. Sanders, Director

PHS/ai

RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER
VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE

November 29, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will acknowledge your letter of November 27, in which you enclosed a copy of your press release detailing a preliminary summary of your twelve-state survey.

We appreciate very much this courtesy, and look forward to receiving a copy of the final report, as you suggest.

Very truly yours,

RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER

Paul H. Sanders

Paul H. Sanders, Director

PHS/ai

January 21, 1957

Vanderbilt University
Race Relations Law Reporter
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Gentlemen:

Enclosed you will find my personal check for a one year subscription to Race Relations Law Reporter. Please send me the December, 1956, issue, Volume 1, Number 6, and begin my subscription as of the date of that issue. Also, please forward one copy of Volume 1, Number 3. The enclosed check is in the amount of $3.50, covering the one year subscription plus the one additional copy of the Race Relations Law Reporter.

Thank you for your attention to this subscription.

Yours sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Enclosure

July 8, 1958

Mr. Eugene Wyatt, Associate Director
Race Relations Law Reporter
Vanderbilt University
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Wyatt:

Thanks so much for being with us at our recent Labor Seminar held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute on Race Relations. You did just what was needed in providing the legal background, the current issues at stake, and in stimulating the thought of the participants in the Labor Seminar. There was a good deal of comment as to how fruitful your session was.

Again, my appreciation for the time and energy you put into our program. Best wishes to you in your work with the Commission on Civil Rights. Please give our regards to Paul Sanders; he may wish to know that several of the labor guys asked after him.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV;ls

A FORTNIGHTLY OF FACTS AND IDEAS

The Reporter

Washington Bureau *REpublic 7-8272*
744 JACKSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

April 19, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta, Georgia (3)

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for the quick follow-up on the story idea. I'm going to New York this week and will try to get a firm indication of interest before writing Dr. Holland. He should hear in a few days.

I finished reading your book (that is, yours and Harry Ashmore's) over the weekend and found it fascinating. In fact, I am all het up about doing an article review on it for the Reporter.

Congratulations on your success with the Fund for the Republic. That's the best news I've heard in a long, long time.

Best,

Harry Ashmore

December 9, 1955

Miss Ruth M. Davis,
Public Relations Department
THE REPORTER
136 East 57th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Miss Davis:

This will acknowledge with thanks your letter to Dr. Mitchell calling attention to the articles in the December 15 issue of The Reporter. They are both well done, and we should like to bring them to the attention of our board and to the members of our affiliated state organizations.

Is there a possibility of obtaining reprints and on what basis? This we would prefer, since this issue would no longer be current by the time the promotion piece was prepared and mailed out.

Please let me hear from you. In the meanwhile congratulations on The Reporter's usual fine job on this subject.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

THE REPORTER

136 EAST 57th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Murray Hill 8-4033

December 6, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

DEC 8 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I think you will be interested in the new issue of THE REPORTER which features two articles on racial problems in Mississippi. "Trial by Tape Recorder," by William Lee Miller (P. 27) and "A County Divided Against Itself," by David Halberstam (P. 30).

Is there any way in which we can work together to bring these articles to the attention of the members of the Southern Regional Council, or at least to the Board of Directors?

I would appreciate hearing from you with any suggestions for further promotion of these articles.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth M. Davis

Ruth M. Davis
Public Relations Dept.

Reporter

December 20, 1955

Miss Ruth M. Davis,
Public Relations Department
THE REPORTER
136 East 57th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Miss Davis:

Unfortunately, our budgetary squeeze doesn't permit us to order reprints of the Mississippi articles, though I earnestly wish we could.

The best we can do is order 30 copies of the magazine, which will at least enable us to circulate the articles to some of our key people.

Please have the magazines and the bill sent to this office, marked for my attention.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

THE REPORTER

136 EAST 57th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Murray Hill 8-4033

December 12, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter and kind words about our recent articles on Mississippi. I am so pleased that you want to bring them to the attention of your board members and affiliated state organizations.

Regarding reprints, we would have to order a minimum of 1,000 copies. The price for this would be approximately $90.00. You didn't mention the quantity you wanted, but on orders of over ten, copies of the entire issue cost 15¢ each instead of 25¢. Although the issue might not be current at the time of your mailing, I don't think this would detract from the value of the articles.

Please let me know if you would prefer the reprints or the magazines. We will be happy to cooperate in every way.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth M. Davis

Ruth M. Davis
Public Relations Department

25
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125
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375

15
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7.50

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15 | 500
45
50

THE REPORTER

136 EAST 57th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Murray Hill 8-4033

December 27, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. (Rm. 432)
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter requesting 30 copies of the December 15th issue of THE REPORTER containing the articles on Mississippi. We are sending these to you under separate cover, and I am very pleased that you will be able to circulate this issue to your key leaders. I am enclosing a bill for $4.50.

Thank you again for your interest in THE REPORTER and your cooperation in helping us to bring these articles to the attention of leaders in this field.

Sincerely,

Ruth M. Davis

Ruth M. Davis
Public Relations Department

RMD:lpz
Enc.

February 25, 1956

Mr. Philip Horton
The Reporter
136 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Phil:

No harm done by the unsuccessful preliminary effort. In fact, I'm a bit relieved it can wait for more mature development.

I am looking forward to seeing Doug and discussing the continuing Southern story with him. I hope you and Doug will call on me anytime I can help The Reporter perform its valuable function.

The next time I'm in New York I will give you a call.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/mef

THE REPORTER

136 EAST 57th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Murray Hill 8-4033

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 6, 1956

Dear Harold:

Just a very quick note in the midst of a very busy day. I was very disappointed to hear from Doug that he had not been able to get to Atlanta for his scheduled talks with you. Max wanted him to hang around Tuscaloosa in the hopes of getting a follow-up story -- which I am afraid isn't going to pan out.

This letter is just to say that both Max and I are very eager for you to go ahead as quickly as possible with your story on the economic integration angle in the South. I outlined the idea to Max and found him enthusiastic. You will remember that the overall focus of the piece was to underscore the fact that there are so to speak two integration problems involved for the South -- one, that of the Negro, and two, that of the South itself, above all economically, with the rest of the country. If as we agreed, the connective tissue of the economic life of the South is a good deal tougher and more resilient than the general social-psychological tissues it is certainly worth documenting -- since in the long run it may prove the most constructive element in restoring perspective and healing the breach.

All that sounds heavily editorial but I gather that you can easily round up a lot of impressive factual documentation to make the point stick and to give it human and dramatic impact. I am attaching the latest issue of Space and time which leads off with some observations on this subject. I should think it would be well worth your while to talk with local representatives of some of the big firms mentioned as being heavily hit by the boycott.

Enough said. Do write me giving me at least a rough idea of when we might expect copy. I enjoyed our talk in New York a hell of a lot and hope that you find your way up here again before too long. Best regards.

Phil Horton

Philip Horton
Senior Editor

THE REPORTER

136 EAST 57th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Murray Hill 8-4033

February 21, 1956

Dear Harold:

Just a very quick note to get this back to you so you will have it on hand when Doug drops in during his visit. Unhappily we are not going to be able to use your piece in this issue and I feel very guilty, of course, for having put you under such last minute pressure. However, the effort did serve to convince me more strongly than ever that the subject matter and viewpoint are very important and really require a more thorough and more documented treatment. Since I know you feel the same way I'm hoping you wont be too disappointed that this preliminary effort did not get in the book.

I talked to Doug on the phone today and told him about this and he too is very eager to discuss a more ambitious treatment with you. He says he hopes to arrive on your doorstep a week from today and I do hope that the two of you will then be able to agree on a treatment and presentation that will guarantee a successful article on this subject. It goes without saying that Doug will also be very eager to have your advice on other subjects for coverage during the coming months from down there.

Meanwhile, I guess we're pretty well over the hump for this crash issue. The Reverend Thrasher's job turned out, I think, very well, indeed, and Louisa Dalcher's piece from New Orleans will, I think, after a lot of work also be pretty good. Given more time we certainly hould have gotten together a much more impressive front-of-the-book but at least we can be grateful that this crash operation gave me the occasion to make your acquaintance. I look forward to getting in touch with you again sometime after Doug has returned and filled us in on his findings down there.

Best regards,

Phil

Philip Horton
Senior Editor

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
PH/bb

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
		Paid	SRC	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Mr. Philip Horton, The Reporter, 136 East 57th Street, New York 22, N.Y.

ARTICLE OF APPROXIMATELY 1500 WORDS SENT TODAY AIRMAIL SPECIAL. REGARDS.

HAROLD C. FLEMING.

HCF

Miss Ruth M. Davis,
The Reporter - Public Relations Department,
136 East 57th Street,
New York 22,
NEW YORK.

March 6th, 1956.

Dear Miss Davis:

The current issue of The Reporter on "The South's Ordeal" is well done, particularly the article by Thomas Thrasher, and we should like to help get it more widely read.

The Southern Regional Council has twelve affiliated state groups, with an aggregate mailing list of slightly over 4,000. We could reach SRC's own board and state boards with about 400 copies.

Let me know how you think we might cooperate.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:rl.

THE REPORTER

136 EAST 57th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Murray Hill 8-4033

February 28, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. (Rm. 432)
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am enclosing an advance copy of THE REPORTER which contains the articles on desegregation which I mentioned in my letter of Feb. 21.

I would be most interested to know what you think of this issue, and if we can work together in distributing it.

Many thanks for all your help.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth M. Davis

Ruth M. Davis
Public Relations Department

enc.

THE REPORTER

136 EAST 57th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Murray Hill 8-4033

February 21, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. (Rm. 432)
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The next issue of THE REPORTER will focus on desegregation. One article deals with attempts being made in New Orleans, particularly by the Catholics, to carry out integration. Another explores the tense situation in Montgomery, Alabama, where the Negroes have been boycotting the city bus lines. The third article analyzes many of the falacies in the European attitudes toward racial problems in this country. I will send you proofs of these articles as soon as they are available.

You have been most cooperative in the past when we published articles on this subject, and I am now taking the liberty of calling on you again. I remember that you wanted to bring our December issue, with the articles on Mississippi, to the attention of your board members and members of your affiliated state organizations. However, due to your budgetary problems, you settled for 30 copies for distribution to your key people. I am now wondering if we can work out a wider distribution on this issue. If your budget does not allow this, I am sure we can work out some cooperative arrangement.

I'm afraid that I don't have all the information about the organizational arrangement of the Southern Regional Council and your affiliated state organizations. How large is your total membership, and how many affiliated organizations do you have? This would give me an idea of how large a mailing would be involved if you are interested in helping us to circulate this issue to the interested people.

I know you will want to read the articles before deciding anything, but I thought it a good idea to alert you ahead of time. I will look forward to hearing from you after you have read the pieces.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth M. Davis

Ruth M. Davis
Public Relations Department

Miss Ruth M. Davis,
The Reporter,
136 East 57th Street,
New York 22, N. Y.

March 13th, 1956.

Dear Miss Davis,

We are delighted by your offer to supply us with 400 copies of the March 8 issue of the Reporter for distribution to Board members. We will get the mailing out promptly on receipt of the magazines.

I am very much interested in the possibility of securing reprints of the Thrasher article. It will take me several days to explore that, after which you will hear from me.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming.
Assistant Director.

HCF:rl.

THE REPORTER

136 EAST 57th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Murray Hill 8-4033

March 8, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. (Rm. 432)
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I was pleased to get your letter and read that you liked the March 8th issue of THE REPORTER with the articles on "The Ordeal of the South".

I think it would be very useful if we could reach the SRC board and state boards with this issue, and we are prepared to send you 400 copies of the magazine at no cost if you will take care of the mailing.

Regarding your entire mailing list of 4,000, it is, of course, impossible for us to supply this many magazines. Since you feel the article by Thomas Thrasher is particularly good, perhaps you would want to distribute reprints of it. The cost for reprints would be approximately $100. I remember from previous correspondence that you had budget problems regarding reprints, and, if this is still the case, we would be willing to absorb this cost if you could make your mailing list available to us.

I would be interested to know what you think of these suggestions.

Sincerely,

Ruth M. Davis

Ruth M. Davis
Public Relations Department

RMD:lpz

WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
NY, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. G. T. HAMILTON, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 28, 1956

Miss Ruth M. Davis
Public Relations Dept.
The Reporter
136 East 57th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Miss Davis:

This will confirm our telephone conversation of today, in which you agreed to furnish us 4,000 reprints of the Thrasher article in the March 8 issue. We, in turn, will be glad to address promotional material for The Reporter to our mailing list of 4,000-plus. You will recall the matter of policy which prevents us from making the mailing list itself available.

I assume that you will send us promotional matter complete with postage-paid envelopes. Our list is on addressograph plates, and the machine will accomodate envelopes of business-letter size (No. 10) or the small-letter size.

We appreciate your gift of 400 copies of the March 8 issue which we are already distributing to persons not on our mailing list. They will do a lot of good.

I will look forward to hearing from you further.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

THE REPORTER

136 EAST 57th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Murray Hill 8-4033

March 19, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. (Rm. 432)
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter regarding the 400 copies of the March 8 issue of THE REPORTER. We are pleased that with your help this issue will reach your Board members. The magazines are being mailed to you today.

I will be interested to hear your decision on the reprints -- particularly whether you can make your mailing list available to us as I mentioned in my previous letter.

Many thanks for all your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth M. Davis

Ruth M. Davis
Public Relations Dept.

THE REPORTER

136 EAST 57th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Murray Hill 8-4033

adk
4-4-56

April 4, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. (Rm. 432)
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

After talking to our circulation director, George Hinckley, we decided that the best thing to do in place of a separate promotional mailing would be an enclosure together with the reprint of Rev. Thrasher's article. I am enclosing a copy of this enclosure for your approval. We would insert this memo, plus a reply envelope, in the reprint and send them to you folded and ready for stuffing in #10 envelopes.

The reprint is in the works, and should be ready in about one week.

I wanted you to see the memo before going ahead with it, and I would appreciate it if you could let me know immediately if it meets with your approval.

Thank you again for all your help.

Sincerely,

Ruth M. Davis

Ruth M. Davis
Public Relations Department

RMD:lpz
Enc.

Memo

imprint

THE REPORTER
136 EAST 57th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

This article by Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher is an example of the writing on national and world affairs that appears every two weeks in THE REPORTER. THE REPORTER has been particularly interested in the racial situation, with tempered, compassionate reporting of the Alabama bus boycott, the Mississippi "trial by tape recorder" and integration efforts on the part of the Catholics in New Orleans.

THE REPORTER's outstanding coverage of national and international affairs has made it one of the most widely quoted, influential magazines in the country. Four times honored last year, it received this spring the George Polk Memorial award for best national reporting in 1955.

If you are not now reading THE REPORTER regularly, and would like to do so, you may take advantage of a special introductory offer: the next 18 issues (nine months) for $2.67. (Regular rates: 1 yr. - $5.00; 2 yrs. - $8.00; 3 yrs. - $10.00) Simply note your name and address on the form below and mail in the postpaid envelope. We will start your subscription immediately, and bill you later, if you prefer.

- -

THE REPORTER
136 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Name _____

Address _____

Money enclosed ☐
Bill me ☐

April 19, 1956

Mr. Philip Horton, Senior Editor
The Reporter
136 East 57th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Phil:

Thanks for your letter and for the copy of the Wall Street Journal article. My would-be collaborator, Paul Anthony, did interview several big business men and took a flyer at writing up the results in article form. My own situation is so desperate, that I hoped this would do the trick. But I'm afraid we haven't yet achieved anything up to the Reporter's standards. Fortunately Doug and I had our long deferred reunion yesterday while he was between planes in Atlanta. We hashed over the whole question of an economic article, he took along what was on paper, and is supposed to communicate with me in the next day or two. I hope with Doug's recommendations that we can pull something useable together before long. I only wish I had a few consecutive days to devote to doing the job as it should be done.

Once I have heard from Doug I will write again.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o
enc.

THE REPORTER

136 EAST 57th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Murray Hill 8-4033

April 17, 1956

Dear Harold:

Just a quick note to ask you how you and your colleague are coming along with that economic piece on the South. I've been reminded of it several times by articles that are beginning to appear on the subject, the last was in yesterday morning's Wall Street Journal which I'm enclosing. Do please return it when you are finished with it, along with a little letter telling me when we may expect copy.

Best regards,

Philip Horton
Senior Editor

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PH/hb

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
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WESTERN UNION

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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COLLECT - COLLECT

May 2, 1956

Philip Horton
The Reporter
136 E. 57th Street
New York, N. Y.

WILL SUPPLY ATLANTA COPY BY MAY SEVEN BUT PROBABLY NOT EARLIER.

FLEMING

(Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.)

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
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			Southern Regional Council 63 Auburn Avenue N.E. Atlanta, Ga.	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

May 7, 1956

Philip Horton
The Reporter
136 East 57th Street
New York 22, N.Y.

COPY MAILED AIR SPECIAL LAST NIGHT. SHOULD ARRIVE TODAY. REGARDS.

HAROLD FLEMING

May 23, 1956

Miss Ruth M. Davis
Public Relations Department
The Reporter
136 East 57th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Miss Davis:

Thanks for calling Doug Cater's article on the Citizens' Councils to my attention. I saw Doug when he had just completed his field work for it and I thought it was a very interesting job. Obviously the simplest thing would be for the members of our affiliate state groups to subscribe to the Reporter.

Because of the timing of our monthly mailings, the reprints of the Thrasher article were only recently mailed out. I will pass along to you any reactions that we receive, but hope the principal response will be felt by your Circulation Department.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

THE REPORTER

136 EAST 57th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Murray Hill 8-4033

May 9, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. (Rm. 432)
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I think you will be interested in an article on the Citizens' Councils movement in Alabama which appears in the current issue of THE REPORTER. A copy is enclosed.

I wondered if you had any response to your mailing of Rev. Thrasher's article. We would be interested in hearing of any reactions you may have received.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth M. Davis

Ruth M. Davis
Public Relations Dept.

enc.

THE REPORTER

WASHINGTON BUREAU

1107 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

DIstrict 7-0045

June 19, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

What with a welter of things to be done on getting back and my usual mental block on southern writing, I am just producing my copy. As you will note, I have quoted you at some length and perhaps with too great liberality. I will be quite happy to modify, eliminate, or quote somebody else if you find this disturbing.

I also am not too happy about the conclusion. However, I was greatly disturbed by the categoric nature of Martin's article which seemed to me a great deal more destructive than you had feared. Damn it all, he sets up an artificial thesis by saying that the south was ready to desegregate three years ago. Then he gives to the WCC's a power and a magnificence which they just don't deserve in my opinion. I'm afraid the impact of his article will be to reinforce the mood of despair which you rightly claim is fruitless.

There are several points of fact in the article I would like to go over with you. I shall call you on Friday if I may.

It was good to see you and Jane.

Best regards,

Douglass Cater

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

July 8, 1957

Miss Ruth M. Davis
Assistant Promotion Director
The Reporter
136 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Davis:

This is belated thanks for calling our attention to The Reporter's recent issue on voting and civil rights. We read it with interest and appreciation, particularly since we were of some slight assistance to Mr. Gamarekian in researching his article.

As I may have written you previously, the Council's policy prohibits use of our mailing list for any type of promotion. We were able to justify an exception on the earlier occasion because the article was written by a member of our Alabama affiliate and because The Reporter generously provided reprints.

I wish it had been possible for us to cooperate again, but unfortunately there was no similar escape hatch from the requirements of Council policy.

In any case, thanks for thinking of us and congratulations on the fine job that The Reporter consistently does.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE REPORTER

136 EAST 57th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Murray Hill 8-4033

June 18, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I think you will be particularly interested in the current issue of THE REPORTER which contains a series of articles on civil rights. An advance copy is enclosed. These articles are grouped together in the front of the magazine under the heading, "The Fight For The Fifteenth Amendment".

I remember how helpful you were in the past in bringing significant Reporter articles on segregation problems to the attention of your officers and board members, and I wonder if this will be possible again.

I will be most interested to get your reactions to this issue of THE REPORTER.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Ruth M. Davis

Ruth M. Davis
Assistant Promotion Director

RMD:ge

Sent to
The Reporter
136 E. 57th St.
New York 22

VIA AIR MAIL

June 13, 1958

Mr. Max Ascoli
23 Gramercy Park, South
New York 3, New York

Dear Max:

I enjoyed our conversation yesterday and hope that the ideas we discussed may bear fruit. The more I have thought of the possibility of Bob Baker's doing a piece for you, the better the idea has seemed to me.

I am to be in New York briefly Thursday and Friday of next week (June 19th and 20th). If further discussion of possible articles on the South would be helpful to you or some member of your staff, perhaps we can get together. I will give you a ring when I arrive.

With warm regards to you and Mrs. Ascoli,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Via Air Mail

July 2, 1958

Mr. Max Ascoli
The Reporter
136 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Max:

Thanks so much for your letter and for the tear sheet of your Note in the current issue of the Reporter. I had just read it in my home copy of the Magazine and was delighted to see the issue put in just the right terms. I also read with interest your observations on France. After reading that and Taylor's article, your unorthodox view of De Gaulle doesn't seem so unorthodox after all.

I am sorry I didn't get a chance to call you back during my brief visit to New York. I am to be there again - and again briefly - on July 17. If you have any free time on that date, perhaps we will have a chance to talk. I apologize for such hit and run tactics, but I am sure that on one of these occasions they will pay off.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE REPORTER
136 East 57th Street
New York City 22

Max Ascoli

June 25, 1958

Dear Harold:

I am sorry I missed your call last week. I didn't know where to reach you and hoped you would phone again. It would have been fine to see you. Anyway, I hope we will make better connections the next time you come to New York.

Perhaps you would like to see the Note I wrote as a result of the information you gave me. Here enclosed you will find a tear sheet from our last issue. I hasten to add that of course this does not exhaust our interest in the subject.

Marion joins me in sending very best regards. And do let me know the next time you expect to be in town.

Sincerely,

Max

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE REPORTER
136 East 57th Street
New York City 22

Max Ascoli

July 7, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Mr. Ascoli is now away on vacation. He expects to be back briefly, the week of the 21st, to put the next issue to bed, then will be away again for about three weeks.

It is too bad he will have to miss your visit on the 17th, but I know he will hope you'll try to get in touch the next time you are in town. As you say, certainly the efforts will eventually pay off!

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Parsons

Elizabeth H. Parsons
Assistant to the Editor

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

September 2, 1958

Mr. Philip Horton
The Reporter Magazine
136 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Horton:

I was glad to have a chance to talk with you today. Let me know if we can be of help, with miller or otherwise.

Enclosed is the correspondence between Federal District Judge Timmerman of South Carolina and the Rev. John Morris. Mr. Morris elicited the Judge's consent to the publication of the exchange -- provided it is published in full. This is an awkward condition from an editor's viewpoint, but you may find the grisly interest of the Judge's comments sufficient to warrant the inefficiency.

As I said on the telephone, the correspondence seems especially timely to us, since the attitudes of Southern Federal judges are coming increasingly into the limelight.

If you decide you are interested in this material, let me know and I will see that

Mr. Morris is properly advised.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. s. I am sending you separately a copy of the booklet "South Carolinians Speak" so that you can see what all the shooting was about.

September 30, 1958

Miss Louisa Messolonghites
Assistant to the Managing Editor
The Reporter
136 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Messolonghites:

Thank you for your letter about the Morris-Timmerman correspondence and Arthur S. Miller's article in the current issue of The Reporter.

I am sorry The Reporter could not use the exchange of letters, but I realize that this is rather specialized material. We do expect to publish it in full, perhaps in our own monthly publication New South. But until such time as it is so published, we must treat the correspondence as completely confidential. Therefore, I think I had better ask you to return the copies to us.

I appreciate the extra copies of the October 2nd issue, which I can put to good use.

With best regards to you and to Phil Horton,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE REPORTER

136 EAST 57th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Murray Hill 8-4033

September 23, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Thank you for sending Mr. Hrton the exchange of letters between Judge Timmerman and the Rev. John Morris. We were very much interested in the correspondence but did not feel that it would serve a useful purpose to bring them out at this time.

One of our readers sent us in July a copy of the pamphlet and a newsletter from Mr. Morris, so we were acquainted with the background to the controversy. Do you wish the photocopies returned, or may we keep them in our research files?

Thank you also for whatever help you gave Mr. Miller. He did a competent job in the short time we allotted him, and his article is appearing in the issue on the stands this week. I'm sending you a few issues for whatever use you may make of them.

Sincerely,

Louisa Messolonghites

Louisa Messolonghites
Assistant to the
Managing Editor.

Wm. Ac. Y.
1107-71 C.V.

THE REPORTER

136 EAST 57th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Murray Hill 8-4033

October 8, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Thank you for your letter. I'm glad you do have plans for publishing the correspondence you sent us.

I am returning it as you suggested.

Sincerely,

Louisa Messolonghites

Louisa Messolonghites

Enc.

LWD ✓
MF

June 8, 1960

Miss Shirley Katzander
Director of Promotion
The Reporter
660 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Miss Katzander:

Thank you for the advance copy of the May 12, 1960 Reporter, containing Harold Fleming's article, "The Price of a Cup of Coffee." It was a reasonable interpretation of the recent desegregation demonstrations.

I understand its main conclusion to be: "that the Southern Negro's discontent is real and growing, that the time is rapidly approaching when segregation can be maintained only by continuous coercion and the intolerable social order that it would create." I disagree in part with this statement.

I believe that the ambition of the Negro race for social and economic equality has consistent force which takes different and new forms—the sit-in protest was not so much a sign of growing discontent, except in the immediate sense, as one of new expression of the Negro's consistent desire.

I doubt if "continuous coercion" is a valid alternative in the United States; if there is a danger, it is that of terrorism by extremists.

Naturally, all of us hope that this does not come to pass, that the orderly process of integration will continue (as it must) and that the impetus to further integration will be as well conducted as the sit-in protests.

via air mail

October 25, 1960

Mr. Bill Rivers
The Reporter
1107 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rivers:

It's good to hear from you in your new position.

I have no bright ideas on the Virginia tuition plan that we haven't already advanced in our materials; the main SRC publication to look at is the big mimeographed special report on school desegregation for 1960-61, dated August 19. If it's not there, let me know and I'll send another copy.

Incidentally, we recently sent Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman, a staff member of the recent White House Conference on Children and Youth, to Prince Edward County to study the operations of the white private school system there. We'll be getting from her soon a report of her findings, which we expect to be fresh and interesting stuff. I'm sorry we don't have it now, as a possible aid to your current effort. But maybe you can make use of it when it's available.

My best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE REPORTER

WASHINGTON BUREAU

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DIstrict 7-0045

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
OCT 19 1960

Dear Dr. Fleming:

You may recall that we talked in June about my survey for Southern School News. I think I told you that I'd be going to work up here with Doug Cater.

I'm writing now hoping that you'll have time to write me a note about the Virginia tuition grant plan. I've just begun work on a rewrite of an article on the plan (an article written by Ellis James of Norfolk that the editors in New York thought needed an extensive revision).

If you don't have any ideas about this plan that haven't appeared in print, don't take the time to answer this. I have

THE REPORTER

WASHINGTON BUREAU

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DIstrict 7-0045

a great stack of New South and your releases, etc. stacked up on my desk at the office (and, of course, a file of Southern School News). I just thought perhaps you might have an idea or two -- on the ultimate affect of the plan, its impact on Virginia's financial structure -- on almost anything related.

Please pardon the foul penmanship. I'm used to typing everything, but I happen to be at home now.

All the best,

Bill Rivers

February 10, 1961

Mr. Douglass Cater
The Reporter
1107 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Doug:

You have an uncanny sense of timing. I suppose I spend a grand total of 10 days a year in New York, and you unfailingly manage to call me on those days.

Anyhow, I can't see what I might have added to your perceptive grasp of the New Orleans situation. Your article, which just arrived, is right on the button. Of course, we are delighted to have SRC cited as the source of inspiration. As far as I can see, all that remains is to push further the question of precisely what Kennedy and company can do to get the New Orleans ox out of the ditch. We are giving this some heavy thought, and I may want to brainstorm the question with you some time soon.

We have had no official reaction to our report from Kennedy, although we have had some pleasant acknowledgments from advisers, agency heads, cabinet officers, and so on. The most hopeful sign is the number of requests for additional copies we have had, by letter and telephone, from the several agencies most concerned -- Justice, Defense, Housing, etc.

The informal word we get from these quarters is that the report is required reading and conference material for a fair number of the new frontiersmen. No doubt, a combination of judicious public pressure and private advice is going to be called for during the foreseeable future. Your analysis of the internal situation and your suggestions as to SRC's most useful role at any given time will be of enormous help to us.

I will be writing or calling you again soon. Meanwhile, all the best.

As ever,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE REPORTER

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WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

DIstrict 7-0045

RECEIVED
FEB 8 1961

February 7, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I tried to get in touch with you on the New Orleans story, but, as usual, you were up educatin' the northerners. As you will see, I have drawn once more on your inspiration. Hope the story suits.

By the way, have you had any response from the White House to your excellent report? I would be most interested in keeping informed and also in being of any use.

Best regards.

Douglass Cater

June 30, 1961

Mr. Robert Bingham
Managing Editor
The Reporter
660 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Bingham:

Guy Benson has been by our office and we attempted to help.

Harold Fleming is no longer with the Council, but is now Executive Vice President of the Potomac Institute, temporary address -- 353 Shoreham Building, 15th and H Streets, N.W., Washington, D. C. The new director of SRC is Leslie Dunbar.

I hope you will continue to call on us at any time we might be of help.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/sm

THE REPORTER

660 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
TEmpleton 2-8800

June 20, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

A friend of mine, Mr. Guy Benson, will be in Atlanta shortly to do some research in preparation for the making of a government-sponsored film on subjects about which I have told him your advice would be invaluable. He will call you when he gets to Atlanta and I shall greatly appreciate it if you can find it possible to see him even briefly.

Sincerely,

Bd

Robert Bingham
Managing Editor

RB:awt
Copy to Mr. Guy Benson

October 9, 1963

Mr. Douglass Cater
The Reporter
1107 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Doug:

Just a note to say that I have read your piece in the October 10 issue. It is very good, and I also feel a little bit like that University of Alabama professor.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

March 31, 1966

Advertising Manager
The Reporter
The Reporter Magazine Company
660 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Sir:

We are considering a national campaign to promote our quarterly publication, NEW SOUTH, and would like complete advertising rates for various size ads in your magazine.

We will appreciate your prompt reply.

Sincerely yours,

Edwyn Lewis, Jr.
Executive Assistant

EL/km

MEMO Cater

The Reporter

744 JACKSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Dear Harold,

Here's a little review I've done of your project (alias Ashmore). Would you look it over and let me know if there are any mistakes, wrong interpretations, or important conclusions ommitted. Ill phone you Monday afternoon from New York for this much appreciated advice.

Best regards,

Tom

This will be polished up a bit.

REPORTER COPY

Cater

The Negro in the South's Schools

For nearly sixteen months now the South's politicians have been afflicted with a case of jitters quite unrelated to the hydrogen bomb, Senator McCarthy or kindred causes. In December, 1952, the United States Supreme Court began deliberation on five cases in which the issue of segregation in the schools has been squarely presented. A year later, tension mounted when the Court reopened hearings, indicating, many suspected, that it was thrashing out a monumental decision. More than one Southern member of Congress up for reelection is known to be prayerful that such a decision will be held up till after his party primary, fearing that [illegible] somehow he may be associated with it. [illegible] future in its [illegible]

A good many thoughtful white southerners have harbored two lingering fears about this decision. The first is

that the Court may forthrightly outlaw segregation in the schools and ~~unwittingly~~ precipitate an Armageddon in the South which will destroy the painful progress achieved in recent years. The second is that even if the Court merely accepts the south's own argument and demands a strenuous and swift fulfillment of the "separate but equal" doctrine, the economic burden will be such that the white student will sink rather than the Negro rise. For a region which did not finally achieve compulsory public education throughout until the end of World War I, the prospects of retrogression do not seem altogether preposterous.

Pronouncements of its elected leaders have not helped much. Governor James Byrnes, of South Carolina, pictured an escape that was neither practical nor probably constitutional when he promised: "If the Court changes what is now the law of the land, we will, if it is possible, live within the law, preserve the public school system, and

at the same time maintain segregation. If that is not possible, reluctantly we will abandon the public school system." Governor Herman Talmadge, of Georgia, has in turn pushed a "preparedness program" through his state legislature to permit placing the public schools in private hands if the Court bans segregation. Other Governors have made other like promises.

In short, it was high time before the Court acted for someone to examine these fears calmly and factually. This is what forty scholars, predominantly southerners, have now done under the auspices of the Ford Foundation Fund for the Advancement of Education. They have turned over the results of a series of highly important field studies to Harry Ashmore, editor of the Arkansas Gazette, who has brilliantly reported them in "The Negro and the Schools" (The University of North Carolina Press, pub. May 16, 1954.) If carefully read by the opinion makers in the north and south, this book should have as much

influence in allaying potential hysteria today as "Uncle Tom's Cabin" did in provoking it a century ago.

Ashmore and his colleagues make no prediction as to how the Court will rule, but address themselves instead to problems presented by any one of a number of possible decisions. How real is the threat of widespread strife and disorder if segregation on the lower school levels is declared unconstitutional? They look first for guidance to the experience in the south's graduate schools where since 1949 twenty state universities and forty-six private and church educational institutions have begun to admit Negroes. A series of field studies on seventeen of the integrated campuses, under the direction of Professor Guy B. Johnson of the University of North Carolina, turned up several instances of near friction, but none reaching the serious stage. Johnson reported:

> In almost every instance when a state institution was faced with the fact that it might actually have to admit Negroes, there were serious predictions of violence and bloodshed if this thing came to pass. To the best

of our knowledge, the first drop of blood is yet to be shed.

On the Louisiana State University campus, for example, Negroes room in the same dormitories, eat in the same dining rooms, but so far have not ventured into the swimming pool or attended a school dance. At the University of Arkansas Law School, a Negro student was elected president of a predominantly white dormitory. Generally, these "pioneers" have been treated either indifferently or sympathetically by their fellow students, cautiously but fairly by the professors and college administrators. Only very few, mainly due to lack of prior training, have not measured up academically. Ashmore concludes, "The southern public has not cheered integration in the graduate schools, but neither has it condemned it out of hand...(N)obody in the region seriously expects to see the tide turned back."

What about integration on the lower levels? Of course, the south could provide no experience here, but the

Ashmore project conducted field studies in twenty-five communities outside the south where segregation in the lower schools has been broken down in recent years. They range from New Mexico to New Jersey; the results have been quite varied. In southern New Jersey, for example, a well-staffed state agency was able without being obliged to use its powers of compulsion to bring about integration of forty formerly segregated school districts rapidly and painlessly. At the other end of the scale, Cairo, Illinois, a "sick city" suffering from a history of violence and corruption as well as recent economic blight, erupted briefly when the state legislature and Negro leaders forced the issue. Integration has proceeded slowly since then.

Ashmore finds that the experience of most non-southern cities lies between these two extremes. The smoothness with which integration is accomplished depends to a great degree on the manner in which

community and school leaders face up to the delicate job of "social engineering."

Highly important to note, integration in most of these communities has been largely a marginal operation as far as actual mingling of students is concerned. Residential segregation patterns and passive resistence which lies beyond the reach of the court or legal agency tend to make integration gradual even when the blocks are removed. Certainly, such de facto segregation will be even more persistent in the south no matter how the Supreme Court rules.

Will the southern student, white and Negro, be obliged to share equality in impoverishment? Statistics show how great has been the educational burden of catching up at the very time increased industrialization has brought competitive demands for state and local tax revenue. During the decade, 1940-1950, the south's school population increased at the rate of 220,000 a year — equal to the net increase for the nation as a whole. This was before

the bumper postwar baby crop reached school age.

Despite this, the gap between white and Negro student was being closed. In 1940, the south spent only 42% as much for operating expense on the Negro as the white; in 1952, approximately 70%. While he got 22% as much for capital outlay on schools in 1940, he got 82% in 1952. For the region as a whole, it is still a school economy of scarsity. But the determination with which the drive both to raise and equalize school standards is being conducted can be noted in South Carolina where $84 million has been allocated of a $176 million plan for new school construction, 69% of which is designated for Negroes. South Carolina, fortysixth state in per capita income, now ranks tenth in the proportion of personal income devoted to public school expenditures, and the other southern states are grouped closely around her. As Governor Byrnes has remarked candidly, "To meet this situation we are forced to do now what we should have

been doing for the last fifty years."

Even with progress, the disparity among the southern states, and more particularly between rural and urban schools has increased. To close the two gaps, white-Negro and urban-rural, the Ashmore group estimates would cost an additional 23% in current operating expenses and $3 billion in capital outlay.

Can the south afford it? Yes, they estimate if it is spread over an eight year period, if income continues to rise at about 3.1% a year, and if the same proportion is spent on schools. What would happen if a serious recession should concentrate with particular severity on the south is another matter. Without some form of federal aid to education, the prospects would be bleak.

Ashmore finds that ,contrary to popular belief, segregation has not been an important separate factor in school costs until now and is not likely to be in the immediate future, since the problem has been in meeting a minimum demand. But as the south builds up its school plant to the point at which emphasis

is placed on qualitative rather than quantitative improvement, he believes that economic pressures will constitute an even more powerful force than court action in driving toward integration. Contributing to this has been the startling migration of the Negro over the past decade -- from farm to city and from south to north. The resulting reduction of the ratio of Negroes to white in rural counties and the growth of "fringe" areas in the southern cities will tend to make separate schools increasingly expensive.

white line

"Segregation is on the way out," Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, has thundered," and he who tries to tell the people otherwise does them great disservice. The problem of the future is how to live with the change." Yet, the change when it comes may not be so rude or so sweeping as the white southerner has feared. The south has never known segregation in the strict sense of the word, only a more set of social and economic which

have varied widely from one place to another. In recent times there has been an increasing apartness of the two races as the Negro has shed the intimacy of the servant role and gradually achieved status as a more indep ndent economic bargaining agent.

It would be pollyannish in the extreme to pretend that the dominant white man in the south is prepared to accept the Negro on the basis of equality or that the Negro is yet able to claim such equality. But change has been rapid, helped along by court and economic pressures, abetted by both religious and secular ideals which d ny racial inferiority. As Ashmore concludes hopefully,"In the long sweep of history, the public school cases may be written down as the point at which the South cleared the last turning in the road to reunion -- the point at which finally, and under protest, the region gave up its peculiar institutions and accepted the prevailing standards of the nation at large as the legal basis for its relationship with its minority race. This would not in itself bring about any

great shift in Southern attitudes, nor even any far-reaching immediate changes in the pattern of bi-racial education. But it would re-define the goal the Southern people, white and Negro, are committed to seek in the way of democracy."

DONALD E. GRAHAM, *President*
MARTIN J. LEVINE, *Managing Editor*
SANFORD J. UNGAR, *Associate Managing Editor*
CONAL C. DOYLE, *Business Manager*
CURTIS A. HESSLER, *Editorial Chairman*

ELLEN LAKE, *Features Editor*
WILLIAM B. CLAYTON, *Associate Business Manager*
ROGER W. SINNOTT, *Photographic Chairman*
R. ANDREW BEYER, *Sports Editor*

Make Tuesday Southern Courier
Rec'd 4/5/65

The Harvard Crimson
The University Daily — Founded 1873
14 Plympton Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts
KIRKLAND 7-2811

PAV
MJ-file

April 3, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Professor Howard Zinn of Boston University recommended that we write to you about a project that we are organizing. Last summer, we, two editors of the Harvard Crimson, worked in Mississippi as volunteers for the Council of Federated Organizations in the voter registration activities of the Mississippi Summer Project. While in the South we observed the way in which the local press often distorts or omits news concerning racial problems there. This unethical journalism makes it difficult for both the white and the Negro communities to understand -- much less solve -- the problems that confront them.

After the summer we began discussing the idea of setting up an independent newspaper in the Black Belt area, devoted to printing an honest account of civil rights activities in the South. We hope to have more thorough coverage and wider circulation than the few southern papers which now report racial news accurately.

Our paper will be called the Southern Courier. It is now being incorporated as a nonprofit membership corporation for educational purposes. Application will shortly be made for tax-exempt status.

We already have the use of a photo-offset press (28" x 22"), located in Atlanta, Georgia, and owned by the Student Voice, Inc. Our plans are to print five weekly editions, one each for the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Thus on Monday we might print 25,000 copies of the Mississippi edition; on Tueday 10,000 copies of the Louisiana edition, and so forth.

The paper will be sent from Atlanta by rail, air, and car, and distributed free of charge, at least initially. It will not be difficult to reach the Negro community by utilizing local people and civil rights centers as distributors. Reaching the white community will present a more serious problem. To solve this, we intend to seek the advice of journalists like Hodding Carter, publisher of the Greenville, Mississippi, Delta-Democrat-Times; Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution; and Pat Watters and yourself.

The staff of the paper will consist of thirty people, mostly students, all of whom have had journalistic experience, either as reporters, editors, or photographers. We will have no trouble in recruitment and already have received over a dozen applications from interested student journalists.

Since the Courier is designed to continue after the summer, we will give preference in recruitment to those who can stay in Atlanta for a year or more. In addition, we intend to recruit fifteen young Negroes and whites in Atlanta to train so that they can assume the responsibility for the paper. Eventually we hope that the Courier will provide a voice for the millions of people across the South, particularly Negroes, who now have no voice in the press.

We plan to purchase five automobiles and to assign one car, with three reporters and a photographer, to each state. This method of coverage was used successfully by the Crimson to report the recent events in Selma and Montgomery. (We are sending you a sample of this coverage under separate cover.)

Will will purchase either AP or UPI wire service. In addition, by being located in Atlanta, we will have access to news from the headquarters of both the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Since the paper will be a weekly, it will not be the first with the news; but there is no reason why it should not equal any national paper in depth and accuracy of coverage.

Because it will be distributed free and advertising will be, at least initially, limited, the Courier will have to rely for support on donations from individuals and organizations. We estimate the permanent starting costs as follows:

Automobiles (five)	$12000
Automobile insurance	750
Typewriters	2000
Cameras (five)	2000
Citizens' Band Radios (five)	1000
Tape recorders	200
Office supplies and furnishings	1000
TOTAL	$19450

Monthly operating costs:

Paper and printing	$ 4450
Distribution	2500
Telephone and wire service	4500
Subsistence pay for staff ($20 per week for 30 people)	2700
Photographic costs (film and printing)	300
Gasoline, oil, and repairs for cars	1250
Office supplies	450
Legal and accounting fees	100
Insurance (liability, compensation, libel)	100
TOTAL	$16350

This means that total operating costs for the period from June 15 to September 15 would $68,500. We hope that this sum can be raised before June 15 so that the paper will be guaranteed a three-month period in which to get established. (It should be noted that at least some of this material, such as cameras, radios, and tape recorders, might be obtained free from individuals, or private retailers. We intend to explore these possibilities.)

The following people can supply references for us:

John U. Monro, Dean of Harvard College
University Hall, Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts, 02138

Mark deWolfe Howe, Professor of Law
Langdell Hall, Harvard Law School
Cambridge, Massachusetts, 02138

Thomas F. Pettigrew, Associate Professor of Social Psychology
William James Center, Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts, 02138

James Forman, Executive Secretary
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
6 Raymond Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia, 30314
Howard Zinn, Assistant Professor of Government
Government Department, Boston University
Boston, Massachusetts

We would be grateful for any financial aid or advice that you could give us for this project.

Sincerely yours,

Ellen Lake

Ellen Lake
c/o Gilman House
57 Garden Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Peter Cummings

Peter Cummings
Adams House, D-31
Cambridge, Massachusetts

DONALD E. GRAHAM, *President*
MARTIN S. LEVINE, *Managing Editor*
SANFORD J. UNGAR, *Associate Managing Editor*
CONAL C. DOYLE, *Business Manager*
CURTIS A. HESSLER, *Editorial Chairman*

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Read 4/5/65

March 3, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Enclosed please find the Crimson coverage that we promised you in our letter of March 3. Parker Donham, who wrote one of the enclosed articles, will be on our staff this summer.

Sincerely yours,

Ellen Lake

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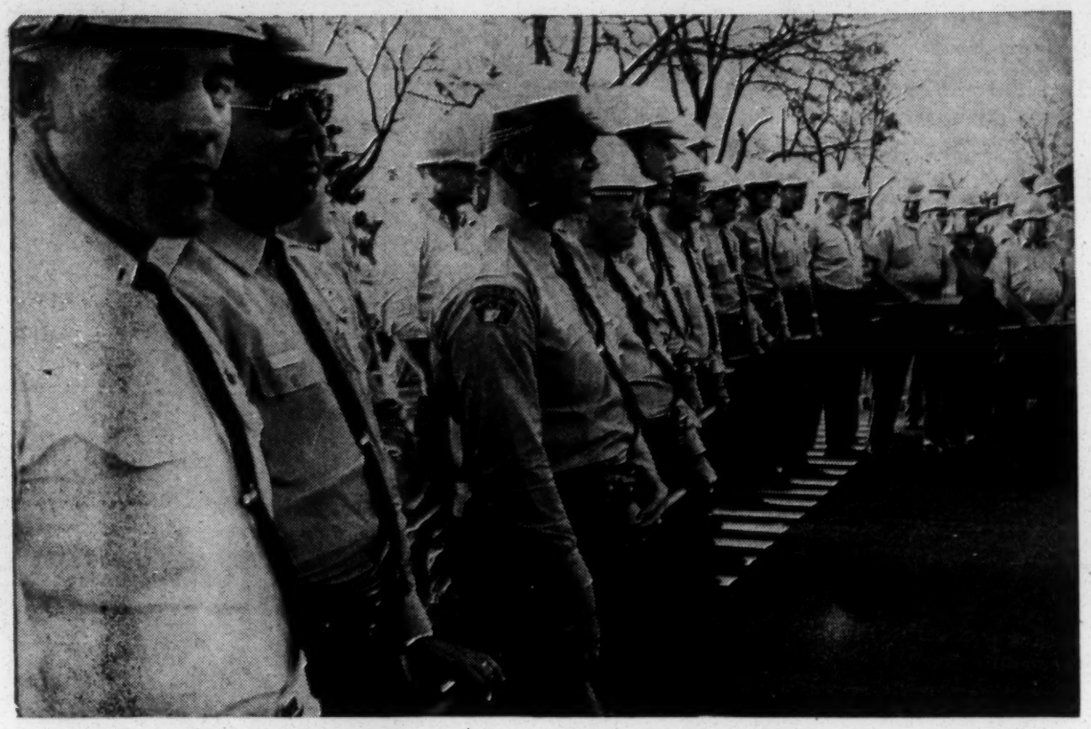
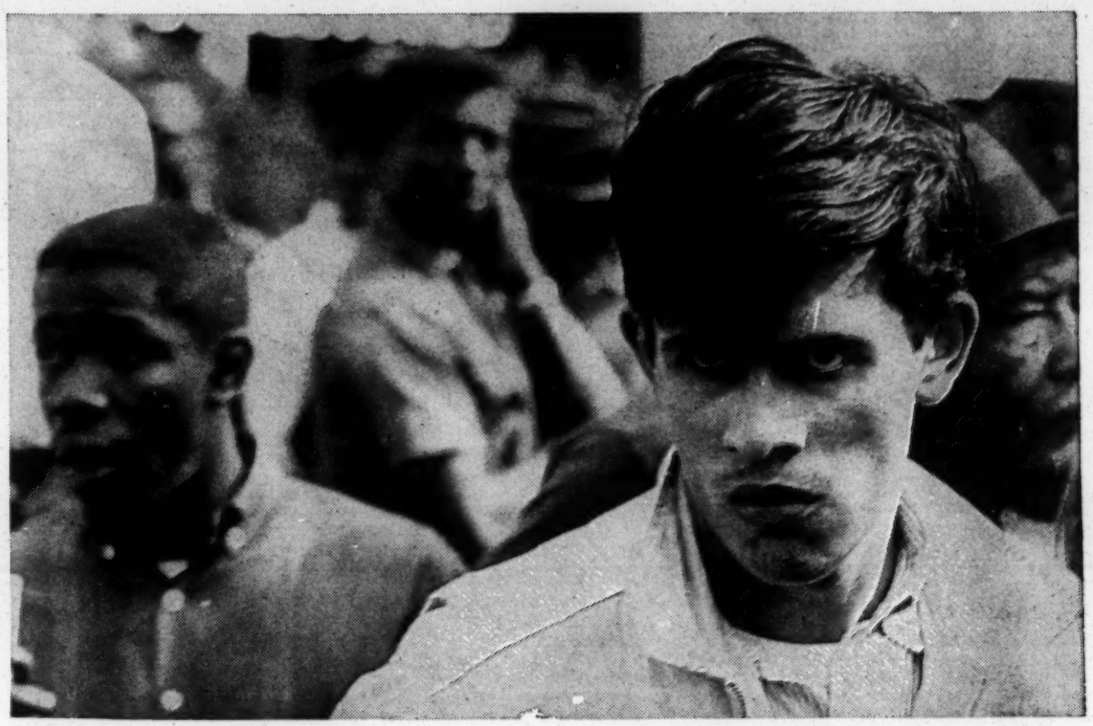
Peter Cummings

Peter Cummings

Montgomery Police Halt Tuesday March; Beatings Nearly Provoke Riot by Negroes





By Peter Cummings

Photographs by Glen J. Pearcy

It was hard to believe that people had been beaten on this block only the night before by mounted possemen. Negro youngsters coming to a rally at the Jackson St. Baptist Church, Tuesday morning (March 16), told the story without anger, impassively. "They rode right through the people, beating 'em with clubs. I hear they rode up on that porch near the corner and knocked a baby from a women's arms, though I didn't see it myself." But now the lawns looked green, the porches clean and whitewashed. The sun was warm, and happy singing came from the church—it didn't seem as if there could have been a beating here. This was Montgomery, not Selma.

At 11 a.m., an hour after the meeting started, again toward the Capitol and finally grouped themselves at an intersection in the line of march, just two blocks from the immense white building.

For 15 minutes motorcycle engines growled on a corner of Decatur St. The crackle of police radios could be heard as Southern voices drawled, "Ten niggers comin' down this way, and 20 whites. Can't tell what they mean to do."

Finally the line of whites and blacks came into view. There were over 500 of them—at least half were Northern college students. Some wore yellow plastic riveters' helmets to protect their heads.

D. H. Lackey, assistant chief of police, deployed his 25 helmeted officers on the corner to halt the line and along the curb to prevent the demonstrators from crossing the street. At noon

riders into the intersection. At least two of the mounted men were state troopers; others were not in uniform.

The demonstrators met them with loud cheers and hysterical angry shouts of "C'mon, beat us again" and "Why don't you bring out your machine guns and kill us all?"

Within seconds, the quiet streets were filled with screams. The horses rode straight into the crowds on both sides of the street. At first the

the crowd of demonstrators. The mounted men charged into the group, flaying at people with clubs and whips. Then they singled out one or two people for special treatment, herding them like calves, banging them between the horses, and finally beating them to the ground.

Three horses converged on a middle-aged white man who was dressed in shirt and tie with his suit jacket slung over his arms. The man ducked and dodged the clubs, seeking a way out. Fear showed in his fce and he looked as if he was about to scream or cry or even bleat. The suit jacket was dropped and forgotten. Still the horses came, battering him. At last he plunged to freedom, and the laughing riders let him flee.

"Kill the bastards!" screamed posseman. "Go get that one!" another cried. A posseman in a blue denim jacket and cowboy hat yelled

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At 11 a.m., an hour after the meeting started, white and Negro students began to filter out of the church; small groups drifted off towards the Capitol building, while most of the students went in the opposite direction, towards the campus of Alabama State, a Negro college, just five blocks away.

The plan was simple: Those who had gone towards the Capitol would meet in a church just two blocks from the building and sing freedom songs to attract the attention of the police force. Meanwhile marchers from Alabama State would sneak up from another direction and throw a ring of pickets around the building before police could stop them.

But the plan didn't work. At 11:15 a.m. a dozen motorcycle policemen roared past the church, their white helmets shining in the sun. The deafening beat of the engines suddenly filled the street, changing the tempo from laziness to tension, almost fear. An onlooker gaped, "My God, here they come." For a few minutes the police watched the line of pickets snake along the Alabama campus. Then they rode off again toward the Capitol and finally grouped themselves at an intersection in the line of march, just two blocks from the immense white building.

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D. H. Lackey, assistant chief of police, deployed his 25 helmeted officers on the corner to halt the line and along the curb to prevent the demonstrators from crossing the street. At noon the marchers met the police. Police Captain Jones read a short announcement explaining that parading without a permit was illegal. And Willie Ricks, a SNCC staff member at the head of the line, explained that they were picketing on the sidewalk, not parading, and therefore did not need a permit. After a brief debate, the marchers simply sat down, filling a block of Decatur St. They stayed there an hour, while reporters gathered at the head of the line, interviewing Lackey and SNCC's James Forman, who was with the marches.

Shortly before 1 p.m. more students began to filter into the area, a few at a time, until the opposite side of the street was spotted with about 40 whites and Negroes.

Suddenly, the large group of marches surged forward against the police, and 30 people, led by Forman, slipped past the officers to their friends across the street. For a few tense moments demonstrators and police shoved each other at the curb, while Forman and others shouted, "C'mon, you can make it, c'mon across." But the police, holding their clubs at both ends and thrusting them against the crowd, mnaged to hold their lines.

Then the horsemen appeared. Sheriff Mac Sim Butler, with a cane in his hand, led the dozen riders into the intersection. At least two of the mounted men were state troopers; others were not in uniform.

The demonstrators met them with loud cheers and hysterical angry shouts of "C'mon, beat us again" and "Why don't you bring out your machine guns and kill us all?"

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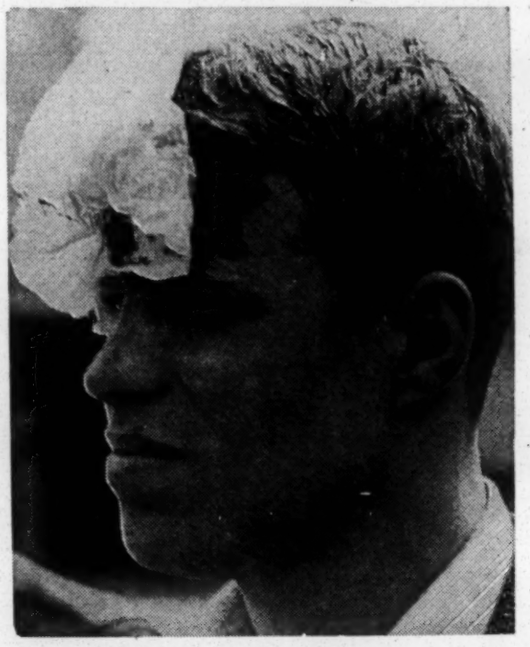


people attempted to hold their ground, but the horses trampled them and battered them against the buildings that lined the street. Lackey tried to stop it, but the Sheriff wouldn't listen.

One boy, Steven K. Kuromiya, an architectural student at the University of Pennsylvania, held his ground. Four horsemen converged on him, clubbed him to the ground, and rode over him. Curled in a fetal position, Kuromiy tried to cover his head with his arms as unmounted deputies clubbed him, and kicked him in stomach and groin. Finally they left him, as blood streamed in glistening lines across his face and formed a scarlet pool on the sidewalk.

For half a dozen blocks the horsemen chased the crowd of demonstrators. The mounted men charged into the group, flaying at people with clubs and whips. Then they singled out one or two people for special treatment, herding them like calves, banging them between the horses, and finally beating them to the ground.

Three horses converged on a middle-aged white man who was dressed in shirt and tie with his suit jacket slung over his arms. The man ducked and dodged the clubs, seeking a way out. Fear showed in his fce and he looked as if he was about to scream or cry or even bleat. The suit jacket was dropped and forgotten. Still the horses came, battering him. At last he plunged to freedom, and the laughing riders let him flee.

"Kill the bastards!" screamed posseman. "Go get that one!" another cried. A posseman in a blue denim jacket and cowboy hat yelled "Whooopee!" and lashed his horse to a gallop to catch and whip a fleeing Negro.

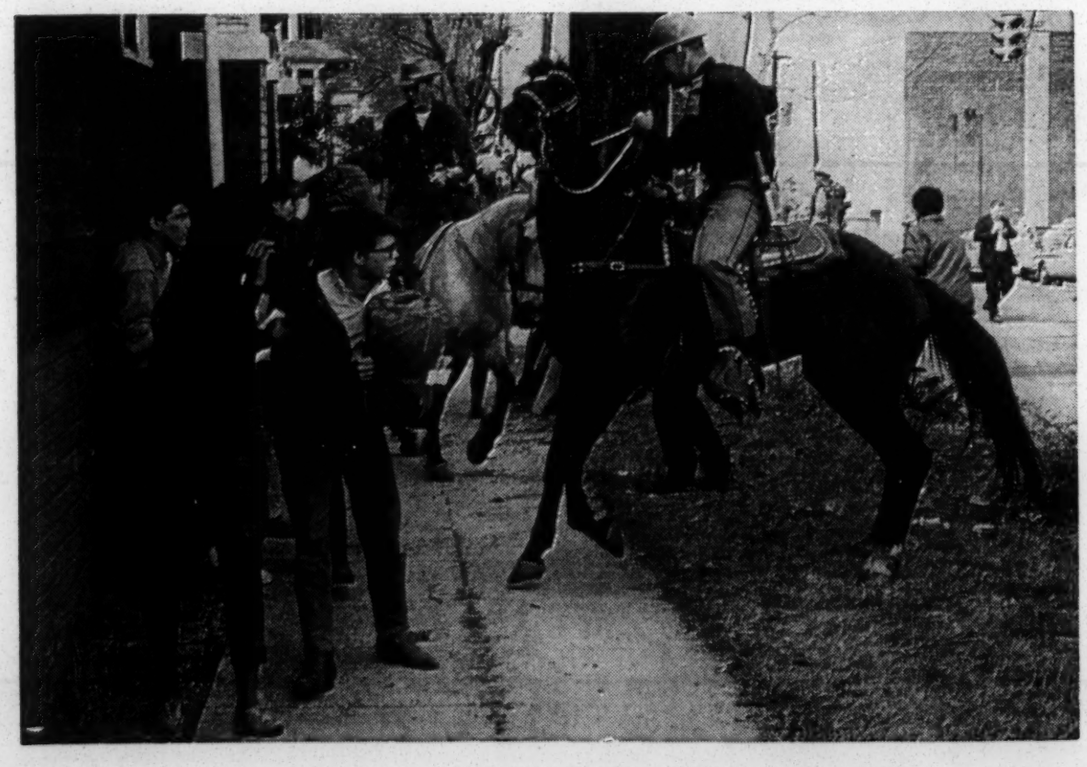
It was all over in ten minutes. Shoes, jackets, pools of blood, torn picket signs, plastic helmets —all these remained in the wake of the people. Grass lawns were torn up, and the excited horses left dung on porches and in the streets. Now the people walked back to the Jackson St. Church. A Negro man clutched his head and moaned repeatedly while his friends helped him walk. Two white boys clutched handkerchiefs to stem the flow of blood from their faces. Two people remained behind, unconscious; the police put them in ambulances.

On Decatur St., where the beatings had begun, Lackey's policemen sat down on the grass by the curb and began to eat sandwich lunches. Other officers cleaned up. Picket signs, shoes, a braid torn from a girl's head, and other articles were carried away. Kuromiya's blood was washed into the gutter.

On Jackson St., in front of the church, the fleeing marches regrouped. Angry cries could be heard from the crowd that blocked the street. But these cries were soon drowned in the roar of motorcycle engines as Lackey's men poured in from both sides. Now the students refused

(Continued on page six)

CRIMSON editors Peter Cummings, Parker Donham, Curtis A. Hessler, and Glen J. Pearcy spent four days in Selma and Montgomery, Ala., last week.



Above, James Bevel (left, in skullcap) and James Forman (center) attempt to quiet Negroes and whites who are sitting in a street in Montgomery. Motorcycle policemen listen in background. At left sheriff's possemen use horses on Negroes and whites who attempted to picket the Capitol Building.

Police Compete for Power in Alabama

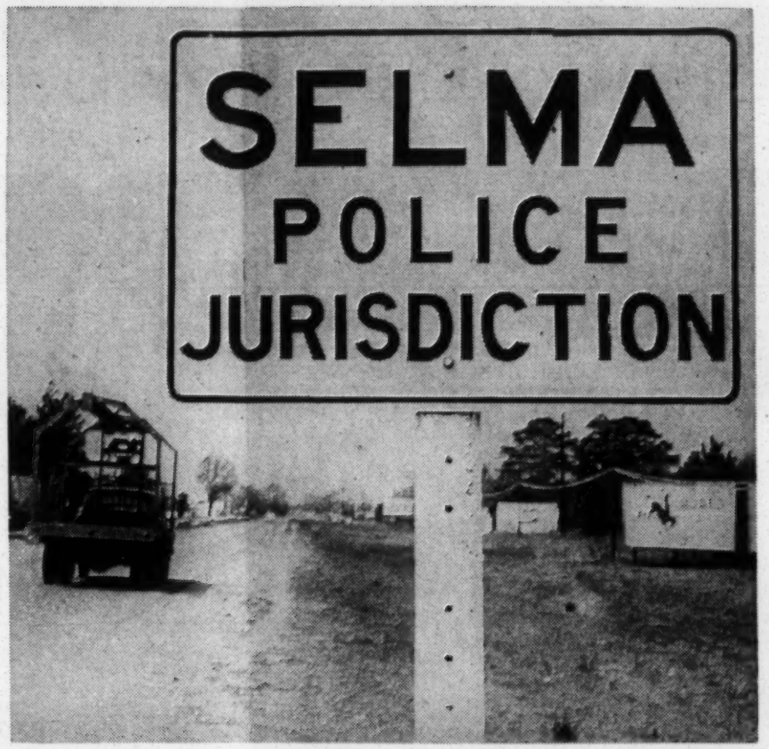
By Parker Donham

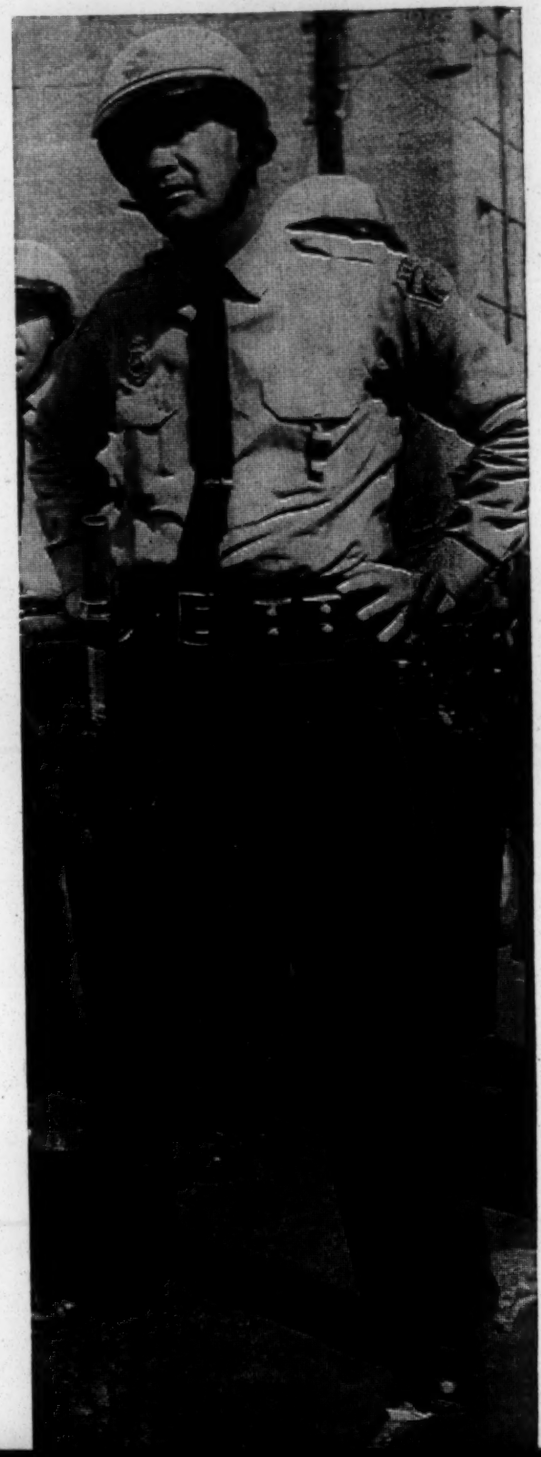
"You know what the police are learnin' from our demonstrations?" the Rev. Andrew Young, a top aide to Martin Luther King, asked a nearly all-black audience in Montgomery, Ala., last week. "We're showin' 'em that the price of beatin' niggers is goin' up!"

If the Alabama police were learning about Negroes last week, the Negroes and northern visitors were learning a lot about the police.

The most striking thing about law enforcement in Selma and Montgomery is its omnipresence. Last Thursday, at 4:30 a.m., a CRIMSON reporter left the house where he was staying in the Negro residential section of Montgomery, drove to the nearest phone booth to telephone a story to the CRIMSON, and returned. The whole trip covered about three-tenths of a mile and took perhaps 30 minutes. In the course of it, he was stopped four times by Alabama state troopers who demanded to know what he was doing.

Later the same day, I was driving along Route 80 from Selma to Montgomery. About a mile outside of Selma, I noticed a helicopter hovering above the car. Beside me was a white CRIMSON photographer, and in the back seat was a young Negro who had asked us for a ride. The top was down, and we could soon see that a man in the helicopter was looking at us through binoculars and taking photographs. He followed us closely for 15 miles, until we suddenly veered into a gas station.





After only a day in either city, the sight of a line of state troopers forty men long and two men deep, with billy sticks poised, was—if still remotely terrifying—no longer shocking. Outside Brown's Chapel in Selma one could usually count 10-20 state troopers' cars. On Jackson St. in Montgomery half a dozen unmarked cars were constantly milling about. City police walked aimlessly through the street, trying to learn when there would be a march, and where the demonstrators would head. Plainclothes city policemen, sometimes making feeble attempts to pass themselves off as newsmen, photographed everyone and everything.

While the police are omnipresent, they are not monolithic. Three law enforcement agencies are struggling for control in both cities.

The State police, under the direction of the notorious Col. Al Lingo, the Alabama director of public safety who first used cattle prods to break up civil rights demonstrations, are by far the largest and most formidable policing force in either city. The troopers are supplemented by "conservation officers," a ragtag band of rednecks, mostly from rural areas, who are anxious to beat the hell out of any Negroes they can lay hands on.

In addition, both Dallas and Montgomery Counties employ an elected sheriff and several deputies. When "necessary," a sheriff may swear in an unlimited number of possemen. In Montgomery on Tuesday it was these mounted possemen wearing denim jackets and ten-gallon hats, who trampled more than 600 demonstrators, beating several senseless. They enjoyed their work, and they went at it with rebel yells and cries of "yippee—get the bastards."

Finally, each city has a force of municipal policemen, under the control of an appointed police chief. They are generally more sophisticated than the troopers or the possemen.

The crucial difference in these agencies, however, lies not in the social and economic composition of their forces, but rather in their leadership. In both cities, the sheriffs and the

On the day the possemen charged the civil rights demonstrators, Lackey asked Montgomery County sheriff Mac Sim Butler to help him get a small crowd of the marchers back to the other side of the street where the bulk of the crowd was being contained. Whether from personal sadistic zeal, or sheriff's orders, the possemen went wild, and began to charge both groups of demonstrators.

Immediately Lackey was in the street yelling, "Hey sheriff, you've got to stop this." From then on, Lackey made it clear that he wanted no help from the sheriff or the troopers unless he specifically requested it. He has not asked for any aid again.

One evening later in the week, James Forman, executive secretary of SNCC, borrowed Lackey's bullhorn to quiet a restless mob outside the Jackson Street Baptist Church. When he bitterly criticized the police chief for calling in the posse, Lackey, who had been standing on the edge of the crowd, hesitated for a moment and then strode up to Forman.

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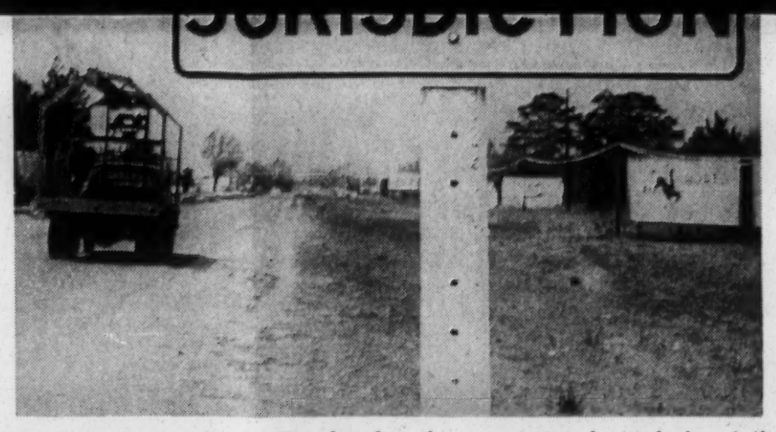

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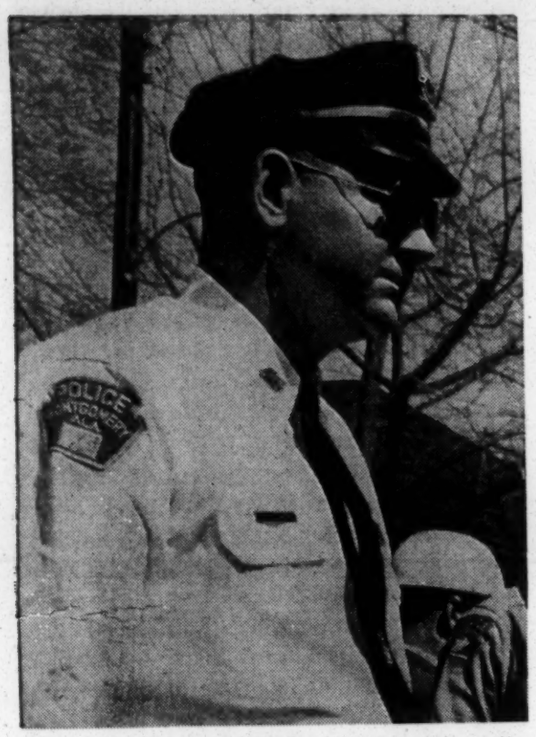

D. H. LACKEY, Asst. Chief of Montgomery Police

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The crucial difference in these agencies, however, lies not in the social and economic composition of their forces, but rather in their leadership. In both cities, the sheriffs and the troopers belong to the cowboy school, which holds that the only way to deal with the Commie beatnik agitators is to run roughshod over them. The police chiefs in the two towns, on the other hand, while not always just, use restraint in their defenses of an unjust order.

D. H. Lackey, assistant chief of the Montgomery police, is an example of the latter group. Deliberate and slow, almost to the point of dullness, Lackey seldom raises his voice even in the heat of the demonstrations. Although large, like the archetypal southern cop, Lackey's face is soft and his cheek muscles never ripple to reveal clenched teeth below. No matter how tough the situation, he always has a smile and a handshake for the reporter who bothered to make himself familiar to the assistant chief.

For Lackey, slowness is both a virtue and a tool. During the daily street demonstrations he was constantly besieged by city and state officials who urged him to "lock the niggers up." "Well," he inevitably drawled, "let's just wait a while and see what happens."

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"I'll answer to that," he declared and took the bullhorn from the SNCC leader's hands. "The possee was getting orders from the sheriff and the county solicitor," he told the crowd. "I had no control over them. I didn't want any violence, I simply wanted to contain the large group. I didn't want the crowd dispersed."

Later Lackey confided to a reporter, "I don't blame him for being ticked off about the other day. I was real upset myself. I didn't want any of that kind of stuff to happen."

During the numerous street demonstrations that violated a city ordinance against parading without a permit, Lackey always put off arresting demonstrators as long as he could. While city officials clamored for him to make arrests, he told a reporter, "You know I don't want to arrest them. They're just kids, some of 'em."

Once, when state troopers prevented marchers from picketing on the capitol sidewalk, Lackey buttonholed a reporter and said, "If they stay in the street I'll have to arrest them. Do you think there's any chance of reasoning and persuading them to use the sidewalk across the street?"

"Looks to me like the troopers are the ones that need to be reasoned with," the reporter replied.

Lackey grunted distractedly. A few seconds later he grinned weakly and said, "Yeah, I reckon you got a point there."

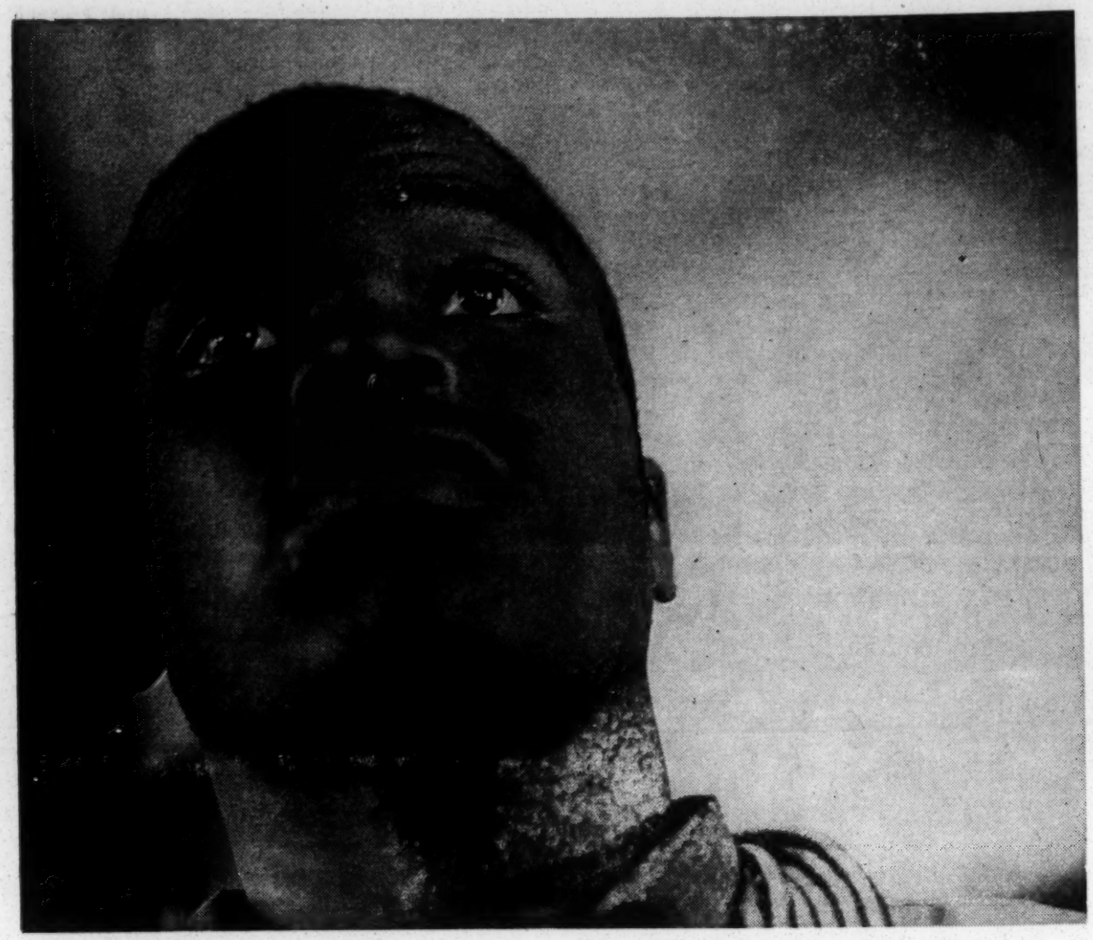
Selma Sheriff Jim Clark, a big man with a balding head and a button reading "never," is the antithesis of Lackey. He rules his office with an air of pomposity, as his brood of secretaries and deputy sheriffs hover reverently about. A radio monitor crackled with the message, "There's a bunch of 'em with signs headed west on Jeff Davis Avenue, toward the nigger houses." Clark flicks a switch on the microphone and drawls, "Find out what they're doin' and call me back. 10-4."

Clark's office matches his temperament. Two bulletin boards on the wall are plastered with congratulatory telegrams from across the country. "GOD IS WITH YOU IN THE BATTLE AGAINST COMMUNIST-INSPIRED YANKEE AGITATORS," one reads. Another datelined New Hampshire suggests that Clark subject King to a "THOROUGH PSYCHIATRIC EXAMINATION." A third, from an Air Force sergeant in Colorado, closes, "THANK YOU FOR YOUR MANLINESS AND YOUR MANKINDLINESS."

On a counter below the bulletin board are stacks of reprints from various magazines. One shows a Negro kissing a young white girl, with the caption, "Homosexual tongue-sucks four-year-old." A second describes a weekend Martin Luther King allegedly spent with "his cutie" in the Bahamas. Another accuses Ralph Abernathy, an associate of King's, of raping a 14-year-old girl.

What will be the outcome of this schism in police power? It is too soon to say. The control of the restraining elements, like Lackey, over the paranoic elements, like Clark, is far too tenuous, and even Lackey is only protecting the status quo. When the roar of a dozen motorcycles speeding down a crowded city street becomes commonplace, and the sight of a state trooper gripping a billy-stick and glaring at a Negro becomes blurred in one's mind with a score of similar images, then the price of beating niggers is still too low.

"Which Side Are You On?"



By Curtis A. Hessler

They say in Alabama
No neutrals do you 'mark.
You either are a freedom fighter
Or a "tom" for Sheriff Clark.
Which side are you on, boy?
Which side are you on?

In Alabama today, nearly every person, white or black, has been converted into a combattant, a soldier with lines to protect or fortresses to storm. For the Negroes, the conversion process has been a blessing. It has infused purpose and complexity into lives that would otherwise be void and hopeless. For whites, the conversion has been a tragedy, compressing three-dimensional personalities into flat stereotypes.

They worship Dr. King and befriended us immediately. One evening we were drinking beer there and discussing the prospective Selma-to-Montgomery freedom march. A middle-aged Negro, who had occupied another table, rose to leave. As he passed our table, he leaned into the conversation and muttered, "Go ahead and march, but look out. That's all, just look out."

What did he mean? we asked. He sat down with us, the owners closed the restaurant, and we all spent two hours debating the ethics of nonviolence. The middle-aged man said it was unnatural to stand still while troopers flailed at you with their billy sticks. "No one can do that to me," he insisted, "No one." But he considered it equally unnatural to marhh defiantly from Selma

A highly sophisticated debate followed—but it was more than words. Both men knew that the next day SNCC would once again summon the Negro community to march nonviolently on the state capitol. Similar discussions were going on throughout the ghetto; for the Movement is the central fact in the life and thought of every Montgomery Negro, whether or not he considers himself *in* the Movement.

If the Revolution has added ferment and complexity to the lives of most Negroes, it has had the opposite effect on whites. It is fashionable to talk about the "many Souths," and perhaps they exist. But in Alabama I met only two types of white men: those who mix reason with prejudice and those who make no pretense of rationality.

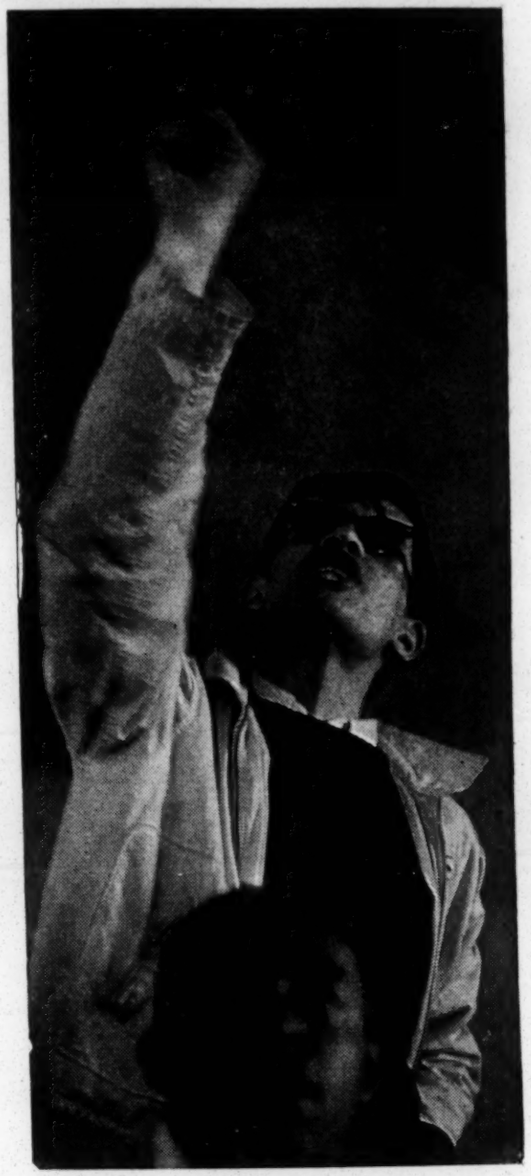
White "Moderates"

The former inhabit the relatively wealthy Selma suburb where Mayor Joseph Smitherson lives. His neighbors lined the curbs last Friday as 300 silent demonstrators were arrested for picketing Smitherson's home. The onlookers were well-dressed. They didn't taunt the demonstrators and, knowing I was a reporter, tried to reason with me.

"How would you feel if hundreds of bearded beatniks walked all over your lawn?" they asked earnestly.

"We don't care if these people vote, but all this marching is just silly," one man declared. "They're acting like the whole thing is a circus. Those northern kids just want something to write home about." One man who wore a Rotary pin had once lived in Cambridge, and we exchanged reminiscences.

But the moderation and rationality had limits, and these were quickly exhausted. "These niggers were happy before the agitators came in. Why, most of our niggers are richer than white folks; they just stash it away in banks, never improve themselves. And they don't care about each other. When the floods come, it's the white fire department people who save the niggers from drowning. After all this mess, I don't know how



and snapped, "You northern folks would just love havin' your houses crapped up by a lot of filthy beatniks, wouldn't you? Just love it."

Last Thursday, several hundred extremists marched to the capitol in Montgomery. A young white mother in the group pointed to some civil rights demonstrators nearby and said to her three-year old daughter, "There, honey, see the northern nigger-lovers—see 'em! Don't they look like monkeys?"

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No one is allowed to remain detached. At a freedom rally, an old Negro woman pulls you aside, presses your hand in hers, and implores you to "stay so they won't beat us again." Young boys link their arms through yours and begin singing "We Shall Overcome." At a white rally, a young garage attendant circles around you and hisses, "You're one of 'em, ain't ya?"

A curtain of suspicion separates the white outsider from the Negro community; but walking the streets of Selma and Montgomery is not like walking in Harlem or Chicago's South Side. You meet no sullen or threatening stares. Centuries of open oppression have implanted a different response; black faces either turn down and search the sidewalk as you pass or probe your own face, looking for clues.

Distrust Melts

But the distrust is easily pierced. Last Friday I visited Walker's Cafe, where the Rev. James J. Reeb had eaten right before he was murdered. As I left the restaurant, several white gangs stared at me from across the street. On my side of the road, groups of Negroes leaning against storefronts eyed me hostilely. Finally the loneliness grew unbearable. I raised my eyes to a young Negro man. "How are you, brother?" I whispered.

A broad smile instantly spread across his face. He winked, and his friends strolled up to shake my hand. The whites across the street looked away and then sauntered off. No doubt they too were relieved that sides had finally been taken.

Often no words are even needed. In Montgomery, I filed my CRIMSON copy from the bar of the Negro Ben Moore Hotel. The mere act of entering the bar was proof of allegiance to the cause. Each time at least three Negros approached me smiling, shook hands and offered to buy me a drink or food.

"You-all is gettin' straightened out, ain't ya?" one man asked. The question carried no hint of defiance or sarcasm. I nodded. "Well, that's fine, just fine," he said, clapping me on the shoulder.

While in Montgomery, we ate most of our dinners at the College Inn, a Negro cafe owned by a quiet young couple who work a 16-hour day. They worship Dr. King and befriended us immediately. One evening we were drinking beer there and discussing the prospective Selma-to-Montgomery freedom march. A middle-aged Negro, who had occupied another table, rose to leave. As he passed our table, he leaned into the conversation and muttered, "Go ahead and march, but look out. That's all, just look out."

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The owner of the cafe defended the Movement, maintaining that it was immoral to fight back and impractical to reason with poor whites. plexity to the lives of most Negroes, it has had the opposite effect on whites. It is fashionable to talk about the "many Souths," and perhaps they exist. But in Alabama I met only two types of white men: those who mix reason with prejudice and those who make no pretense of rationality.

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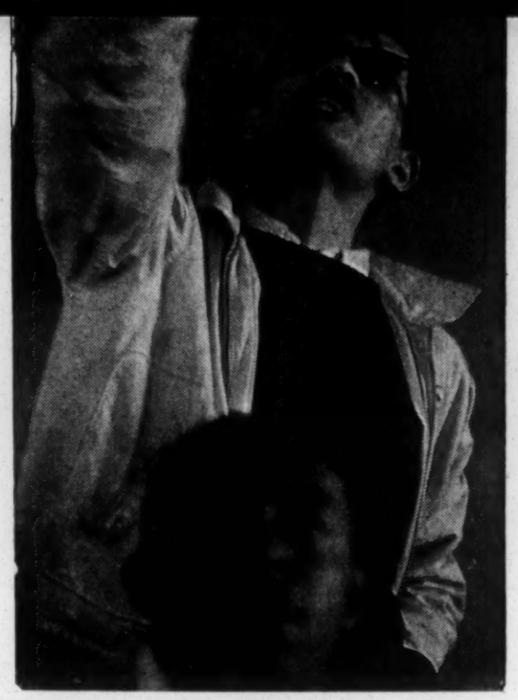
The extremists often ask the same questions as the "moderates," but they aren't interested in answers. I was in Sheriff Jim Clark's office when a police radio reported that the 300 pickets had reached the mayor's home. Clark glared at me



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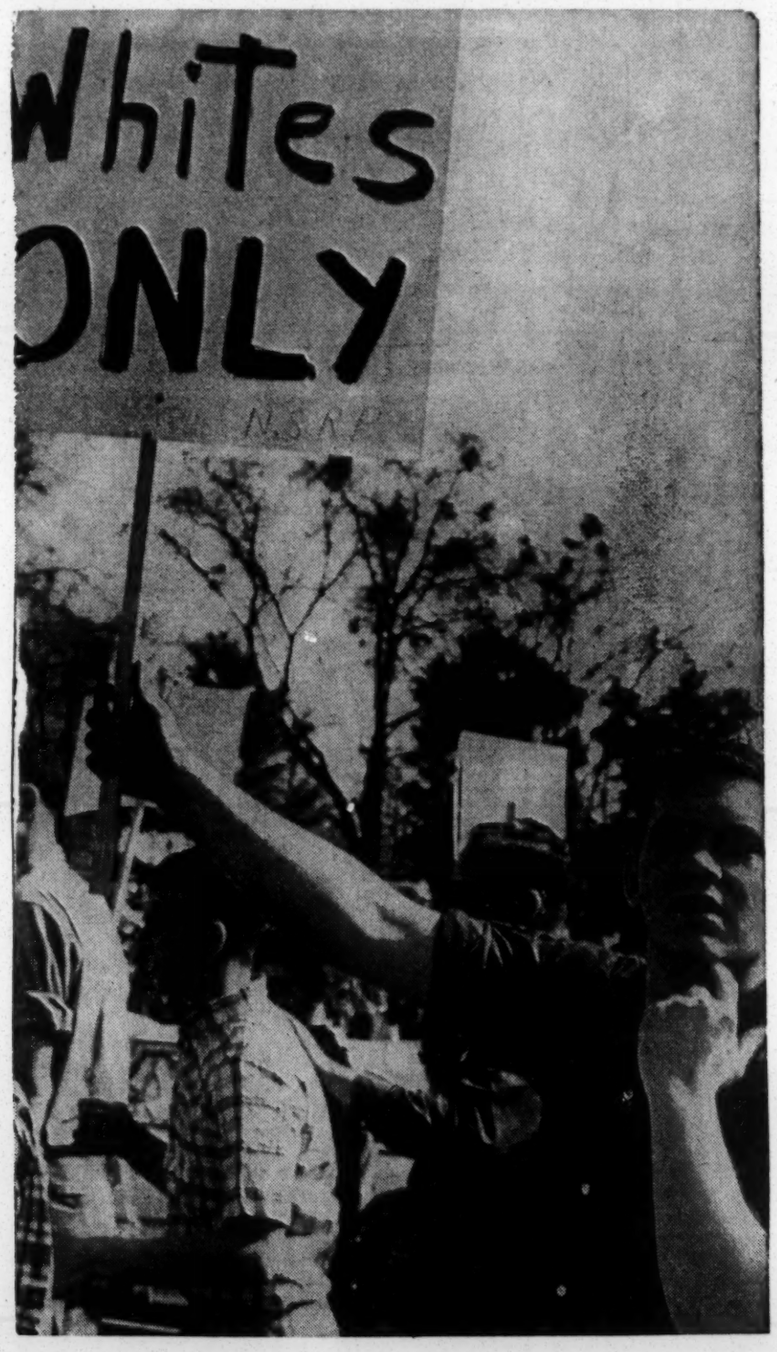
A big unshaven man leaned over a police barricade. "Bust up the goddamn Commies," he shouted to the troopers. "C'mon, use your clubs. Let's see some real BRUTALITY."

As the "Confederate" parade moved up the mall, hundreds of white-collar workers crowded the capitol windows. For a moment they watched silently. Then, as the marchers began chanting, "Go home, niggers," a huge shout of approval roared from the building.



All the pictures on these pages were taken by Glen J. Pearcy '66, a CRIMSON photographer.

Marchers Regroup to Hear King Speak

(Continued from page three)

to give ground to the police and dozens began to sit and lie down in the path of the cycles.

James Bevel, an SCLC minister who wears overalls and an embroidered skull cap, pushed his way through the crowd shouting pleas for nonviolence. Forman, Willie Ricks, and Ben Ware, all of SNCC, stood on orange crates in the middle of the streets and yelled for silence. Meanwhile Negro teenagers on the sidewalks gathered bricks and bottles and screamed along with many white Northern students, "Get the cops. Don't let 'em get away with it this time."

One motorcycle man suddenly gunned his engine and drove through the crowd. A white boy was caught under a plastic saddlebag and dragged several feet before the officer stopped. Immediately hands reached out and grabbed the policeman, pulling his heavy bulk towards the angry people. But the boy who had been run over jumped up and pushed the crowd back from the policeman.

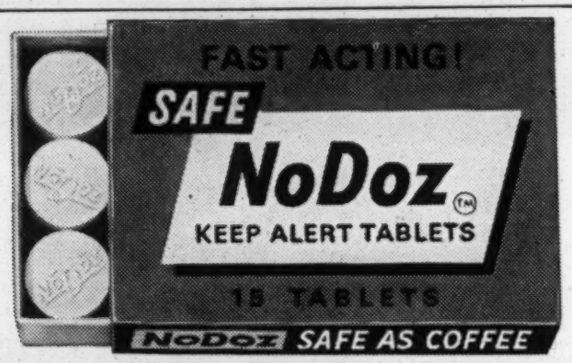
Forman talked with Lackey and then Lackey gave orders to his men. The motorcycle engines went dead. And there was silence. Bevel spoke first:

". . . If you want to use violence, okay. Go to the rifle range and practice and then wipe out these cops in an even battle . . . But if you're gonna be nonviolent and lie in the street you gotta accept the consequences. You can't lie in the street and then cry the blues when you get run over. [Boos greated this] . . .

Ricks spoke also, and soon everyone was speaking, telling the watching policemen what the Negro community thought of white cops. As the speeches went on, Lackey withdrew his men to the ends of the streets, and soon the threat of violence action was swept away in the violence of words. Ambulances were still riding in and out of the area, carrying injured to the hospital. At least ten people received hospital treatment.

Night fell, and rumors spread. King was in town and the people clung to that. "I sure hope King has something good to say about all this." Some local Negroes displayed revolvers, threatening, "There are 40 of us armed like this, and we've each picked out the cop we're gonna get."

With evening, many of the people went home to supper. At 9 p.m., over 1000 packed Beulah Baptist Church, a few blocks from Jackson St., where the Rev. Ralph Abernathy (SCLC) and Forman spoke. Finally De Lawd himself arose. His speech was the same one that he had given in Birmingham, on the Washington March, and in St. Augustine. But finally he spoke the words the people wanted to hear: "Tomorrow we will march in the streets of Montgomery by the thousands!" The people rose and cheered, believing that tomorrow they would be the victors.



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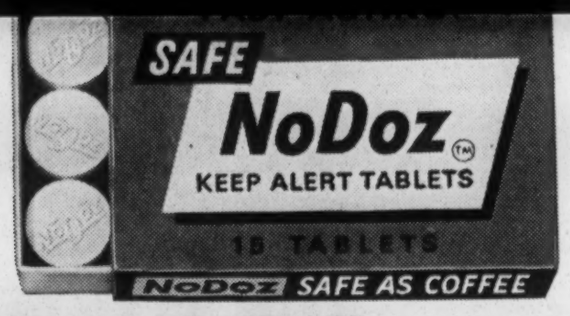
Another fine product of Grove Laboratories.

1. Now that graduation's getting

2. I might have suspected.



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1. Now that graduation's getting close, have you given any thought to the kind of work you'd like to do?

I want to work for The Good of Mankind.

2. I might have suspected.

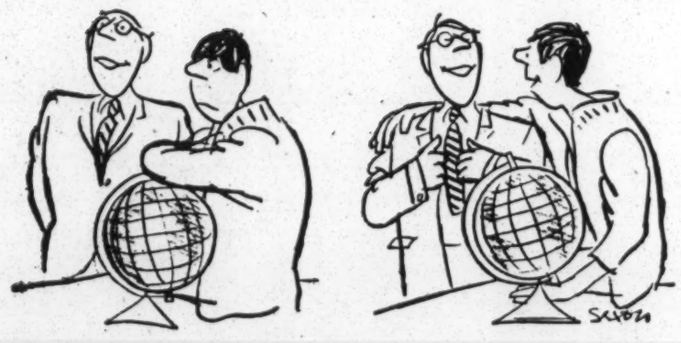
I'll probably grow a beard.

3. Is it required?

It helps. And I'll certainly need a pair of sandals.

4. What do you expect to earn?

All I ask is the satisfaction of knowing I'm helping to Build a Better World.



5. I'll be doing much the same thing. I've also lined up a job that affects society in a positive way. And if I do good, I'll move up, and my decisions will be even more important in the scheme of things.

But where's your beard? What about sandals?

6. You don't need them in Equitable's development program. All you need is an appetite for challenge and responsibility, and the desire to do the best possible job. The pay is tops, too.

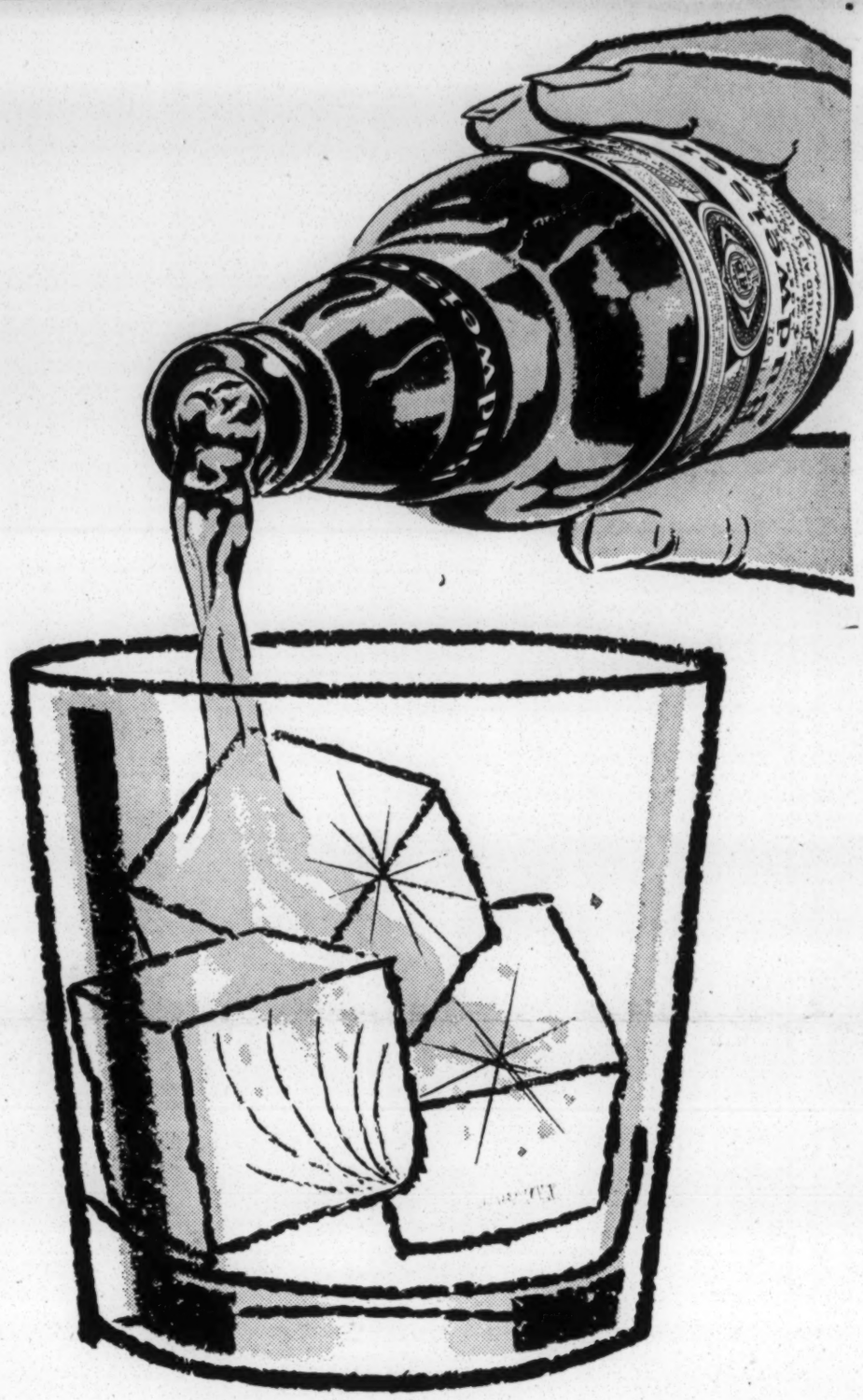
You know, I'm afraid a beard would itch—could you get me an interview with Equitable?

For complete information about career opportunities at Equitable, see your Placement Officer, or write to Edward D. McDougal, Manager, Manpower Development Division.

The EQUITABLE Life Assurance Society of the United States

Home Office: 1285 Ave. of the Americas, New York, N. Y. 10019 ©Equitable 1965

An Equal Opportunity Employer



Beer on the rocks?

(Oh, no!)

The other day, for the first time, our brewmaster heard of "beer-on-the-rocks." He fell apart.

He really doesn't have anything against ice cubes . . . for scotch or old-fashioneds or lemonade. But not for beer. Especially the *King* of Beers.

You see, he knows how much extra time and expense it takes to get that Budweiser® taste and smoothness and drinkability. Add a couple of ice cubes and "bloop". . . there goes all that extra effort.

Ice cuts down the head and waters down the taste. And, with Budweiser, that's a tragedy. Budweiser is the only beer in America that's Beechwood Aged. We allow Bud to brew its own tiny bubbles . . . slowly, naturally . . . over a dense lattice of beechwood strips. That's why Budweiser tastes better, foams better and sets better—glass after glass.

So if you know somebody who likes to plunk ice cubes in his Budweiser, please don't tell our brewmaster. (We hate to see a grown man cry.)

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CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Ralph McGill, Publisher, Atlanta Constitution.

REGARDING:

Mr. Richard Cotton, (formerly of Harvard Crimson), advance man for Southern Courier.

DATE April 28, 1965

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Newspapers, et al, Atlanta Constitution.

Make folder file in Newspapers, et al.

May 7, 1965

Miss Ellen Lake
The Southern Courier
c/o Adams House, Room D31
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Lake:

John Ehle sent down to me a copy of your letter to him of April 22. You are quite right that I should have replied earlier to the letter which you sent to me sometime ago. Pat Watters and I did have a talk with Richard Cotton when he was here on April 28, and I suppose I thought there was nothing much else to write. Perhaps he has told you of our conversation.

As we told Mr. Cotton, we stand ready to be of use to you as we can. A great many reporters use our files, and check with us for contacts and other information. We hope the Southern Courier will do the same.

One of the real tough problems is going to be distribution. We have never been able to devise ways of reaching the mass of southern white people with our things, and consequently we are not in a good position to advise anybody on how it's done. Whatever help we can give you, however, and whatever help the state Councils on Human Relations can give you, you are more than welcome to.

Another is money, and here I think we can be of almost no help. We don't have funds of our own to

give. If any prospective donor speaks with us about you, I shall be glad to say a good word, but as yet no one has.

As to using SRC for an "umbrella," that is something we cannot permit, and, as a matter of policy, have never permitted. Tax exempt organizations have a responsibility, as we see it, not to permit themselves to be used as a conduit. We have engaged in many projects over the years, including the Voter Education Project, in which we have allocated funds to non-tax exempt organizations for specific purposes that fall within our exemption. We do so, however, only when we sufficiently participate in the decision-making of the project, because our tax exemption is on the line with every dollar so allocated. You certainly don't want that kind of participation, and should not want it, nor do we have the staff time to engage in it. More basically, I question whether a newspaper, expressing editorial opinions, could be the recipient of tax exempt money.

When Mr. Cotton was here he never really asked us our opinion of the idea of the Southern Courier, and there is no reason why he should have. As long as we are into the subject again, I will say to you that I think what you are attempting can be of considerable value, though I do not believe it to be as high a priority as some other things. We have here been very interested in the growth of student organizations: SNCC, the National Student Association and its various off-shoots, the Southern Student Organizing Committee, and the student affiliates of the state Councils on Human Relations. I am sure that you think of the Southern Courier as contributing to their work. My own view would be, however, that they should make the decisions as to how the limited resources of money and energies which are available should best be expended in the South. I don't see, and perhaps I am completely wrong, the Southern Courier contributing to the strengthening of ongoing groups and institutions, as has, for example, the Southern Teaching Project which originated last year at Yale.

Don't let these remarks of mine, however, discourage you. I'll be happy to be proved wrong. And do come in to see us when you reach Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. John Ehle, Ford Foundation
Rc. Ralph McGill

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

ADVISORS
DEAN JOHN U. MONRO
HARVARD COLLEGE
PROF. MARK DEWOLFE HOWE
HARVARD LAW SCHOOL

c/o ADAMS HOUSE
ROOM D31
CAMBRIDGE, MASS. 02138
(617) KI 7-8201

RECEIVED
APR 26 1965
MAIL ROOM
THE FORD FOUNDATION
NEW YORK OFFICE

April 22, 1965

Mr. John Ehle
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Ehle:

This letter is largely to ask a favor of you.

Do you remember when we visited you in New York, you suggested that the Southern Regional Council might provide an umbrella under which we could slip for tax purposes? Our lawyers thought that an excellent idea, but we have as yet received no reply from the Council to our original letter, which was written before we spoke with you.

We know that Mr. Dunbar received it, because apparently he has been making inquiries about us. First, he talked to Julian Bond at the Atlanta office of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and then to Howard Zinn, a professor at Boston University about us. Naturally, we are waiting anxiously to hear from him.

We wondered whether you might possibly write to Mr. Dunbar, telling him that you had met us, and (if you were so inclined) recommending our project to him. We did not mention in the original letter anything about tax-exemption, but just asked for aid and advice. Perhaps a letter from you, who know him, would stand us in good stead.

See enclosed

On other fronts, our mass mailing went out, and the Crimson ran some big advetisements and an editorial about us, so we're hoping for some big returns. Today $55 trickled in, but no doubt tomorrow will bring a wave.

Peter is reading your book, and absolutely loves it. He's going to review it for the Crimson. So far, he's been keeping it to himself and hasn't let me near it.

Best wishes.

Sincerely, 23916
Ellen
Ellen Lake

PA - for my file Southern Courier

PW!

PB

July 22, 1966

Mr. Michael S. Lottman
Associate Editor
The Southern Courier
Frank Leu Building, Room 622
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Lottman:

I meant to write you this minority report on your New South Review sooner, but I've been busy and out of town where I observed in South Carolina, slumbering in the golden haze of July and humming with heavy sing-song of blue-bottle flies, late green June bugs whose opalescent green backs glittered in the sun and black and yellow dragon flies with their transparent wings trembling and shimmering on the glossy leaves of high chinaberry trees, such an opulence of trees, flowers and creatures of the countryside that I feel impelled to share with you the midsummer splendors of the southern scene, like black-eyed Susans bobbing brightly on the road shoulders, pale wild poppies peeping through the weeds and grass, the deep-eyed mournful Jersey cow which moved with slow deliberation into the path of our car and stood regarding us sadly and with a purpose we suspected to be suicidal, the tiny emerald blade of grass with a diamond dew drop twinkling from a cotton field and the yellow hound done to death on the expressway whol

swarmed with feasting flies of so many varieties I cannot, unfortunately, name them all. (I do not wish to appear vainglorious, but by count, this is 194 words.)

I preface my dissent from Pat Watters' judgment of your Courier review by pointing out that I put him, perhaps, at the top of the list of excellent minds, good hearts, and literary talents presently reporting and explaining southern change. It is seldom that I disagree with his reactions or pronouncements on any situation.

In this case, however, I do disagree. I feel that you have all right to dislike New South, to regard its contents as piddling or less, and to think it is ill-written and that this right, if you take New South seriously, incurs an obligation to say so, as you did.

Personally, while I appreciate Pat's defense of me, I do not feel insulted by your distaste for my style, syntax and infatuation with flora and fauna. For all I know, you may be right. You did not insult my person or my character. And, anyone who puts typewriter to paper incurs disagreement, disapproval and ridicule from critics of different tastes, ideas and interests.

I also dissent from the idea that such criticism as yours is dangerous. I do not believe that any criticism, however harsh, strengthens the process of "dehumanization." On the contrary, I believe that we encourage dehumanization far more by conforming in silence and agreement with ideas, customs, behavior and writing which we disapprove or despise. I agree that "the uses of written language can be more destructive of human good than helpful"; but, I do not believe that the Southern Regional Council, or any other person or institution, can judge for us what is destructive. The freedom to dissent, criticize and even destroy is a liberty (and a duty in some cases) which we

all support, in a necessary and calculated risk.

Your review, I feel, was harsh, but insulting on only two points. You refer to Dr. Robert Coles, an able psychiatrist and writer, as the movement's "kept psychiatrist," which seems to me a gratuitous libel of an honest man. I find it an incomprehensible insult that you assert (on what advices or experience I can't imagine) that Finley Campbell "thrills editors of New South" by "calling his own people niggers."

However, publications, editors and writers, like politicians and actors, are subject to presumptuous impugnings of their feelings and motives by critics, and always have been, whether this is right or wrong. So, I herewith uphold your right to imagine what feelings inspire editors and what considerations induce Dr. Coles to publish hopeful and optimistic findings.

I might remind you that Many New South stories are fresh and informing to readers who are not so thoroughly apprised of developments in the civil rights movement as you are.

Regretting your appraisal of New South, I repeat my strong sense of your right to criticise; my reading of your review as mainly proper criticism of style and content and my conviction that criticism, however harsh, stimulates thought and thus retards "dehumanization."

So, I hope you continue to lay about you, fierce young man.

Sincerely,

Margaret Long

ML/mmj

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

622 Frank Leu Building
79 Commerce Street
Montgomery, Alabama 36104
(205) 262-3572

Mrs. M.
For W.
For A.
Paul

File
News papers, et. al.
"Southern Courier"

July 25, 1966

Mrs. Margaret Long
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Long,

I certainly appreciate your letter to Michael Lottman about our review of New South. It was encouraging to hear some good sense from 5 Forsyth Street.

As an editor, I feel as you do: We can't yell "freedom of the press abused" or "dehumanization" every time we read something with which we have violent disagreement. We can't do this especially if our gripe in this part of the country is that people are unable to express their opinions without suffering consequences.

You are a noble woman, and you have taken our review in good spirit. I regret that you could not have met Mike when you were in Montgomery. He doesn't have horns at all.

Tell your colleagues at the Council, please, that if they would prefer to be pleasantly ignored, we still do not plan to let them get away with it.

Best regards.

Yours truly,
Bob Smith
Robert E. Smith

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

SOUTHERN COURIER

REGARDING

An Analysis of Courier review of NEW SOUTH

Letter to Mr. David R. Hunter-Stern Family Fund-
from PA 7/26/66

DATE

7-26-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

FOUNDATIONS: STERN FAMILY FUND

1.

See Newspapers, et al
Southern Courier

November 9, 1966

Miss Hope Farber
Secretary to the Librarian
Lilly Library
Earlham College
Richmond, Indiana 47375

Dear Miss Farber:

The address of the Southern Courier is:

Frank Leu Building
Room 622
Montgomery, Alabama

The Southern Regional Council publishes a quarterly, New South. Under separate cover we are sending you a copy. We would be pleased should the Lilly Library wish to subscribe. I am enclosing herewith a copy of our publications list which you might be interested in seeing.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

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PA

November 2, 1966

Gentlemen:

Do you publish a paper called the Southern Courier? If so, we would like to subscribe to it. Please send information.

Sincerely yours,

Hope Farber

Hope Farber
Secretary to the
Librarian

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

1012 Frank Leu Building
79 Commerce Street
Montgomery, Alabama 36104
(205) 262-3572

File Newspapers - Recd Southern Courier 2/2/67

Feb. 2, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This is to confirm our phone conversation of last Monday, in which we discussed the possibility of The Southern Courier's receiving a Ford Foundation grant through the Southern Regional Council.

I talked to Bob Valder of the Alabama Council on Human Relations on Tuesday, and he had no objections at all to SRC's handling this grant. We discussed the fact that the amount of money that may be involved is about four times as large as the amount the ACHR handled for us last year, and Mr. Valder noted that even the lesser amount caused some uneasiness.

It is my understanding the most of the Ford grant will be for general operations, with $5,000 each year reserved for consultant services. The work we will be doing, of course, is very closely related to the work and purposes of the SRC.

Our attorneys will continue to press our application for tax-exempt status. They have expressed confidence about the eventual result, if not about the time factor which is so important to us right now. I hope the grant can be amended so that if we do receive tax-exempt status, the money can then come directly to us.

I hope you and Mr. Coleman can work out the details when you meet next week, as our need is rather urgent.

Thank you for your generous co-operation. I hope we can get together soon.

Sincerely,

Mike Lottman

Michael S. Lottman

cc: Mr. John Coleman

See Newspapers, et al. "Southern Courier"

February 13, 1967

Mr. Michael S. Lottman
Southern Courier
1012 Frank Leu Building
79 Commerce Street
Montgomery, Alabama 36104

Dear Mike:

By the time I talked with Jack Coleman I determined that he was not willing to go along with the procedure you suggested and was informing you of that immediately. Therefore, I felt no need to call you from New York as I had earlier agreed to do.

I did urge that he give you any possible assistance and obtaining a prompt ruling on your application for tax exemption and that if such an exemption was not granted in the near future that some further consideration be given to making this grant available to you.

I am very sorry this didn't work out and we remain available to be of any possible assistance to you.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Recd 2/9/67

4

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

February 8, 1967

COPY

Mr. Michael S. Lottman
Southern Courier
1012 Frank Leu Building
79 Commerce Street
Montgomery, Alabama 36104

Dear Mike:

We've done some further exploring and talking within the Foundation, and the result is that I must urge you to stick strictly with the original plan of a grant directly to the Southern Courier. The Southern Regional Council might be prepared to help out here, but I'd prefer to keep the issue as clear as possible. You'll recall that there were some Trustee questions earlier about the grant. These doubts disappeared -- but let's not complicate things by raising any new problems.

I know this disappoints you when the cash crisis draws nearer. But perhaps you can bring some additional weight to bear in getting an early tax exempt decision. In any event, call me and let me know how things stand.

Please believe how anxious we are to help out -- we want you to have the grant at the earliest possible stage, but we want to do it directly to your organization.

All best wishes.

Sincerely,

John R. Coleman
Program Officer in Charge

b cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

RECEIVED
DEC 31
Southern Regional Council

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 20

PUBLISHER'S OFFICE

December 29, 1953

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

As the end of the year approaches, I'd like to thank you for the help you gave TIME's editorial staff members during 1953.

In trying to put the news in perspective each week, TIME must be able to depend upon the specialized knowledge of a number of busy people. Your own contribution to our efforts was very much appreciated.

My best wishes for a happy holiday season!

Cordially yours,

James Linen

James A. Linen
Publisher

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Jr.
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

TIME INCORPORATED

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TIME · LIFE · FORTUNE · MARCH OF TIME · ARCHITECTURAL FORUM

FORM 36

To Harold Fleming

From Bill Howland

Date Feb 17 , 1955

Here is the revised opus /

Also my order for four copies of Changing Patterns , Etc , which should be good reading for some of my compatriots .

TIME INC. ATLANTA BUREAU
1012 Rhodes Haverty Bldg.
ATLANTA, GA.

TOWARD UNDERSTANDING THE SOUTH TODAY

By William S. Howland, Exeter '19
(Chief, Atlanta News Bureau, Time & Life)

The South, that far from homogeneous group of states which forms the southern region of the United States, can be most accurately described now as being in status unquo —.

This status unquo exists not only in education, which of course is the status that has been most in the public eye since the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court outlawing racial segregation in public education, but also with perhaps equal importance in economics and in politics.

It might well be said that the Supreme Court decision can be the lever which will ease the South out of its 90 year position of considering itself a special region and into a new position of considering itself a full part of and full partner with the United States of America.

That will not be done over night or without a great deal of calm, serious thought and deliberate action — on the part of the United States as a whole as well as on the part of the South.

The foundation for this greatest change in the status of the South since it emerged defeated and bankrupt from the Civil War has been laid largely during the past three decades, during which time the news and views of the South, from the famous evolution law of

Tennessee in the Twenties to the Supreme Court decision of 1954, have been personally observed and reported.

Thirty two years ago this autumn, a tall, thin young Yankee, with a lot of dark hair and a large store of self confidence, arrived in Nashville, Tennessee, to begin work as a reporter. Graduated from Princeton and prior to that from Exeter, he was convinced that he knew all the answers.

Now, the same individual, no longer young, or thin, or possessed of either a lot of dark hair or self confidence, richer than the young reporter of 1923 only in experience, will try to describe and interpret to readers of The Exonian some of the significant things he has heard and seen in 33 years, except for war time absences, in reporting the news of the southern region of the United States.

Those who saw the young reporter at work in 1923 probably would not recognize the old reporter of 1954 as the same individual. The changes which time has effected on the reporter in 33 years are not nearly so impressive or so striking as the changes which these same years have wrought on the South. The changes which these years have wrought on the south may be termed the growing pains through which the South has gone to come of age in many ways. They have led the South — and the Southerners who inhabit the region - to the threshold of what may well be the most decisive and important change of all - evolution into full maturity as an integral part of the democracy which is the United States of America.

Before detailing some of the changes seen and heard during the past three decades in the South, I would like to emphasize some facts about the South which to my mind form the basis on which an understanding of the South must be built.

First — the South is not a simple, homogeneous region. Instead it is a very diverse and complex area, with diverse conditions of business, industry, living standards, attitudes of mind. There is not anywhere nearly so much homogeniousness of life and thought in the South as there is in New England.

Politically, the South is no longer "solid", although it is predominantly Democratic. It has been split three times within the past three decades. It was first split in 1928 by the sharp and bitter knife of religious prejudice. Then in 1948, the solidity of the South was cracked again, this time by fierce and largely unthinking anger over the civil rights stand of the Truman administration. The third split was effected three years ago by a two edged sword. One edge was the rusty one of hatred for the Truman administration. The other edge, new and sharp, was an intensely personal feeling for General Eisenhower as a person, rather than as the Republican nominee. A very important angle of the South's political action in 1952 was that the increasingly potent Negro vote in the region changed over almost completely from its traditional support of the Republican party to the Democratic party. In South Carolina, this shift was the deciding factor in keeping that state in the Democratic ranks, despite an immense turn out for Eisenhower.

Economically, as well as politically and in ways of life, the South is far from an homogenious region. Rather it is now a region of contrasts and conflicts, where change might be said to be the only certainty, where increasing and increasingly diversified industrialization is bringing new standards of thinking as well as new standards of living.

Last, but most importantly, the South is a very diverse area racially. The border states, such as Kentucky and Maryland, have small percentages of Negro population, while the Deep South states have many counties in which Negroes outnumber whites as much as three to one.

That is the diverse South which this Yankee has been trying to understand and interpret for nearly 33 years. Above all it has not been and is not now a static region. It has been on the move — toward fuller partnership with the United States, toward the economic prosperity which its natural resources merit, toward the goal of intellectual enlightenment which its human resources deserve.

I would like to list a few significant milestones which the South has passed during these 32 years.

To my mind, the most striking sign of progress in the region is that lynching has been eliminated as the threat to law and order that it was a generation ago. I can still recall with horror covering a lynching near Nashville in the early twenties. Now the South has gone three years without a single lynching.

The next great stride forward by the South is in making the vote available to the Negro despite some local subterfuges, by and large all over the South. The Negro can and does vote.

A third big step forward is the general improvement of the economic and living status of the Negro. One has to hunt to find today the squalid shacks which were all too common in 1923.

A fourth great step forward is the south-wide increasing industrial development, a development which is creating new industry in the South as well as importing old industry from other sections.

Finally and most importantly is the greatest step of all in the South's upward march — the change in its educational system. This change is evolutionary as well as revolutionary — it has been going on for years, largely unnoticed perhaps by many Southerners themselves. It was brought out into dramatic full view by the Supreme Court decision.

Prior to this decision, which brought elementary and secondary education into the spotlight of public interest, other court actions and forces, many of them voluntary, had been implementing the evolutionary change to such an extent that segregation barriers had been breached in higher education throughout the South, in all but four state supported universities as well as many private institutions. Even in die hard Georgia, negroes have attended a Presbyterian seminary along with white students, without incident or without the wrath of Herman Talmadge descending.

Now the public education in the South is facing its greatest challenge and its greatest opportunity as educators and the public generally awaits the decrees of the Supreme Court which will implement the court's decision outlawing the principle of segregation. Until those decrees are made known, public education in the South, as a whole, is in nervous status unquo. But once those decrees are made known, it is the opinion of this Yankee reporter and interpreter of the South that there are sufficient men of good will and good minds in both white and negro races in the South to work out a mutually satisfactory solution to this great educational and social problem within the framework of the U. S. Constitution, legally and rightfully.

-o-

TIME
INCORPORATED

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TIME · LIFE · FORTUNE · MARCH OF TIME · ARCHITECTURAL FORUM

FORM 36

To _____

From _____ Date _____

Dear Harold –

Thought you might like to have this for Bill

Bill Howard

JC - For your (very slight) information

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

EDITORIAL OFFICES

ATLANTA OFFICE
RHODES-HAVERTY BUILDING

July 7, 1955.

Mr. Harold Fleming,
Southern Regional Council,
Wesley Memorial Bldg.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Harold:

I thought you might like to have a copy of the speech which I made at the Fisk Interracial Institute, July 6th.

Cordially yours,

William S. Howland
Bureau Chief

WSH:ll

THE SOUTH'S THREE "R's"

Outline of a Talk by William S. Howland,
Atlanta Bureau Chief - Time & Life Magazines
to The Fisk Interracial Institute, July 6, 1955.

Ninety years ago, the South, or as I prefer to call it, the Southern region of the U.S., was emerging from a war fought on its territory - the only section of the U.S. ever first invaded and then occupied by a conquering army. There was no industry of importance. A plantation economy and plantation philosophy and culture - for both white men and colored men, prevailed.

In those days of reconstruction, Southern people, both white and negro, had first to find some means of bare existence before they could work out any changes in political philosophies or cultures.

Then, as now, the economic factor was the most important. Southerners, white and negro, had to earn a living.

After those days of reconstruction, the economic position of the South began to change. Forward looking businessmen and financiers, rugged individuals, began putting up cotton mills, exploiting labor to be sure, but at least furnishing the first lever to push the South and Southern people out of their old agricultural and large one crop economy.

That change began to take its first stride around the beginning of the 20th century. True, many of those early southern industrialists had 17th century or 18th century social ideas, but they at least had 20 century industrial ideas.

For the first quarter of our century, this change of the South continued, at an accelerated pace, although largely in the same pattern of exploitation, rather than use, of cotton and natural resources. Along with cotton mills came tobacco factories, lumber mills, electric power. But the region as a whole

was still tied to a predominantly agricultural economy even up to the beginning of World War II.

Then under the spur of military necessity, new kinds of industry were brought to the South. Here in Nashville, in Atlanta, in Texas, government-backed aircraft plants came into being. Chemical plants were built all along the Gulf Coast. On the Ohio river at Louisville, "rubber towns" sprang into being. Existing plants were converted to war work. The management pattern of the South underwent basic and lasting changes during the first half of the forties. And along with this change in the industrial patterns naturally came change in the economic and social pattern. All these war plants had to have men and women to operate them. So to them came the people from the country, white and colored too, to learn new skills at which they showed remarkable aptitude, and to earn new money, more money than they had ever seen before in most cases.

Incidentally, one of the most industrial conversions was in a plant in Atlanta - Scripto - which shifted a large part of its production to making parts for the Navy - a job of great precision, and most of this was done by negro women on machines serviced by white men.

During World War II, the South's industrial revolution got under way. It has increased ever since. I don't have to tell you that - all you have to do is to look around Nashville - look out the windows of your car as you drive through the area - look down from a plane as I did coming up from Atlanta, seeing first the huge Lockheed plant with B-47's waiting to be test flown, then the new plants, including a G.E. transformer plant, around Rome. Other new factories in small towns, all the industrial concentration around Chattanooga, and the dam of TVA - and on like that over the mountains to Nashville.

Now the industrial gain of the South is in full swing. New plants and new kinds of plants are going into operation all over the South every day. On June 16th, Mckinley Conway, Research Director of The Southern Association of Science & Industry, said that since January 1st, his office had received reports of 726 new plants located in 15 Southern states.

Now, in 1955, just 90 years after Appomattox, the South has progressed through its three "R's" - not reading, riting and rithmetic, but from rebellion through reconstruction to revolution. Just as growing children have a lot of trouble with their three "R's", the growing South has had a lot of trouble with its three "R's." It survived the first two and came out stronger. Now it must learn how to handle the third "R", the "R" of industrial, economic and social revolution.

To me, as a newspaperman who has been reporting and trying to interpret the news of the South since 1923, it seems that the primary job the South faces in handling its third "R" - the "R" of revolution in its industrial pattern - is to realize that it cannot succeed with a segregated economy; or as my friend, Dr. George S. Mitchell has said here, that it cannot operate an increasingly industrialized and urbanized society on cultural and social and economic plans based on a plantation society.

To put it brutally, here in the South, we must realize that if we are to achieve our proper economic destiny, the white man must get the negro off his back and the negro must get up off his own posterior.

That is going to take a lot of thought and work and understanding and responsibility on the part of both races. But I am confident, as I am a realistic reporter, that there are more than enough men and women of good will and good sense in both races, right here in the South, to solve this problem.

How serious is this problem? Well, let us take a quick look at some figures released by the Southern Regional Council based on findings of the 1920 census.

These figures show that in 1949 the income of the typical negro family ranged from 1/3 to 3/5 of typical white family income in the South. Dollar-wise, the income for negroes was from $746 to $1600 less than that for whites. As would be expected, this disparity was greatest in the Deep South States, relatively less in the border states. The typical negro income was lowest in Mississippi, Arkansas, and South Carolina - highest in Virginia, Texas, Florida and Kentucky. The census showed a large number of negro families at the bare subsistence level and only a small percentage in the high income bracket. Three out of every 10 Southern families lived on $500 a year or less in 1949. Slightly over half had an income of $1,000 or less. Four Fifths were below $2,000. Only one out of 16 negro families had over $3,000 a year.

Although poor by national averages, Southern white families fared much better.

Only 1 x 7 made $500 or less - Only 1 x 4 made $1,000 or less - Only 1 x 3 exceeded $3,000.

A closer study shows that most of the gains in negro income have come in the cities. In rural areas, negroes earned little more in cash in 1949 than they did 15 years earlier. In 1935-1936, a national research committee study showed the median income of urban negro families in the South was $575. By 1949, it was more than twice as high, ranging from $920 to $1489. And the proportion of those with incomes of $500 was reduced from 1/2 to 1/5.

But for the same period - the median cash income of rural farm negroes rose from $480 to $780, with the proportion of families at the lowest level showing little change. Urban negro income is gaining beyond negro rural farm income. It has caught up with white farm income where farm income is low or where non-agricultural job opportunities are increasing.

In Georgia, for example, the census figures showed that the 1,207 median income of urban negro families exceeded the median income of white farm families (1,113) - by nearly 100. This also was true in Alabama, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Tennessee.

But negro income in cities in the South have by no means caught up with white city income. At best, the census shows it is not quite half of urban white income. Of course, both have improved since the 1950 census, but the wide gap is still there.

Those figures show clearly that the South must solve this problem of inequality - these income figures are definitely separate but not equal - if it is to reap anything like a full reward from the last and potentially greatest of its three "R's" - the industrial and business revolution now going on around us today.

Let us take a look first at what solution means to the South's potential.

As explained in "New South", that always significant and interesting publication of S.R.C. - first of all, increased negro income is of major importance to the nation as well as the South in terms of consumer buying power.

In 1953, estimates of the total purchasing power of the U. S. negro population, range from $8 to $10 billion. Although this is high in

comparison to earlier years, negro consumption of goods and services is still a long way below its potential. If negro family income had been equal to white when the census was taken, negro purchasing power would have been up more than 5 billion. Over 3 billion of this amount would have been spent in the South.

If this $3 billion had been spread evenly among negro families in the South, it would have added some $1,200 to the income of each of the 2,574,475 negro families in the 13 Southern states.

Convert this into terms of goods and services and each of the 2½ million negro families could have purchased three winter coats, five pairs of shoes, an automatic washer, an electric or gas stove and refrigerator and have had some $50 left over for dental and medical bills.

And nearly all of that would have been spent with white merchants.

Looking at those figures, can any realistic Southerner, white or negro, say that the South does not need to close this gap of economic inequality?

How to reach a solution? Again, speaking as a journalist, not as a sociologist, paleontologist, or "horror-ologist", as I might label and not libel some of my very extreme friends in both races who specialize in prophecies of doom, it seems to me that the major key to the solution of the South's economic problem no. #1 - (and the South has now progressed from being the nation's economic problem no. #1 - to having its own economic problem no. #1) is for the South to meet the challenge of full use of negro leaders in business and industry.

This is going to take some doing on the part of both races, for this is a two-edged challenge.

The edge that faces white Southerners who predominantly control and manage Southern business and industry, is to realize that here is a potentially great, but so far largely unused, reservoir of workers who can be trained to do many jobs well, on many levels. There are signs all over the South - not too many, it is true, but enough to be significant - that industry and business in the South are beginning to realize this opportunity. I have already mentioned Scripto, whose operation always amazes my Northern friends. Another significant straw in the wind is the employment by an Atlanta chemical company of two negro chemists. Any Southern negro college educator is aware of the talent searches being conducted on negro college campuses by large national concerns.

The other edge which faces the negro is to accept this challenge with ambition and responsibility. Perhaps for a while, as Jackie Robinson once said to a reporter covering his first appearance as a big league baseball player in the South: "A negro has got to be twice as good as a white man to stay in the big leagues" - but that problem will change.

Again, as a journalist, I am confident that there are more than enough men of good skill as well as good will in both races to solve the South's economic problem no. #1.

To play a reprisal, as they say in musical comedy, as I see it, if the South is to achieve the full reward of the business and industrial revolution which is now in full swing, the white man must get the negro off his back and the negro must get off his own posterior.

-0-

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

To Harold Fleming

From Bill Howland

Date April 2 , 1956

Thought you might enjoy enclosed .

Religion story off put a week . So any new ideas welcome .

TIME INCORPORATED

TIME · LIFE · FORTUNE · SPORTS ILLUSTRATED · ARCHITECTURAL FORUM · HOUSE & HOME

TO: William S. Howland - Atlanta

FROM: Marylois Purdy

March 30, 1956

TIME LETTERS REPORT March 23 - March 30
Total Mail for the Week: 633

NATIONAL AFFAIRS (120)

March 26 Eastland Cover Story--63. Thirty attacks on Eastland and the South: "We cannot expect semi-educated, insecure, bigoted people to select a representative better than themselves. If Mississippi were owned by another nation, we would declare it 'underdeveloped,' send it Point 4 and make vague promises of eventual self-determination." "It is becoming apparent that the Southern white's only method of elevating himself is to continually knock the Negro down." From Canada: "Senator Eastland by his irrational and inhuman remarks has, it seems, replaced Senator McCarthy as the most hated man in America today."

Four of the thirty letters praised the story, whereas six of them criticized TIME for putting Eastland on the cover: "Your cover story was not only moderate and restrained but constructive... It should go a long way toward calming excited emotions, South and North." "Congratulations on your well-tempered exploration into the Eastland personality. I wonder if, paradoxically, many of us living out of the South aren't for for Negro until he moves in next door?" "Why did TIME choose to devote a cover to...publicizing...such a stubborn and unChristian man as Mississippi's James ('The Negro race is an inferior race') Eastland?" "TIME must have been pretty hard up to use Senator Eastland as the coverpiece. Such a man debases the name of America all over the world."

Twenty-seven readers applauded Eastland, defended the South or berated Northern interference: "We in the South greatly admire James Eastland... Southerners aren't going to be dictated to by 'nine old political termites' or the N.A.A.C.P. The South has just begun to fight!!"

The pro-Eastland mail included one all-out commendation and three qualified compliments on the story: "For a change I think your article was fair and gave both sides. Heretofore you have apparently made a studied effort to glorify the Negro and help ram him down the throats of white Southerners as their social equal." "On the whole, your cover article is not an unfair appraisal. But when you say 'Eastland is today one of the most widely disliked men in the U.S.' you could with equal truth have added that he is also one of the most widely loved men in the South."

Also among the 27 pro-Eastland letters were ten general blasts at TIME and four miscellaneous criticisms; included was one cancellation: "Your tirade on Mississippi's Senator Eastland (no hero of mine) is evidently and introvertibly a tissue of falsehoods, fallacies and venom." "The usual lack of insight in TIME's coverage of Southern affairs was evident in your article. You accomplish one thing -- a renewal of our profound determination to withstand at ALL COSTS outside pressures on our standard of life." "In the present furor over segregation, one of the most important issues is being completely sidestepped by TIME. That issue -- the real basis of segregation -- is mongrelization."

March 19 Adlai & Estes--13. Kefauver's triumph evoked ten jeers at TIME's story: "You made it quite plain that Kefauver's campaign in Minnesota never got off the ground and Adlai was flying high... Hasn't TIME learned any lessons in observing political campaigns since 1948?" "Your reporter failed to take into account that the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong--there is always the turtle, huh?" "The next time it might be well for your political reporter to browse around among the voters instead of spending his time with the machine politicians."

NATIONAL AFFAIRS (cont.)

March 19 Trustbuster Barnes--5. Four amateur photographers beefed about the results of Barnes' settlement of the Eastman Kodak case: "A most dubious sort of 'win'... No dealer I can find wants to trust anyone but Eastman to do the work. I used to get five-day service by just dropping the roll of film into the mailbox. The new method will take an estimated two weeks." "I used to pay $2.85 for a 20 exposure roll of Kodak color film which included processing. Now I pay $1.85 for the same film, but must take it to a camera shop to have it processed at a cost of $1.50."

The South--12. Ten Southerners defended segregation and the South; eight of them decried TIME's reporting (included were one cancellation and five non-renewals): "I am not going to let any more of your one-sided accounts of what is going on here in the South come into my home." "I think you are degrading the South without cause." "TIME is anti-Southern and is trying to promote war between the South and the North."

One blurb from Germany: "How many subscriptions from the Southern states have you lost due to your clear stand on segregation? If I had any money, I'd offer to make them all up for you!"

Politics--4. Via the circulation department came one cancellation and three refusals to renew from subscribers who charged that TIME has become "a house organ for the Republican Party."

FOREIGN NEWS (43)

March 26 Arabs' Big Brother--5. Three readers urged the West to take strong action against Nasser: "God bless you for your long-awaited article on Cairo's net of troublemaking... It is time that Dulles started strengthening Israel." One recommended jamming Voice of the Arabs: "The malevolence of Radio Egypt is shocking... The French have radio transmitters all over Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco; why are Britain and France sitting around like simple ninnies sucking their thumbs? It does not require a decision in Parliament to overthrow a malicious radio transmitter."

Two Arabs wrote in defense of Nasser: "To me what Nasser is trying to achieve now is something more or less similar to your Monroe Doctrine. I believe that he should be credited rather than criticized for his stand."

March 19 & 26 Badgered Pawn--5. Britain's Cyprus policy drew two letters of support, two of criticism: "The torrent of vituperation and abuse against the British is not readily understood when one considers the services rendered to Greece by Britain during and after World War II... As British subjects, the Cypriots have always had a square deal." "Your reporting of the Cyprus trouble has been excellent and impartial... It appears Britain's colonial leaders decided to make a stand somewhere as an 'example' to their colonial subjects. This example, however, has backfired."

March 19 Archbishop Makarios--8. Two tributes for TIME's bioperse on the archbishop; one from an ex-colleague, the other from a former parishioner: "Allow me to congratulate you for offering such a wonderful and true biography." "Superb! This is exactly how I would describe His Grace. Might I add that he is the most humble and thoughtful mortal I have ever had the pleasure to know."

Other letters concerned diverse aspects of relationships between the Church of Cyprus, the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England, or discussed the beards worn by Orthodox priests.

July 27, 1956

Mr. Marshall Lumsden
Time and Life
Rhodes-Haverty Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Lumsden:

Safely back from the journey to New York for the appearance, July 25th, before the Editors. Here is a memorandum of expenses:

Plane up and night coach plane back - $88.06; airport transportation $2.79; hotel $6.04; bus 45¢; tip 25¢; taxi 40¢; meals 75¢. Total $98.74.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

EDITORIAL OFFICES
ATLANTA OFFICE
RHODES-HAVERTY BUILDING

June 29, 1956

Dear Harold,

Attached are copies of Jack O'Dowd's speech to the Hartsville, S. C. Rotary Club, plus two copies of the sermon outline of Dr. McClain.

Best regards,

Bill

William S. Howland,
Bureau Chief

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

RHODES-HAVERTY BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

February 15, 1957.

Dear Harold:

Thought you might like to have a copy of the Horace Ward case for your files.

Regards,

Bill

Bill Howland

April 4, 1957

Mr. Roy E. Larsen
Time, Inc.
Time and Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Larsen:

Thanks for your very kind letter. It was a pleasure for me to meet with so many able and congenial people at Arden House, and I am grateful to the National Citizens Council for making it possible.

I was much impressed by your own constructive approach to the subject matter in the afternoon. If at any time I can furnish information or analysis that will be helpful to you, don't fail to let me know.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

TIME
INCORPORATED

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 20

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

March 29, 1957

RECEIVED APR 1 1957.

Dear Dr. Fleming:

I am most grateful to you for taking the time to be with us at Arden House last Monday and for your fine contribution to the afternoon panel.

I sympathize with your intimidation at having to be the "clean-up man" after two such excellent presentations and the ardent discussion which followed. But you were more than equal to your tough job.

Thank you so much for myself and all the participants.

Sincerely,

Roy Larsen

Roy E. Larsen

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED MAY 31 1957

TIME
INCORPORATED

TIME · LIFE · FORTUNE
SPORTS ILLUSTRATED
ARCHITECTURAL FORUM
HOUSE & HOME
EDITORIAL OFFICES
RHODES-HAVERTY BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

May 28, 1957

Dear Harold:

Enclosed herewith are the voluminous clippings you so generously loaned me for my efforts regarding the proposed Ford Foundation cover. The clippings, plus your comments, were very helpful and, incidentally, provided a few good horselaughs.

I'll try to find out when the Ford opus is due out so you can start building your bomb shelter, and I was serious the other day about the possibility of doing a TIME story on SRC itself. Once I get a morass of minor details out of the way, I'll give you a call on it.

Again, thanks loads for your help.

Best,

Lee

Lee Griggs

Cb
Time + Life
N.Y. News Bureau

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES, FLORIDA

PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICE
University News Bureau
WILLIAM S. HOWLAND, Director of Public Information
NEDRA McNAMARA, News Editor

RECEIVED JUL 5 1957

July 2 , 1957

Dear Harold --

I read the enclosed with great interest in the Miami Daily News a week ago .

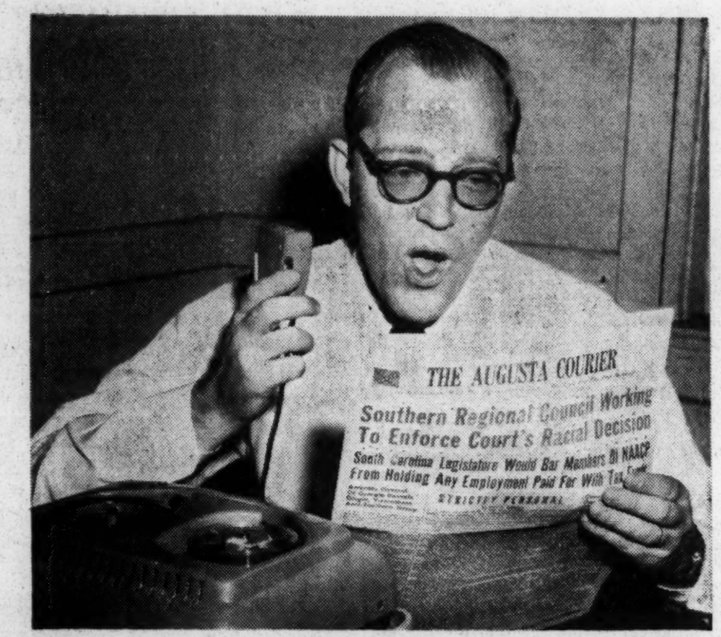
The picture would give all members of the Piedmont Driving Club the shudders .

Sure miss conferring with you . Leave us know when you are down this a way .

Best to your more handsome half .

Bill H.
WILLIAM S. HOWLAND

A young native Southerner is emerging as spokesman for moderate point of view in our racial crisis.



Harold C. Fleming, of Atlanta, Ga., talks into dictating machine while he scans news story attacking Southern Regional Council which he heads.

Man That Segre

ATLANTA.—(AP)—HAROLD C. FLEMING SLID an inch lower in the chair. Somehow he managed the appearance of a slightly wistful schoolteacher — which was misleading.

"I am a real conformist at heart," he said. "It's just that there are some things in the South with which I can't conform."

As director of the Interracial Southern Regional Council (SRC) he is a shrewd, sharp and tough advocate of the moderate approach to the South's ancient racial problem. He has become one of the men most deeply hated, and perhaps feared, by the South's more rabid pro-segregation groups.

He is a native southerner with an ancestry reaching back into rural Georgia, where he himself once lived. But he goes around saying such things as:

"It is no longer a matter of whether the South must solve its racial problem, but when, how and at what cost, or damage to the economy and the human beings involved."

Among the pro-segregation groups this sentiment amounts to subversion of "the Southern way of life." Some equate such an opinion with communism.

FOR A TIME he and his family nearly suffered a form of social ostracism in the neighborhood. There were rumors floating about that possibly he really was a Communist.

Finally, an exasperated neighbor who had known Fleming from early high school days angrily told a community citizens meeting that they were all nuts, that Fleming was about as Communistic as a hot dog.

FLEMING LIVES in su wife and two small boys in a three-bedroom, den and two-bath home which looks like about 50 others.

When he finds time, which is rare, he plays with his two boys, Gary Phillips Fleming, 6, and Anthony Hughes, 13 months.

For Fleming works 12 to 16 hours a day, keeping in touch with council affiliates in 15 Southern states and answering his enormous volume of mail. He coordinates an interracial staff of 12. He even keeps a dictating machine at home.

"He's working," said Jane, "when he isn't sleeping." She also suffers in silent exasperation the fact that 15 minutes after a meal, Fleming probably couldn't for the life of him tell you what he has eaten.

Fleming was born in the Georgia Baptist hospital at Atlanta, July 27, 1922, the son of Lorraine Hulme Fleming and the late Howard Hughes Fleming, vice president of one of Atlanta's largest building material firms.

A large part of his early life was spent in Elberton, Ga., where the Hulmes are known as real Old South folk. The Fleming side of the family came from Oglethorpe County, Ga.

SO HOW DID he wind up where he is?

"I don't know. I guess it goes back to college. I started to college, Harvard, on a scholarship back in 1940."

While he was at Harvard the war broke out and Fleming joined the Field Artillery ROTC. He remained at school until 1943, when he was sent to Ft. Bragg, N. C., and ultimately to Officer Candidate School.

a captain in charge of a Negro quartermaster company.

"I would say that going out of the South made me aware of the racial problem and I would say that my Army experience made me think about it deeply for the first time. I lived, ate and slept with it every day. You were not only an officer, but above everything else you were the boss White man.

"You couldn't duck the responsibilities. Trying to get a decent shake for your men from the brass above was rough. These men felt keenly the segregation and the fact that they got the short end of the stick.

"On the ship going over our men had the lousiest quarters. They were last in the chow line and this meant they got there after all the good things had run out."

He got back to Atlanta in 1947 and heard of a special writing job with the SRC through Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution and one of the founders of the SRC in 1944.

"I took the writing job for the summer. I had planned to go to New York in September, possibly to work for a publishing company, but then I got interested."

For the author of the once famous "First Epistle to the Selectees," which appeared in the Feb. 18, 1944, edition of the Army newspaper Yank, the situation is slightly ironical.

In that epistle, Fleming wrote: "The wise man searcheth out the easy details, but only a fool sticketh out his neck."

RECEIVED AUG 27 1959

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

RHODES-HAVERTY BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Spencer Davidson

August 26

Dear Hard-Eyed Harold:

Thanks for the Alabama clip . Now where's the extra copy of the special report on school desegregation to replace the one I fed into the small-grinding mill of the Rockefeller Center gods? I don't mean to be a nuisance; it's just that us taxpayers demand service from Vandiver-supported organizations like yours.

Spence

via air mail February 28,1963

Mr. Simmons Fentress
TIME
1120 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Simmons:

Glad to send you, enclosed, a copy of "Plans for Progress." We sent this out without a press release, and so far as I know it has had no press attention except the Newsweek piece although it has caused a fair bit of talk and flurry within the Administration. Frankly, we don't particularly desire publicity for our offering to this problem. Rather, what we would like to see, and what I wish you might think about, is sharp reporting on the results that the President's Committee has achieved with federal contracts. And to this important question our report is only a small contribution.

You are now on our mailing list.

We see Ed Shook and Dudley Morris occasionally and they are doing a good job but we miss you, and not only for your honeyed accent. I don't get to Washington as often as you might guess, but I hope some time when I'm there we can get together.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

1120 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

EDITORIAL OFFICES
FEDERAL 7-8000

February 25, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

Please, if you will, have someone mail me a copy of the SRC report on the pratice vs. theory of "Plans for Progress." We have been circling around that thing for several months, trying to get our hooks into it. Your report was just what the doctor ordered, but our wires got crossed and I read of it in Newsweek (a first class story, too).

And would you have me put on the mailing list, if possible, for SRC studies that are forthcoming from time to time? I find that our journal is somewhat more receptive to civil rights suggestions from Washington, and some of your study matter has application here.

I'm enjoying Washington. I've had a chance to observe Burke Marshall, and he's quite an impressive fellow. I've also seen Carl Holman any number of times.

I'd appreciate a call anytime you're up this way, and if I can ever be of help...

Incidentally, I see that Atlanta is much in need of a Willy Brandt in the mayor's seat.

Regards,

Simmons Fentress

October 16, 1963

Mr. Terry Drucker
Book Division
Time, Inc.
Time-Life Building
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Drucker:

Miss Edith Morgan of the Atlanta Time Bureau asked me to send to you a copy of our Special Report, The Student Protest Movement, Winter 1960. In addition to this report, I am also sending a later report, The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation, September 1961. Also enclosed, which I think you might find useful, is our report, The Civil Rights Crisis: A Synopsis of Recent Developments, issued in three parts, June 25, July 26, and September 5, 1963.

If we can furnish you with any other of our publications, we will be happy to do so.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures
cc: Miss Edith Morgan

Mr. William S. Howland
TIME, Inc.
Rhodes-Haverty Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bill:

I promised to put down for you some of the facts that might make SRC a fit subject for an article.

One useful point is that the SRC is no Johnny-come-lately. While the hate groups are mushrooming afresh in response to the school decisions, here is a 35-year-old movement of native Southerners quietly stepping up its efforts for interracial progress. As successor to the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the SRC goes back to the end of World War One. The movement has been realistic and practical; hence, the evolution from concern with lynching and the grosser manifestations of prejudice in the early days to the current concern with desegregation. This realism is directly related to the kind of Southern leadership the movement has attracted through the years -- a story in itself. The founders of the SRC proper were such people as Howard Odum, Ralph McGill, and Charles Johnson.

Realism has also dictated lack of fanfare. We like the way Hodding Carter summed it up in a magazine article: "The SRC is unique in a number of heartening directions. It is bi-racial, non-denominational and non-political. It does not engage in tom-tom beating, parades, or lengthy pronunciamentos slanted for non-Southern consumption and approval. But it is not an isolationist effort to separate the South's problems from the nation's -- or from the nation's concern."

A good many examples from the past -- such as the "Race in the News" effort (see Time) -- could be cited to illustrate the technique of quiet, unspectacular persuasion through which SRC has tried to work. But more to the point is the current situation, which presents a new kind of challenge to this sobersided indigenous movement. Circumstances are thrusting the SRC forward both as the whipping boy of the demagogues and as the black-and-white hope of liberal Southerners of both races, to say nothing of national partisans.

For one thing, SRC is no longer the shoe-string operation it once was. To date, the Fund for the Republic has given the organization $390,000. The nature of the grant is such that it lays on us an enormously heavier burden of fund-raising than before -- but at least it is financial struggle on a higher and more productive plane. Most of the Fund money has been earmarked for distribution to state organizations affiliated with the SRC. The main purpose of the grant was to enable SRC to establish and/or strengthen human relations groups in 12 Southern states. The aim is to get them strong enough in professional staff, membership, and lay leadership so that they can be fully self-supporting by late 1957. We can hope for one more (diminished) grant from the Fund, and then no more.

This is a whopping job. It meant starting almost from scratch in most states. Some of the state groups (like the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation) also date back to 1919, but most of them have languished for years without money or staff for a real action program. SRC's job was to galvanize these vestigial groups into strong, effective, self-supporting agencies in a very short time. Moreover, it has had to be

done while the shells were bursting in air; for the state-aid program didn't get under way until October 1954, when the school segregation controversy was already hot.

Meanwhile, too, the SRC has carried on its customary regional functions: getting out information to the press and the public, supplying speakers to a host of audiences, counselling church and civic groups on their race relations programs, briefing foreign visitors on the South's "peculiar institutions," staging conferences and workshops, etc.

All this on the part of an organization of native Southerners is, in some ways, more galling than the NAACP to the professional segregationists. And so the attackers grow, in numbers and in influence -- from Blake Craft four years ago, to Roy Harris two years ago, to Gene Cook and Marvin Griffin today. (For simplicity, I omit the hate groups elsewhere in the South, plus the Hearst foray.) Having been for years in danger of being branded a "tool of the Vatican," SRC is now charged with "fronting" for the NAACP and the Communist Party. Cook boasts that he is investigating, and warns all the good, duped people to clear out now before he blows the SRC out of the tub. The fireworks may come at the next session of the legislature.

So far the sniping hasn't scared off any good folks that we know of. Here are a few examples of state group activity:

ITEM: A few days after Cook gave his kindly warning to all good people in Georgia to dissociate themselves from the SRC and its Georgia affiliate, a committee of prominent church men and women called on Gov. Griffin in the name of these disreputable organizations. Included were

the heads of the Georgia Council of Churches, the Georgia Churchwomen, and the Southern Presbyterian Church; Bishop Arthur Moore sent his wholehearted endorsement with the group. They urged the Governor to appoint a "truly representative" committee of fifty white and Negro Georgians to seek agreement on the school segregation question. Griffin refused, so the Georgia Committee is working to provide at least a private meeting ground at both the statewide and local levels. Guy Wells, former president of GSCW and past state governor of Rotary, has carried the message of the Georgia Committee into dozens of Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions Clubs throughout Georgia.

ITEM: Even in the die-hard states, SRC's affiliates have both white and Negro staff members, who offer a working demonstration that the two races can perform together as equals without dire results. Four of the state directors, incidentally, are ministers.

ITEM: Several months ago, a mob of angry white men descended on a small Congregational college in Wadley, Ala., and forced several Negro preachers to clear out. The director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations was on the scene the next day and succeeded in getting a local interracial council appointed by the Mayor "to promote harmony and peaceful settlement of all future problems arising in our community." In the same mediating role, the Alabama Council brought together the principals in the Montgomery bus boycott by Negroes. The meeting found no immediate solution, but at least representatives of the bus company, the Negro community, and the City sat down together for the first time and exchanged points of view.

ITEM: In Virginia, the Gray Commission on Segregation recommended that the Old Dominion join the Deep South states in all-out defiance of the Supreme Court's rulings. When the Gray Report appeared on the front page of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, it was balanced in a parallel column by a report of the Virginia Council on Human Relations proposing a "calm step-by-step approach" to compliance. The Virginia Council is currently seeking to develop a program under which open-minded local school superintendents may visit cities where school desegregation is in effect and study problems and procedures at first hand.

ITEM: Following a visit by George Mitchell, the Mayor and City Council of Rock Hill, S.C., appointed a local council on human relations of 21 persons, including five Negroes. Since then, nearly two years ago, a Negro has been appointed to the city recreation commission, and the human relations group has reported to the City Council its findings on a broad range of community conditions affecting Negroes. Foreign visitors, on USIA tours, have visited Rock Hill to observe this constructive approach by a Southern community.

ITEM: Early in November, the Texas Commission on Race Relations revealed publicly for the first time the slaying of a Negro high school boy in Gregg County, apparently over a desegregation dispute. The Texas Commission called on the governor and state attorney general for "immediate law enforcement action." The human relations group also circularized all preachers in the state to use their influence in curbing violence in their areas.

ITEM: The Kentucky Council on Human Relations has made its professional consultants available to school officials of several desegre-

gating communities. It has also presented panel discussions by white and Negro "experts" before the state's school administrators, on radio and television.

ITEM: In embattled Chattanooga, the Tennessee Council on Human Relations sponsored a one-day workshop, well attended by business people, church leaders, and others of both races. The object: to help "clear the air" by providing for "full and free exchange of views."

PROBLEM: Some of the best stories can't be told, at least without disguising the places and the people. For example, off the record, The Arkansas Council on Human Relations saved the day in Hoxie by (1) persuading the school board not to resign; (2) finding able legal counsel for them in a nearby community; (3) performing liaison with Harry Ashmore (a board member of the Arkansas Council) who used his editorial columns to good advantage. In Mississippi and South Carolina, the state groups have investigated incidents of violence and economic pressure and quietly passed on the facts to people in a position to do something; but theirs is an uphill fight carried on mostly in deliberate obscurity.

PICTURES: These would probably have to come mostly from the moderate or advanced places (e. g., cities like Atlanta and Macon in Georgia, the Piedmont cities in North Carolina, and so on.) In Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, it would be possible to show state staff members consulting with school officials. Interracial meetings are possible picture material in most areas of the South. One of the bi-racially staffed offices at work might make a good shot. An interracial group calling on a governor or other high state official could probably be set up in one of the better states.

This is a ragged set of notes, I know, but may be enough for a beginning. Let me know.

Regards,

Harold C. Fleming.

December 9, 1955

Mr. Lee Nichols
United Press Associations
National Press Building
Washington 4, D.C.

Dear Lee:

This is delayed thanks and congratulations for your series on school integration at Southern military bases.

The Atlanta Bureau gave me Johnson's name and suggested that I write him and ask him for permission, which I have done as enclosed. I will send you what we finally do in "New South."

I do not know how widely your pieces were carried by Southern dailies. Do you? I did note that a good many of the Negro weeklies ran one or more of them.

Have you given more thought to another book? When,if, and as you do, let me know so that I can add encouragement.

Regards,

Harold Fleming
Assistant Director

HF:mef

December 9, 1955

Mr. Earle J. Johnson
United Press Associations
220 East 42nd St.,
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Johnson:

We read with interest and appreciation the series of articles by Lee Nichols, describing school integration on Southern military bases. As an organization of Southerners concerned with race relations in the region, we thought these objective and well researched articles were a positive contribution of which the United Press and Mr. Nichols may well be proud.

The purpose of this letter is to request permission to reproduce portions of the series in our monthly publication "New South."

We will appreciate your consideration.

Sincerely,

Harold Fleming
Assistant Director

HF:mef

New Service United Press

December 21, 1955

Mr. Earl J. Johnson, Vice President
UNITED PRESS ASSOCIATIONS
News Building
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of December 12.

I understand, of course, your wish to be sure that any reprinting of Lee Nichols' series will preserve the objective balance of the original. Would it be satisfactory if we simply reprinted the first two articles in toto, omitting the third and last? This would enable us to conserve space without any internal tampering with the copy. And the first two articles are, for our purposes, the most valuable.

We plan to use no surrounding text, except for the proper acknowledgement to United Press for permission to reprint.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

United Press Associations
INCORPORATED IN NEW YORK
GENERAL OFFICES
NEWS BUILDING NEW YORK CITY

EARL J. JOHNSON
VICE PRESIDENT
GENERAL NEWS MANAGER

December 12, 1955.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Replying to your letter of December 9:

Thank you for your laudatory remarks about Lee Nichols' series on school integration. I have no objection, in principle, to your reprinting excerpts, but I am afraid that lifting portions out of the series might have the effect of destroying the objectivity that the whole series achieved. To avoid that possibility I would first like to have a look at a proof of the portions you wish to use and the surrounding text.

I think you can appreciate our desire as a news service to maintain our neutrality and not appear as special pleaders.

Sincerely yours,

Earl J. Johnson

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

EJJ:P

United Press Associations
INCORPORATED IN NEW YORK
GENERAL OFFICES
NEWS BUILDING NEW YORK CITY

ROBERT J. SERLING
WASHINGTON RADIO NEWS MANAGER
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

Nov. 17

Dear Harold:

Here's a copy of the UP articles, all of which are now released. I am sure you are free to make what use you wish of them, but for reproduction purposes and also indirectly as a sort of pat-on-the-back to the UP for doing such a project, you might just check for the record with Chiles Coleman, our Atlanta chief.

Thanks again for all your help and friendly courtesy. No developments yet as result of the articles and trip--takes time to plug angles.

Hoping to see you again some day soon.

best wishes

LN

Lee Nichols

December 21, 1965

set up file

newspapers

Editor
The Wall Street Journal
30 Broad Street
New York 4, New York

Dear Sir:

In the seven southern states in which the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is directly applicable - Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, and Virginia - there are by the 1960 Census 9,900,838 white persons eligible by age to vote. The best estimates presently available indicate that approximately 7,336,346 of these persons are registered to vote, or 74% of the total eligible.

We would like to call these figures to your attention in correction of those cited in error in the otherwise excellent article, "Voting Law's Impact," in the Monday, December 20, issue of the Wall Street Journal, at page one.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

30 Broad St
NY 4, N.Y.

Editor,
The Wall Street Journal

In the seven southern states in which the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is directly applicable - Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, and Virginia - there are by the 1960 Census 9,900,838 white persons eligible by age to vote. The best estimates presently available indicate that approximately 7,336,346 of these persons are registered to vote, or 74 % of the total eligible.

We would like to call these figures to your attention in correction of those cited in error in the ~~interesting~~ article, "Voting Law's Impact," in the Monday, December 20, issue of the Wall Street Journal, at page one.

otherwise excellent

BC - Mr Maxwell -

Wall St Journal office

September 12, 1968

Mr. Burt Schorr
The Wall Street Journal
Washington, D. C.

Dear Burt:

Thanks for sharing with me that priceless editorial. We shall see that it survives.

While it will likely not be until after October before I get to Washington, since even the likes of me now get to serve on the Grand Jury in Fulton County, I shall certainly call you and hope to visit with you when next I am there.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FRANKLIN ADVOCATE

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Entered as second class matter, Nov. 1909 at the Post Office at Meadville, Miss., under the act of Congress, March 3, 1879

EDITORIALS...

Willie Mae Busted Her Breeches

The other day up in neighboring Fayette a friendship of 30 years standing was broken. And Mrs. Marie Farr Walker, editor of the Fayette CHRONICLE, wrote about it in her weekly column, "Just Whittling."

Willie Mae, a Jefferson county Negro woman, and Mrs. Walker had maintained a friendship through thick and thin since way before Mrs. Walker was married.

There were good deeds on both sides of the ledger sheet. Willie Mae had stood by Mrs. Walker several times when death took members of her family. And Mrs. Walker had assisted Willie Mae in adopting children and getting a brother 'off' on [illegible] All for friend.

tors and Negro hate mongers. She, in effect, said she had no regard for any of her former White friends, did not appreciate their kindnesses, and would take by force and intimidation all that she would have in the future. A big, but thoroughly Un-American step to take.

Mrs. Walker writes, "Christmas Eve night looking through my recipe box for a Christmas recipe, I came across a yellowed card, with a recipe written long before I was married and all these years had been among my prized recipes—"Willie's Gingerbread".

With a lump in my throat and an ache in my heart, I sadly tore it up and threw it away."

And that's how Willie Mae busted her breeches.

Nelson Causey, Clyde P. Jones.

February 26, 1957

Mr. Alfred Friendly
Managing Editor
Washington Post and Times Herald
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Friendly:

Mr. William Joyce has asked me to drop you a line with some suggestions for your forthcoming trip to the South. I suggested to Mr. Joyce that perhaps the most useful thing I could do would be to put you in direct touch with Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council which, as you probably know, is our major grantee for work in the race relations field in the South.

Mr. Fleming, a former newspaperman, has in recent months succeeded George Mitchell as the executive director of the Southern Regional Council. He has also been in close touch with many of the other organizations working to improve race relations in the South. I am sure he can make better suggestions for persons and places that you might want to visit than anyone in this office.

With Mr. Joyce's approval, I am taking the liberty of asking Mr. Fleming, who is now in New York, to ring you in the next day or two to see if it would be possible for him to drop in and see you on his way back to Atlanta. If this cannot be arranged, I am sure Mr. Fleming will write you a letter with some useful suggestions for your trip.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman
Vice President

March 8, 1957

Washington Post-Times-Herald
Circulation Department
1515 L Street NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is fifty cents in stamps. Please send us copies of the Sunday, March 3, Post Times-Herald which this amount will cover.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:fc
Encl.

To: Alfred Friendly
Washington Post
Washington, D. C.

March 12, 1957

South of Promise
Next Steps
Pro-Segregation Groups
Chronology
Koinonia Release
Three Views
Last issue of New South
Earlier issue of New South main heading
"Bigotry Dims the South's future
New South containing article by Opie L. Shelton
Next steps on top - "see map inside."

file

PA - ~~Correspondence~~

The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald

1515 L STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 5, D.C. REPUBLIC 7-1234

ALFRED FRIENDLY
MANAGING EDITOR

March 20, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I can't begin to thank you for all the kindnesses and help you gave me ten days ago. Thanks to you, a bunch of then inchoate impressions I had fell into place and continued to stay that way for the rest of the trip. I had good sessions, incidentally, with Doctors Hill, Clement and Griffin. There and elsewhere through the South your name was an open sesame. Again, my deepest thanks.

I think I have a few pieces in my system to be written but I can't get at them until next week. I'll see to it that you get clips.

Sincerely yours,

Al

Very grateful for the printed material you mailed me.

April 4, 1957

Mr. Alfred Friendly
Managing Editor
The Washington Post
1515 L Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Al:

Your recent letters, which were here when I returned from a painful stretch of fund-raising did my heart good. It's comforting to know that our evening together was of some help to you despite my state of congestion and general dilapidation. Jane and I greatly enjoyed meeting you and your wife and have been recalling it with pleasure ever since.

As it happened, when I got in Sunday night, a friend of mine from Washington had just arrived and handed me a copy of your first article. I thought it was extremely well done and, for my money, not at all on the "soft" side. I am looking forward to seeing the other articles in the series.

I hope our paths will cross again soon. Meanwhile, all the best to you both.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald
1515 L STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 5, D.C. REPUBLIC 7-1234

ALFRED FRIENDLY
MANAGING EDITOR

RECEIVED APR 2 1957.

March 30, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have written the pieces I mentioned in my letter to you of March 20--five in all--and they will start this Sunday. I think you will subscribe to them, although you may find them presented in too soft a way. If so, you will have to remember that I deliberately tried to take out emotional or editorial content and that I am writing in what is essentially a southern city, with southern circulation.

Senator Ney Gore spotted me going in to see Hal DeCell and took over the meeting from the beginning in Jackson. Hal chafed while Gore let go a straight racist line. I was just as glad it worked out that way.

In many other places, I should add, your name was open sesame for me.

Jean joins in sending greetings to you and your lady and, again, many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Al

June 29, 1957

The Washington Post
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Please forward one (1) copy each of the Washington Post dated June 11th, June 12th, and June 13th, 1957.

I am enclosing .35¢ in stamps to cover price and mailing of these three back issues. Send them to:

Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm
Enclosure

Washington Post — April 28, 1958 — No

Negro Voting Data Compiled

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

After hearing reports on Negro voting curbs in eight Southern states, the one-day "Conference on Voting Restrictions in Southern States" voted yesterday to turn the information over to the Civil Rights Commission.

An interracial audience of an estimated 800 persons heard the reports from white and Negro speakers at the session, sponsored by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., of New Orleans, and held at Asbury Methodist Church, 11th and K sts. nw.

The vote followed a summary of the reports by James N. Nabrit Jr., secretary of Howard University, who said:

"Negro voters must run the gauntlet of apathy, ignorance, fear, economic reprisals, bodily harm and racial discrimination in order to register as voters and, having registered they must then face these same obstacles in order to vote."

The Conference also urged the Senate Judiciary Committee to confirm appointments of Civil Rights Commission personnel immediately, and said, by resolution without debate or dissent, that voting curbs "call for immediate remedial action by the Executive and Legislative branches of Government."

Reporting on Mississippi was the Rev. John LaBauve, pastor of St. Gabriel's Catholic Church of Mound Bayou, who read a report by two other Negro leaders unable to be present.

The report stated that in only six of Mississippi's 82 counties is the Negro free to vote, and in 33 there is "gross intimidation." Father LaBauve left the prepared text to say [illegible] are appealing to every [illegible] and women in [illegible] fair [illegible] the Nation [illegible] us in [illegible] of us might have to leave Mississippi—many of us already have—and we ask you to receive us with open minds and open hearts. They are asking for a fight, and we are going to fight."

Charles G. Gomillion, staff member of Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Ala., said obstacles for Negroes in his State include involved questionnaires, rejection for minor errors, harassment by registrars who often hold irregular hours, and a system whereby prospective Negro voters need to be vouched for by white voters.

Minister Fled

From Florida, the Rev. Ben F. Wyland of St. Petersburg, president of the Florida Council for Racial Cooperation, told how the Rev. Dee Hawkins and three other Negroes went to register in Liberty County in North Florida where one Negro is on the voter list.

"Mr. Hawkins said the supervisor was polite and told them to go ahead and register, but that night all hell broke loose.

"The minister wrote me a letter saying, 'They are causing me to leave home. I was bomb-shot in my home.' He fled from Liberty County."

Speakers from Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana painted a brighter picture for Negro voters.

Kenneth Walker, editor of the Colfax, La., Chronicle, said the recent purging of Negroes from registration books by the White Citizens Council was as much a political scheme as racial—an attempt by the "anti-Longs" to reduce the power of the "Longs."

Carolina Report

Modjeska M. Simkins of Co[illegible] vice president [illegible] South Carolina Conference, said South Carolina has "obvious restrictions" against Negro voters.

Miss Willson Whitman of Southern Pines, N. C., said apathy among Negro voters was the principal deterrent to their voting in North Carolina.

In Virginia, said W. Hale Thompson, Newport News attorney, "the greatest restrictions against voting are not legal at all, but rather sociological and psychological . . . The pattern of segregation has inflicted upon the masses of Negroes a feeling of despair."

Said Austin T. Walden, Atlanta attorney, after stating that Negro voting curbs in Georgia primarily arise in rural areas:

"In all candor, and notwithstanding the attitude of the State officials, it should be said that the greatest obstacle in the way of registration of Negroes arises from the indifference and timidity on the part of too large a segment of the Negro people of Georgia . . .

"Our biggest job, therefore, is one of education among our own people."

Keynote speaker was Aubrey Williams of Montgomery, Ala., SCEF president and director of the National Youth Administration in the early days of the New Deal.

He said the Negro struggle today may force a realignment of the major political parties—pushing the "Southern oligarchy" of the Democratic Party and the "right wing" of the Republican Party into one faction, and the "liberals" of both parties into another.

"We must aim at political reform in the South and force the liberal Southerners in the Senate and House to cease their playing footsie with the Byrds and Talmadges and the Eastlands," he said.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

April 25, 1958

Washington Post Times-Herald
Circulation Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Please mail the Southern Regional Council a copy of the April 24, 1958, issue in which we understand an article concerning the Southern Regional Council was included.

Enclosed is twenty-five cents in coins for payment, if there is additional payment, please let us know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Bob Baker's Story on Dawson, Georgia (corresp, et. al.)

REGARDING:

Violence, Intimidation and Reprisals

DATE

June/1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Folder marked: "Violence and Vandalism - Dawson (Terrell County) Ga.

July 1, 1958

Mr. Erwin Knoll
The Washington Post
1515 L Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Erwin:

The fact that you checked the dictionary puts me on notice that I'd better watch my step with you. And what about this assoluto -- is that something we can use in our business? Or, better yet, is there a dissoluto?

I enjoyed our conversations at Holly Knoll, particularly the more intellectual ones of the evening. Hope we can repeat soon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming, M.S.*
Executive Director

HCF/sl

*Victim of the Nervous Bankrobber

Rec'd 6-24-59

The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald

1515 L STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 5, D.C. REPUBLIC 7-1234

June 23, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I'll never doubt your word again.

The word I refer to, of course, is assonance. Not only does it have a place in my dictionary (right between assoluto and assonanced) but it even means what you said it meant. Score up one more triumph for the risen South.

It was good to see you at Holly Knoll and talk about The Troubles. I learned much.

Cordially,

Erwin

Erwin Knoll, N. B.*

*Nervous Bankrobber.

The Department of Justice Is Smug Over the Terrell County Vote Case

By HAROLD DAVIS

Washington.

THE DEPARTMENT of Justice is feeling mighty self-satisfied about its lawsuit against the voting registrars of Terrell County, Ga.

Although they are lawyers over there at Justice and don't do much bragging about what they hope to do, a smack of anticipated victory hangs over the place.

On a visit there this week, this writer was told by a responsible official that Terrell County was selected with ease as the first place where the voting provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 will be tested.

OTHER PLACES

Justice says it had several other places it could have filed its first suit — like Webster Parish, Louisiana, for example. But after only a modicum of consideration, the powers that be in the civil rights division decided Terrell was the spot.

Terrell County, of which this writer is a native and where his family and friends still live, has taken an all-out drubbing this spring and summer.

On Sunday, June 8, this writer picked up The Washington Post and Times-Herald and there in big black letters on the front page was an "expose" of what the newspaper said were terrible conditions down in Dawson, the county seat.

The newspaper had dispatched an eager young reporter named Robert E. Baker to Terrell to look into charges of alleged police brutality and discrimination against Negroes in voting. Mr. Baker is The Post's racial expert.

He is the scion of an old Virginia family, and when he writes from the South as he did from Dawson, he signs himself Robert E. Lee Baker, in hopes, no doubt, that the spirit of Marse Robert will lend his imprimatur to what is said.

Anyway, Robert E. Lee Baker reported the uncontested fact that two Negroes had been killed by police and another had been hurt. It wasn't these facts alone that made his story sensational. It was the filler material he larded in between them.

Harold Davis is The Atlanta Journal's Washington correspondent.

Baker told his readers that an atmosphere of fear pervades the county and cited interviews with Negroes about how they were denied the right to vote. He really hammed it up.

Baker's story made a splash here and gave the Georgia congressional delegation quite a shock. It was read by members of Mr. Eisenhower's commission on civil rights, by the Justice Department people, and by all the hoards of others who buy the 390,000 copies of The Washington Post and Times-Herald.

It put Terrell County indelibly on the Washington map.

As many a Georgia politician has discovered to his sorrow, a big newspaper carries a respectable wallop.

A month or so later, Terrell County was mixed up in another little ruckus. The County Board of Education moved some equipment out of Negro schoolhouses and put it in white ones and wouldn't move it back.

ONCE MORE

To nobody's surprise, that made the front pages here, too. It put the name of Terrell County once more before Mr. Eisenhower's commission on civil rights, the Justice Department people, and the public at large.

With a reputation for being so notorious, it was inevitable that poor Terrell would get it first from the Justice Department. The county almost selected itself.

The department didn't have any trouble digging up more sensational facts down there. They discovered that on April 7, several Negroes tried to register to vote and were turned down as being illiterate.

Four of them were college graduates with good degrees, one had a master's degree and another was studying for one.

A key man at the Justice Department laughed and told this writer: "Nobody, not even a football player, can go through college and not learn how to read and write."

His attitude shows the Justice Department is figuring on having some fun out of this case. And poor Terrell County, its troubles are just beginning.

ATLANTA JOURNAL
ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
SEP 14 1958

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

September 16, 1958

Mr. Robert E. Lee Baker
The Washington Post Times-Herald
1515 "L" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mars' Robert:

We got a hugh chuckle -- and some real satisfaction -- out of the enclosed piece by Harold Davis in last Sunday's paper. If you ever have need of a testimonial from an unfriendly source, this is it. Pool li'l ol' Terrell!

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

cc: Mr. Alfred Friendly

Enclosure: Atl. Journal-Const. article, dtd. Sept. 14, 1958:

"...Department of Justice...Smug Over...Terrell County Vote Case."

File

The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald

1515 L STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 5, D.C. REPUBLIC 7-1234

November 5, 1958.

Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave N.E
Atlanta Georgia

Gentlemen:

We have received and thank you for your remittance of $ 5.85 covering a Daily & Sunday mail subscription to our paper.

You have requested that we enter your subscription for a three month period. However, our rate for this period is $ 7.00 and your payment, therefore, will cover deliveries only through January 16, 1959.

We have taken the liberty of entering the subscription on this basis and will see that you receive a renewal notice prior to its expiration.

We appreciate this opportunity to serve you and look forward to your continued patronage. For your future convenience, a copy of our current rate card is enclosed.

Very truly yours,

R. J. Dawn
Circulation Accounts Supervisor

RJD/dl
Encl.

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1515 L St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
Phone REpublic 7-1234

The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald

1515 L STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 5, D.C. REPUBLIC 7-1234

November 6, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 423, 63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The newspaper quotes and the New York SCAD report give me exactly the sort of information I was looking for. I'm very grateful.

Sincerely,

Erwin Knoll

Erwin Knoll

VIA AIR MAIL

November 5, 1958

Mr. ~~Irving~~ Erwin Knoll
Washington Post and Times-Herald
1515 "L" Street
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Knoll:

A quick check of our files for information on the "white flight to the suburbs" in Southern cities has turned up the enclosed. It would be possible, with considerably more effort, to document the trend more fully and in more places. But I am wondering whether these newspaper quotes may not serve your purpose adequately.

Also enclosed is a portion of a SCAD report on metropolitan New York and Syracuse, commenting on the same trend in those cities. Since school desegregation is no recent phenomenon there, as it is in Washington, this would also support our point.

If you decide to dig in more deeply on this subject, the book This Changing South by Maclachlan and Floyd (University of Florida Press, 1956) contains some relevant population analysis, based on the 1950 census.

Let us know if we can help further.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

Nashville, Tenn.

"Negroes now constitute 33.8 per cent of the city population, 18.9 per cent of the county, the survey [conducted by research department of city Chamber of Commerce] shows. Moreover, all of Nashville's increase since 1950 has been in the Negro population and there are actually 400 fewer white persons living in the city than there were eight years ago."

Undated clipping, Nashville Tennessean, 1958.

Charleston, S. C.

"Enrollment of colored pupils for the fall term in Charleston schools comprises 69 per cent of total enrollment, city school officials reported Friday... During the past five years, colored enrollment in Charleston's public schools has increased from 6,754 to 8,277. In the past year, white pupil enrollment decreased by 369 to 3,774... Officials said at the elementary school level, colored pupils outnumber whites by more than three to one."

Journal and Guide, September 27, 1958.

Atlanta, Georgia.

"Since 1955 white school enrollment has increased only 500," he [W. Wailes Thomas, chairman of the Metropolitan Population Committee of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce] said. "Negro enrollment has gone up 8,400. Our schools are 40 per cent Negro now and will probably be 50 per cent by 1961."

Atlanta Journal, June 13, 1958.

New York, N. Y.

"The present non-white population (Negro and Puerto Rican) is estimated at 8.7 per cent of the total [compared to 6.5 % in 1950] and according to the usually reliable statistics of the N. Y. State Commission Against Discrimination, Negroes and Puerto Ricans will make up one-third the population by 1970."

Journal and Guide, April 19, 1958.

June 12, 1959

Mr. Robert E. L. Baker
The Washington Post and Times-Herald
1515 "L" Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Bob:

Glad to hear you're still on the circuit. If you haven't already written a deathless manuscript for the Howard appearance, the enclosed items may be moderately -- and I do mean moderately -- helpful. We particularly liked the article on the West Virginia press, which elicited a particularly repulsive editorial from Tom Waring. The Tumin stuff is rather specialized, but his findings on the relationship of moderation and exposure to the mass media are interesting.

Incidentally, we have commissioned a faculty member of the journalism school at the University of North Carolina to do an examination and report on the press handling of several of the key racial incidents in the South. It should be interesting.

Meanwhile, I trust you got our latest catalogue of horrors -- the report on violence, intimidation, and reprisal. Maybe we should have run James C. Davis's picture on the cover.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures.

The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald
1515 L STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 5, D.C. REPUBLIC 7-1234

Tennessee Reprint
Ashmore reprint
W. Va. article

June 4, 1959

RECEIVED JUN 5 1959

Dear Harold:

Well, now, I have gotten myself wrapped in something called the 1959 Howard University Group Relations Workshop at which I am to speak on June 26. A little note from the director says: "In your subject we are particularly interested in barriers to change and means of overcoming the barriers, problems of communication between different groups and likewise means of establishing communication, and the role of the newspaper in the change."

Harold, ole chap, I'm not in too bad shape on this one, but I was just a-wondering if you or the SRC has anything particularly pertinent along this line which I should not omit from my little talk. If you do, I'd appreciate your sending it along to me.

I trust everything is going along well in your shop. A bit of incidental intelligence: Your Congressman Davis went to great lengths to get a copy of Mr. Morris' exchange of correspondence with Judge Timmerman, without having to write Mr. Morris. As discreet an inquiry as I could muster from his office only got the reply that Davis wanted the stuff "for his file."

Very truly yours,

Bob

Robert E.L. Baker

JC PR ✓
LWD ✓ PA ✓
MM ✓
MA - aug. 11 ✓
Return to HCF

The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald
1515 L STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 5, D.C. REPUBLIC 7-1234

July 14, 1959

RECEIVED JUL 16 1959

Dear Harold:

Pardon my quickness on this letter, but I'm writing it during a brief lull on the Virginia Democratic primary eve.

When I come back from vacation on August 10, I will fly to Atlanta to write 1) a piece on everybody's buddy, Judge James C. Davis and 2) a piece on the Atlanta school situation.

Once again, I call on you and your people to call to my attention noteworthy information on these subjects when I stop by to visit. I certainly would appreciate it.

Regards,

Bob

Robert E.L. Baker.

Enclosure: Ltr. from Bob Hughes and clip from Birmingham News, dtd. 8/9/59 "In Pickens Silent Victims Hamper Probe of Terrorists."

August 19, 1959

Mr. Robert E. Baker
The Washington Post and Times-Herald
1515 "L" Street
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bob:

In view of our discussions of Alabama, I thought you would be interested in the Pickens County situation described in the enclosed letter and clipping. The Birmingham paper's story is the only publicity we've seen. It's enough to make you nostalgic for Terrell County, isn't it?

Also, a reminder that you were going to talk to your chief editorial writer about an official antidote to the Davis Report.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. The Education section of TIME, out today, has a major write-up of our private school study. Calls us the "hard-headed Southern Regional Council"!

HCF

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AUGUST 31, 1959

MR. ROBERT L. BAKER
5409 FREEMONT
NORTH SPRINGFIELD, VIRGINIA

TERRIBLY SORRY TO HEAR OF YOUR MOTHER'S DEATH.

ALL YOUR FRIENDS HERE SEND THEIR SYMPATHY.

HAROLD C. FLEMING

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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=HAROLD FLEMING=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST

ATLA=

POSTPONING TRIP SEVERAL DAYS BECAUSE OF DEATH OF MY MOTHER=

BOBHBAKER.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER • MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1959 PAGE A12

MF - File downstairs. HCJ

No Doghouse for Labor

Labor Day, 1959, finds some of the leaders of organized labor in sackcloth and ashes and others deeply confused by the events of last week. Congress not only enacted a stiff labor reform bill; it did so by overwhelming votes in both houses. It was not merely the coalition of Republicans and Southerners that ignored the protests of organized labor, but almost the entire Congress. Does this mean that the country has suddenly swung into an antilabor mood?

Despite the gloom in some labor circles, we think the question must be answered with an emphatic "no." The people have conveyed to Congress an unmistakable demand for legislation to protect the rights of individual workers, to oust racketeers from the labor movement and to curb various practices that some unions have indulged in to the detriment of the public interest. But in our opinion the support for good working conditions, high wages, the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively remains unshaken. Not for a moment did the public call for a "killer bill" against labor. Rather, the bill won landslide support because of the belief that its provisions are fair to organized labor as well as to employers and individual workers.

Some persons who have abused the great power now in the hands of labor unions are certainly in the doghouse, but not labor as a whole. Taken as a group, the United States 71 million working men and women have the highest living standard ever known. Most of them have also attained a large measure of economic and social security along with the right of voluntary association to improve their working conditions. They enjoy the rights of free expression, free movement and general participation in the political life of the country. Congress has closed some doors to corruption and arbitrary use of power, but the national interest in a strong, vigorous and clean labor movement is as great as it ever was.

National Censor

With scant debate and even scanter reflection, the House of Representatives has passed a bill enlarging the Postmaster General's powers of censorship. The purpose is praiseworthy—to prevent use of the mails for dissemination of obscenity. But the effect is to create a national censor. It would increase the authority of the Postmaster General to hold up mail whenever he deemed it "in the public interest" to do so and it would prevent courts from knocking down his orders unless they were shown to be arbitrary or capricious. In short, as Congressman Lindsay of New York observed in the sole speech made against the bill, "the burden of proof is entirely shifted to the mailer to prove that the order of the Postmaster General has been arbitrary and capricious."

This shifting of the burden of proof from accuser to accused is in itself a most dangerous who would risk burning down the judicial system to singe the hair of judges they do not like. Sometimes the public has been critical of the Court in regard to some of its decisions. That is part of the process of democracy at work. But it is a far cry from criticizing isolated decisions of the Court to seeking means of crippling that tribunal or depriving it of the essential elements of judicial independence. A number of the extremisits who sought the latter course have been retired from public life.

Level heads in Congress have also wisely applied the brakes to the anti-Court forces. By slowing the drive toward reckless action, they have allowed common sense to reassert itself. There are many indications that, whatever legislation may now be necessary because of court decisions—for example, in the fields of screening Federal employes for subversion and in the regulation of passports—it is likely to be more thoughtful and restrained than it would have been a year ago. All of this is a heartening indication of the return of perspective about the Supreme Court and the necessarily great importance it attaches to issues of human rights.

Precarious Right

A survey of Negro voting in the South conducted by the Southern Regional Council underscores with stark, incontrovertible figures the urgent need for civil rights legislation in the present session of Congress. The Council study shows that in eight states of the deep South—Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia — the number of Negroes registered to vote dropped by 45,845 from 1956 to 1958. An estimated 25 per cent of the eligible Negroes are registered in the South as compared with 60 per cent of the white citizens of voting age.

When one considers the obstacles that have been put in the way of Negro voting in the South, the fact that more than a million Negroes have registered is a tribute to their courage and their sense of citizenship. They have registered in spite of poll taxes, in spite of literacy tests administered with gross discrimination, in spite of the hostility of registrars and in spite of threats of violence and other forms of intimidation. The right to vote must be looked upon as precious indeed by those who face such perils to exercise it.

It is, of course, the fundamental right of American citizenship — a right guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. And this is why the Government of the United States must not fail or falter in protecting it. There can be no doubt of the need to require states to keep registration and voting records—and to afford the Attorney General ready access to those records so that Federal protection of the right to vote can be made effective. This is a minimum requirement of civil rights legislation. It ought to be operative before the next election despite the foot dragging so apparent on Capitol Hill.

L

Homage Da

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a memorial in it.

wash. Post

HOTEL WADE HAMPTON

COMPLETELY AIR CONDITIONED — RADIO AND TELEVISION

COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

TELETYPE CO-7149

September 23, 1959

RECEIVED SEP 24 1959

Dear Harold:

I did so telephone ole Hugh Patterson today about hiring Sylvan Meyer to succeed Harry Ashmore. I bet you thought I would either forget or wouldn't bother to let you know. Besides, the airplane I came here on was drunk.

Well, anyhow, ole Hugh said he was certainly impressed with Meyer's qualifications and with our interest in him.

But ole Hugh asked: "Is he Jewish?"

I said yes.

Ole Hugh paused one dollar's worth of my time.

"I'm just afraid that would be too much of a detriment, Bob," he said. "It's not that I'm prejudiced. We've got several Jewish fellows on the paper. But there's an undercurrent of anti-Semitism here, as you know, and I'm afraid hiring Meyer in such a sensitive spot would kindle it a-new. I don't think the Jewish community here would like it, for the same reason."

I told him I understood, all right, but challenged him to hire a Nigra Catholic wife of a Jewish fellow I know, and really let the knotheads in Little Rock know how he feels.

Ole Hugh paused two dollars worth of my time.

Then he asked me if I knew of anyone on The Washington Post. I named Carroll Kilpatrick as a bright prospect. Carroll, no relation to Jack, was our number two editorial man awhile back before he decided to return to reporting. He accompanied Nixon to Russia recently, is a hellava writer, a native of Montgomery, Ala., Southern reared and educated. Ole Hugh said please make an overture and see what Kilpatrick thinks. (over)

AFFILIATED NATIONAL HOTELS

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HOTEL ADMIRAL SEMMES MOBILE, ALABAMA
HOTEL WASHINGTON WASHINGTON, D. C.
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HOTEL JUNG NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA
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HOTEL JEAN LAFITTE GALVESTON, TEXAS
CORONADO COURTS GALVESTON, TEXAS
HOTEL PLAZA LAREDO, TEXAS
HOTEL LUBBOCK LUBBOCK, TEXAS
HOTEL FALLS MARLIN, TEXAS
HOTEL CACTUS SAN ANGELO, TEXAS
HOTEL MENGER SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS
ANGELES COURTS SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS
HOTEL MOUNTAIN LAKE MOUNTAIN LAKE, VIRGINIA
HOTEL MONTICELLO NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

So that's the story on Patterson and Meyer. Too bad.

Patterson, of course, asked me to keep his chat with me absolutely confidential and I said I would. I trust you will keep it, and my leak to you, discreetly confidential.

Bob Baker

(marked personal)

via air mail

October 21, 1959

Mr. Robert L. Baker
Washington Post and Times-Herald
1515 "L" Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Bob:

We were stunned -- not to say dismayed -- by the word of your sudden jump overseas. I'm sure it's a good deal for you, but it ain't for us reality creepers down here.

You know, I'm sure, that we had come to regard you as a member of the family and were looking forward to closer communion. So we will just have to wait two years. If my past experience is any guide, the problems will have gotten more rather than less complex.

We'll be watching out for Elsie Carper and will show her all the courtesies of the shop.

The very best to you and your family in what is bound to be a fascinating tour of duty.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
(Signed in Mr. Fleming's absence.)

The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald
1515 L STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 5, D.C. REPUBLIC 7-1234

October 8, 1959

Dear Harold:

RECEIVED OCT 9 1959

I have strange news for you. I -- and my family -- are moving to London, England, for a couple or so years. I will replace our man over there, Murry Marder, as The Post's one-man foreign bureau.

This development is somewhat different from the plans for a Post bureau in Atlanta, I must say. But, for some reason, I was tapped for the London task and couldn't turn it down.

First, I want to thank you and your staff for all the help and friendliness shown me. I probably will be in Europe for two years and then return to pick up the South again. That is, if you all haven't solved the damned thing by then.

Second, I want you to show the same courtesy to my replacement, Miss Elsie Carper, a veteran and excellent reporter. She will be bothering you, just as I did. Miss Carper, I will guess her age at about the same as mine, has wide experience in covering Capitol Hill, District schools and desegregation problems. You will find her superb.

Again, thanks for everything. Please put Elsie on your mailing list. I shall write again soon.

Cordially,

Bob Baker

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MILDRED FLOWERS**

TO: JC

March 17, 1960

Please see that Robert E. L. Baker ia put on Komplimentary New South list and the list where he would get all our other mailings.

The address is:

The Washington Post and Times Herald
European Correspondent
43 Fleet Street
London, E. C. 4, ENGLAND

MF - Pls see that he gets New South + our other mailings, including the latest.

HCF

The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald

1515 L STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 5, D.C. REPUBLIC 7-1234

February 12, 1960

Robert E. L. Baker
European Correspondent
43 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

Dear Harold:

On this, the anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birthday, I thought of you and the Heart of Atlanta Motel Bar.

Isee by the papers that my ole friend, James H. Gray of Albany, has been made chairman of the Georgia Democratic Party. Nice.

Since I arrived from overseas, I've spent half my time in Paris trying to straighten out that fellow de Gaulle and them French people. But the first person I pumped into that I knew was Thurgood Marshall, right here in London. Ole Thurgood was trying to represent the African folks in the Kenya conference here. And that was quite a twist. Thurgood's been fighting for the American minority of Negroes for years; now he's fighting for the Kenya minority in a way by insisting that the whites not be gyped of their rights when independence comes. Quite a boy.

I made quite a crash upon my arrival here. I rented a car, drove out of the rental garage, turned left and kept right and crashed right into a damned lorry who was, of course, doing the right thing by keeping left. But I do admire these British. The rental car people towed the car back into their garage, got out another and gave me the keys. Said the owner: "Too bad about that, having an accident straight-a-way, sir. Try to keep to the left."

My secretary, who is pretty, quiet and about to get married, is a charming person utterly devoid of any knowledged of our great American heritage. When she found out my name was Robert E. Lee Baker, she excalimed: "Oh, you were named after a steamboat? How novel." Novel, hell. First time she's a minute late, she's fired.

We've got a flat on, as you might expect, on Baker Street. Big damned place with gaudy furniture which costs $350 a month. Bourban, at the liquor store around the corner costs $8 a bottle. Herbert Tarryton cigarets with filters cost $5.60 a carton. So I'm drinking stout and smoking Players, a wonderfully horrible cigaret.

Give my regards to all at SRC and drop me a line when you can, including, please, the subscription price to New South by mail to London.

Very truly yours,

Bob

bc: Wallace Westfeldt

June 28, 1960

Mr. Alfred Friendly
Washington Post and Times-Herald
1515 "L" Street
Washington, D. C.

Dear Al:

When I was in Nashville the other day, Wally Westfeldt mentioned that he had written you folks about the possibility of a job. This is just to put in a word of hearty recommendation, in case you have any opening for which he might be considered.

Over the years, Wally has impressed me both as a fine person and as a first-rate reporter. His motivations and attitudes are the best, and he has plenty of ability to go with them.

Of course, he knows the South and the racial situation intimately. If the idea of putting a man down here is still a live one at the Post, Wally would be an excellent choice.

I hope all goes well with you and that our paths will cross again soon. Meanwhile, continue to call on us anytime we can be of help.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

File

Said yes over the phone

The Washington Post
1515 L STREET, N. W. REPUBLIC 7-1234
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

October 12, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

May we have your permission to reprint "The Annealing of the South" from the autumn issue of the Virginia Quarterly Review in the Outlook section of our Sunday paper? I have already obtained Miss Kohler's permission: she requested that I ask for yours as well.

We probably would have to abridge it somewhat because of newspaper space limitations, and we would need to update the first paragraph on Page 507 to agree with developments since its publication. We would, of course, give you and the Virginia Quarterly full credit.

Sincerely yours,

HDKneeland

H. D. Kneeland
Sunday and Feature Editor

HDK/jww

December 1, 1961

Mr. Ben W. Gilbert, City Editor
The Washington Post
1515 L Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gilbert:

I am very glad to send you the enclosed several copies of George McMillan's pamphlet. I am including also a copy of the September issue of New South where you will find an article by the Chief of Police of Lexington, Kentucky; this may be of some interest to you.

George has been working on a second report for us, this one a more broad-gauged consideration of the place of violence in today's South, using the University of Georgia riots as his narrative prop. We hoped he would have been finished some time ago and are still hopeful.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

The Washington Post
1515 L STREET, N.W. REPUBLIC 7-1234
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

November 27, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I would appreciate it very much if you would send me three or four copies of George McMillan's report on Southern police problems. I have had a number of requests from local officials who would like to see it.

Sincerely,

Ben W. Gilbert

Ben W. Gilbert
City Editor

BWG:jh

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

January 3, 1962

ROBERT E. LEE BAKER
WASHINGTON POST
WASHINGTON, D. C.

ARTICLE I TOLD YOU ABOUT IS IN CURRENT ANTHROPOLOGY, OCTOBER 1961. TITLE: SCIENTIFIC RACISM AGAIN

LESLIE W. DUNBAR

SBV
PWV
PA
VTV
Please return to LD

Oct. 30, 1963

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Thank you again for sending me the book on school desegregation.

Here is the series which started in the Post's Sunday Outlook Section. Because of space problems the article on Nashville was badly cut — especially toward the end. But the others are pretty much intact. The book you sent was a big help.

Best regards,
Susie McBee

clips to Research

File Wash Post

File Newspapers et al. The Wash. Post

September 4, 1964

Mr. William Chapman
The Washington Post
1515 "L" Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Chapman:

Your letter of September 2 is acknowledged.

At your request, please find enclosed our latest news release of Negro voter registration.

Sincerely yours,

Sandra L. Walker

SLW
Enclosure

MJ - please send

The Washington Post
1515 L STREET, N.W. REPUBLIC 7-1234
WASHINGTON 5, D.C.

September 2, 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

If you still have an extra press copy of your latest study of Negro voter registration I would like to have it.

Thanks,

William Chapman

William Chapman

Sent 9/4/64

File
Washington Post
(newspapers, et. al.)

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Pearson, Drew & Jack Anderson

REGARDING

Washington Post article of 4/7/67 by Pearson, et. al "The Washington Merry-Go-Round" in which Pearson makes false charges that SIC's Rep was partially financed by CIA funds.

DATE

4/7/67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Pearson, Drew

February 13, 1957

AIR MAIL

Mr. Lee Nichols
1221 Simmons Drive
Rockville, Maryland

Dear Lee:

Thanks for your letter, which I have read with a great deal of satisfaction. From my point of view at least, you are right on the target.

I have sent a copy, on an informal basis, to Frank Loescher so that he can make some assessment of the chances with the Fund. I will let you know as soon as I hear from him. I should hope we would know something at least by the time of the Washington dinner Thursday week.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

C
O
P
Y

1221 Simmons Drive
Rockville, Maryland
February 10

Dear Harold:

***

Essentially, what I want to do is a reporting-in-depth job as a follow-up to my book on integration of the armed forces. The thing that led to the book was a general notion that great strides had been made in racial progress and that this ought to be reported and written. I got diverted into a single aspect of that progress -- the military -- with results you know of. I'm not sure whether I've told you or not, but advance proofs of chapters of my book were studied by a couple of members of the Supreme Court prior to their historic school decision in 1954. I think it has had its place in helping shed light and solidify progress in the racial rights field.

What is needed basically now, I feel, is another book -- or study resulting in a book, series of articles, or what have you -- on the theme -- "Breakthrough Everywhere."

From my own somewhat limited contacts in the South, plus what I have read and what may be available, it becomes increasingly apparent that throughout the South in general there is a recognition that segregation is through. This is accompanied by an almost wistful plea, please give us a little time, don't cram it down our throats too suddenly, understand us, help us with our problems. But evidence mounts daily that the ramparts are not manned with any wide degree of spirit, save by a few diehard pockets that seem too to realize they are beaten.

The work I want to do falls essentially into two parts: first, collection of available material and evidence on the overall racial situation today -- north as well as south. Most of this material is available from known sources -- the Southern Education Reporting Service for the schools picture, your organization, the President's Committee on Contract Compliance for employment, B'nai B'rith, the Negro organizations, etc. The Scientific American magazine has just published a significant study of public opinion surveys similar to one I suggested in my proposed "Project Light." These, in addition to daily newspaper clippings telling of continued advances, need to be pulled together into the story of racial progress nationwide.

Secondly, I would like to do some personal survey work, to tie this material together with the opinions and findings of people at various levels. I would want to start with the White House, Justice Department, U. S. Office of Education, Department of Labor, members of Congress including southerners and the military establishment here. From there I would like to talk to leaders in the southern states, both in the education field, political leaders, etc. Some of this had been done and need not be duplicated, as in the New York Times survey. But first-hand talks with people like the Governor of Florida, the Governor and Education Commissioner of Mississippi, people in the colleges and others that you might think of, would help to round out the factual picture gleaned from published data.

This is the technique I used in my book, as you know -- facts plus opinion of everyone from Truman down to a buck private in Mississippi. And that is the method I think would be useful if applied to the overall racial situation.

This is a job that I think would take a year and much work, including travel. Its extent would depend on what the Fund was willing to underwrite. I could handle it all myself, but feel that the work of gathering and summarizing the vast quantity of published data available could be better handled by an assistant, if the Fund would go that far.

Such an overall survey, a sort of abridged follow-up to Myrdal's great work, would I think produce a report of not only great current historical value but also an important guide to those seeking light for the future.

A key part of this work -- book or whatever it turned out to be -- would be a study of methods and techniques found successful or suggested by those with experience in the field. I already have some ideas for summarized material in this area. In addition, I told you that people I have talked to in the U. S. Office of Education and the Committee on Government Contracts see definite need for [this] sort of "how-to" material on school and employment integration. While I am not a sociologist, I think the reporter's initial work in this area might open the way to more thorough, more scientific work in the same direction.

In fact, this study might very well indicate the value of additional work or expansion of various aspects, perhaps along the lines I suggested in my original proposal, or in other directions. It would then be up to the Fund or others to see if they wished to move along suggested lines.

A subsidiary aspect of what I would like to undertake involves the translation and ordering of the notes, documents and other background material for my book and subsequent studies of integration in military post schools. I think this data, if put together in useable form, might be of great sociological value. Of course there might be a greater need to put into some kind of shape the source material, including interviews, involved in the new proposed project. Perhaps the Fund itself would be willing to help with such a collation of raw data, perhaps making it available to researchers, scholars, etc. either at its own headquarters or in some useful location such as at Fisk University, or maybe Columbia.

I have in the back of my mind a bold idea for a follow-up -- a study of racial progress throughout the world. I would love to make a world study of this subject, since it is worldwide in its ramifications, and think such a work might prove of enormous value. However this might grow out of the U. S. study, if it is approved and proves as useful as I think it would be.

If you think I need to put this business into more formal form, particularly before Feb. 21, please let me know and I'll endeavor to do so. All the above is subject to any kind of amendation you folks think desirable.

yours etc.

/s/ Lee

P. S. I don't know how much of this [you] would want to be in a formal proposal: but as we have discussed before, during this study and compilation, I would always be on the lookout for ways to publicize some of the important data or findings available, communicate them to persons who need to know them, stimulate newspaper and magazine articles, etc.

Also, and this would be on a more personal basis, I would perhaps be able to serve as an informal means of communication between various factions in this situation -- the White House and southern Negro leaders, for instance; the NAACP and southern white leaders. I do not mean to rate myself too high in this role, and realize there are many others performing this work in various ways far better than I could. But I have found to my sorrow a great hiatus between many groups and persons most concerned with racial rights, and the need for a continual effort to bridge these gaps seems to me to be perhaps one of the greatest factors in the present situation.

ln

1221 Simmons Drive,
Rockville, Md.,
Jan. 20

Dear Harold:

I have been wondering if I have been too precipitate in planning to rush down to Atlanta without some clear idea of the real purpose in so doing. Let me clarify a point or two and then see if this is the time for the trip.

To begin with, I am enclosing a very rough and perhaps rather ambitious project which I literally dashed off in pencil one night and haven't tried to refine very much. I am a total novice at anything of this nature and scarcely know where to begin. This, at any rate, is what I was going to bring with me on Sunday.

This project is not by any means either my necessary conclusion as to what should be done, nor does its suggestion here in any way limit my willingness to undertake other activities for the Fund. My problem is that they have said in effect, "You suggest something to us," and I don't know how to go about it.

Now, as to why I really want to see you: if you think, either on the basis of this paper or apart from it, we can arrive at or close to a concrete project involving me which we can take directly to the Fund, and that could not be accomplished as well by correspondence or telephone, then I will be happy to come on down. But if you feel I need to do much more homework or development of ideas or a written program before things can be carried very far, then perhaps I had better wait a bit.

As you intimated, I don't have the means to take long trips casually. On the other hand, I am anxious to get going and if there is anything really likely with the Fund, I want to bring it to a climax promptly.

I think that about expresses it. I would guess offhand that you felt the trip would be profitable in terms of reaching conclusions or you wouldn't have agreed so readily to it. However if you just thought I was looking for an excuse to visit Atlanta--well, you're right, except it's got to be a good excuse to salve my conscience and soothe my aching purse.

Let's leave it this way: if I don't hear from you, I'll assume you think it worthwhile to meet and follow our original plan to arrive there at 9:50 A.M. EST Sunday, Jan. 27. If you think things can be carried out as well or nearly as well--for the present at least--by mail or telephone, let me know. I will be working at UP from 9 A.M. to about 5:30 P.M. EST on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday (telephone EXecutive 3-3430), off Friday (home phone POplar 2-4685), and working again Saturday from 11 A.M. to about 6 P.M. You could telephone or simply wire me at UP.

Thanksloads for your consideration and I'll be seeing you sometime soon.

faithfully

Lee

lee nichols

Project Light

Target: To identify and describe elements in contemporary American society contributing to or likely to contribute toward intelligent, reasoned progress in racial relations with particular reference to public schools.

Purpose: To provide educators, leaders in various fields and the public as a whole with factual data and results of experience that may be useful tools in avoiding disorder and furthering orderly developments in racial fields.

Methods:

I. Investigation

A. Collection of existing published material on public school integration--books, reports, newspaper and magazine data, findings of organizations, researchers, etc.

B. Opinion research by professional organization covering:

1. Officials, teachers, parents and children in integrated school systems, particularly in recently integrated areas. Questions to cover wide range of topics including satisfaction or dissatisfaction with integration, detailed reasons, related problems such as comparative educational standards, gains or losses in social, moral and psychological aspects, etc.

2. Similar but less exhaustive interviews in segregated school systems as a check on opinions in integrated systems. This technique was used effectively by ORO, IPOR andothers in the Army's study of integration which would be an excellent model for further studies. These studies found, for example, that the more officers knew about integration the more favorable they were. The Army used this fact with great success in advancing integration with officers who were doubtful.

3. Community views in neighborhood of both integrated and segregated schools. Views of officials in both types of areas at local, state and federal levels.

4. Military views at various levels, particularly in reference to integrated schooling both on and off military posts.

C. Studies of effective racial techniques, including interviews with experts and officials at various levels on methods used for successful integration and forelimination of trouble spots. This, for example, would include inquiry into the work of mayors' committees on human relations and their value in avoiding conflict, etc.

D. Identification and analysis of existing and potential trouble areas. This to be done partly through opinion research questionnaires, partly through interviews with experts and officials, partly through observation, study and analysis of existing data on subject. To include analysis of effects of racial tension on community relationships, boycotts, etc.

E. Study and analysis of broader aspects of racial problems.

1. Effects of various favorable and unfavorable developments on democratic beliefs of individuals, their attitudes toward others particularly of opposing views, etc.

2. Effects on U.S. relationships with other nations, and significance of racial issues in struggle against Communism at home and abroad.

II. Analysis

A. Summary and analysis of data and findings.

III. Publication

A. Publication of data and analysis either in report, book or other form.

B. Carefully organized efforts to secure as wide distribution as possible of report: newspapers, magazines, radio, television, even motion pictures with an eye to foreign distribution as well. This particularly

with reference to aspects of report showing favorable aspects of race relationships, prospects for progress along democratic lines.

IV. Application

A. Development and execution of methods to get findings and published data before officials most concerned with such problems, as well as to the general public.

B. Development and promotion of methods to followup Project Light based on profitable lines indicated by its findings.

Argument:

I. Need

A. There is evident need for vastly more factual information on accomplishments in the racial field--methods used, problems encountered and their solutions, as well as a thorough inquiry into opinions of a wide range of persons on the subject. Despite heavy stress by the press as a whole on conflict situations, there is a general feeling that considerable favorable climate for intelligent racial progress exists even in the "deep" South. Initial studies such as the one just published by the Fund for the Republic and those made by this writer show concrete evidence for the belief there is a large body of moderate Southern opinion that wants an intelligent solution of the racial dilemma. This needs to be canvassed on a much wider basis, with the general location, nature and thinking of the moderates carefully catalogued. This cataloguing also should develop carefully definitive data

on areas of racial development least objectionable and those most objectionable as a guide to future procedures. Such a cataloguing was a vital part of the Army studies.

B. Experience has shown that much of this type of information is either (1) unavailable; (2) unreported and unanalyzed; or (3) not translated from existing sources to where others can use it.

1. Much of the work already done in integration, chiefly in the schools but also in other fields, has not been collected and presented in thorough, complete and analytical form.

2. The considerable knowledge of military and civilian integration experts has not been systematically tapped for its bearing on other integration problems.

a. Much direct military experience and exhaustive expert studies of military integration are available as to methods used, effectivness of different methods, military and civilian reaction, etc. Military officials with integration experience may have valuable ideas for the civilian integration problem if systematically interviewed.

b. Officials such as city police, U.S. Park police, human relations group officials, churches and others have a large body of experience in dealing with problem situations in racial areas. This needs to be more systematically tabulated and made available.

C. It is a great waste for this information to be unavailable to those working in the field who need it. Lack of fullest possible information on the part of the public also contributes to fear and uncertainty leading to greater tension.

1. For example: methods used by officials in a southern military post school in handling possible public opposition may provide direct clues for others concerned with such problems; yet there is now no reliable method for communication such information except for chance or casual means.

2. Lack of this existing information may lead to hit-or-miss planning for school integration where answers to many problems are already known; to making the same errors, stumbling over the same roadblocks others have learned with pain to avoid; and even to serious setbacks to orderly racial progress.

3. Proper collection and analysis of available data and opinions may turn up or emphasize important and valuable additional methods and techniques for orderly racial progress. There may be brilliant ideas lurking in some southern teacher's mind, in the records of some school system, which could contribute materially to removing some of the roadblocks to racial progress if they were known, evaluated and communicated.

4. A personal footnote: This reasoning is not based on conjecture. In my own quite casual and haphazard pryings into racial areas, I have by chance stumbled on ideas and experiences which have proved enormously valuable to my thinking on this subject, and which I have had occasion time and time again to project into my work with our county school system, now in the throes of integration, as well as into my general discussions on racial matters with persons high in government. For example: a superintendent of schools on a southern military post successfully integrated her schools without a murmur; but sheheld off integrating teachers for a period of a few years; after talking to this person, I was certain her aim was to avoid opposition and that under the circumstances it probably was wise. Thus when officials of our county have puzzled over this question, I have told themof this experience to show that efforts tomake progress orderly can be understood by the community as being undertaken in good faith even if it means a more cautious approach at times. With knowledge of this degree of understanding, our school officials have been able to work out the problem of teacher integration on a more professional, unemotional basis and have actually made good strides in this direction. Further I have been told by numerous people on brief visits to the South that southerners are not as bitterly opposed to integrationm as is so strongly believed in the North; some southerners to whom I talked were more bitter about racist southern politicians than about integration per se. This type of attitude has changed my own views sharply toward much greater sympathy and understanding for the South and made me feel this is the kind of information that should be compiled carefully and broadcast loudly and widely as the number one means of bridging the north-south gap on racial issues.

From these and other personal gains in both information and insight, I have become strongly convinced that a multiplication of this type of contact in a systematic project will pay incalculable dividends in heightened understanding and progress in one of the most difficult issues of the century in America.

Organization:

It may not be possible to detail the complete organization of Project Light at the outset. Some aspects may have to be developed as the project progresses and unfolds. However the following tentative organization is suggested:

I. Coordinator and Board of Directors

A. A coordinator to plan details of the project, supervise securing of personnel, contracting with organizations and others needed to handle the work; to guide and coordinate the investigations; and to supervise the final phases.

1. The coordinator presumably should have an office which might be located in some existing facilities without great cost.

2. The coordinator should have a secretary and/or an assistant to help with details and handle the office when the coordinator is on field trips.

B. An Advisory Board or Board of Directors would be highly desirable tohelp guide the project and maintain its non-political, objective character. Such a Board might consist of southern leaders of repute, similar to the Board of the Southern Educating Reporting Service, plus appropriate federal and/or state officials, representatives of key organizations, and representatives of the Fund or its affiliates.

II. Collection of Original and Published Data.

A. This could be begun, if not handled in its entirety, by the coordinator and his staff. Staff enlargements might be required either for collection of data or its later analysis.

B. Additional research teams to make field trips to study specific projects and report may be deemed desirable,

similar to those used in the excellent Fund for the Advancement of Education studies of school integration. The extent of the need for these would be determined by the scope and details of the project as drawn up by the Coordinator with the advice of the Board and approved by the Fund for the Republic.

III. Opinion Research

A. To be contracted to professional group such as ORO or IPOR, and organized on the basis of the similar studies they made for the Army on racial integration. The highly significant findings of the Army study, still in large part unpublished, should be incorporated into the work of Project Light whose title was suggested by that of the Army study--"Project Clear." Extent of such research to be worked out after project scope determined.

IV. Summary and Analysis

A. To be performed by individual collecting groups in their respective areas, with final collation and overall summary handled by Coordinator, possibly with special expert assistance for this phase.

V. Publication

A. To be arranged by Coordinator in conjunction with Fund.

VI. Application and Follow-up to Project

A. To be handled initially by Coordinator and staff. Any special efforts beyond mere recommendations to be subject to scope of project, Fund interest, etc.

VII. Scope

A. Scope of project, both as to extent of work and field of coverage--i.e. whether confined chiefly to school problems or extended to related fields of housing, transportation, etc.--to be worked out on the basis of what seems useful and practicable by the Coordinator and Board with advice and approval of Fund.

VIII. Time

A. Initial estimate one year. This may be reduced or extended depending on scope of study, its nature and degree of Fund support. (It should be pointed out that writer thinks any part of project, no matter how limited, would be worthwhile if the Fund wishes a more limited program than outlined above.)

IX. Cost

A. Actual cost cannot be determined until project more fully crystallized. An initial estimate might be as follows:

1. Coordinator	
a. Salary for one year	$12,000
b. Personal and travel expenses	5,000
2. Assistant (might be eliminated)	
a. Salary and expenses	$10,000
b. If part time, as low as	5,000
3. Secretary	
a. Salary	4,000
4, Office	1,200
5. Office expenses, mail, phone, etc. purchase of books, reports, etc.	4,000

6. Research teams	20,000
7. Opinion research contract	50,000
B. Estimated maximum cost for one year	$110,000.00

C. Cost of future activity, including publication and follow-up to be determined later.

--#--

January 19, 1960

Mr. Lee Nichols
111 S. Adams Street
Rockville, Maryland

Dear Lee:

Your welcome letter was awaiting me on my return from too much travel. It is good to hear from you after so long a time and to find that you are doing interesting and useful things. I hope we'll have a chance to talk shop again one day soon.

As to your information request, we are not particularly knowledgeable about official or quasi-official human relations groups, since they are virtually non-existent in our territory. If you haven't tried them already, you should write the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, 426 West 58th Street, Room 209, New York 19, for their information on the subject.

Meanwhile, I'm sending you one or two things from our files. They're not very recent, but may be helpful. When they have served your purpose, please send them back for our archival purposes. To simplify matters, an envelope is enclosed.

Sorry we can't be of more help on this one, but I hope you will try us again anytime the occasion arises.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

111 S. Adams St.
Rockville, Md.
Jan. 5, 1960

Dear Harold Fleming:

Long time no see, hear or write. How's business down your way? Good, I hope.

I've been through a couple of transmutations since last seeing you. Went to work for the Voice of America in December of 1958 and now am charged with initiating a new newswire service to Africa for the U.S. Information Agency. Lots of fun.

This particular letter is to ask for some information on Human Relations Commissions. Ever hear of the breed? The pitch is this: there has never been much real community-wide action on racial matters in my county, Montgomery County, Md., adjacent to Washington. Now there are assorted and somewhat loosely connected moves toward anti-discrimination legislation (on a county basis) by the Unitarians and the NAACP; toward some kind of bi-racial housing, mostly very quiet and under cover thus far; and toward a Human Relations Council.

I am a member of the Sandy Spring, Md., Friends Meeting and co-chairman of its Peace and Social Concerns Committee. In this connection we have received requests to support anti-discrimination legislation. I do not know as yet whether our group is willing to do so at this time. However there is support for an attempt to create a Human Relations body as a start toward improvement in race relations. I have sounded out several groups and found backing for the idea from leaders of the League of Women Voter, YWCA, local chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the NAACP, and the Ministerial Council (or at least some of its leading spirits) of Silver Spring, Md. There is considerable sentiment that a Human Relations setup has a much better chance of creation than passage of legislation at this time, and that it might be a more acceptable way to approach the problem in this county which has never had any real knock-down grad-out fight on race matters, although a Negro still can't buy a home except in the usual "quarters."

The question is, what kind of human relations body to propose? What kind have operated elsewhere? And what has been their success? I personally feel that about the only kind of body that would be of much value in our county would be some sort of quasi-public group created if at all possible by our county governing body, the County Council, with at least a minimum staff to begin accumulating information, initiating studies, etc. There have been efforts before to set up a human relations body on a strictly voluntary basis and they have rather fizzled. We are seeking the advice of officials of the Human Relations organizations in D.C. and Maryland. But I am sure that you must know reams about the subject. I would deeply appreciate a word or two of advice. And if there is any concrete evidence available as to the role of such bodies in other places and their value insmoothing racial tensions and <u>solving problems</u>, it would no doubt

help our case immensely to know about it. I suppose nobody has actually compiled this material but it would indeed be useful to be able to cite a substantial weight ov evidence. Are there any books or sources other than what you might say in a letter that could be tapped on this?

Sure appreciate hearing from you. I'm still, incidentally, integration adviser to our County PTA, but there's nothing to do. We'll complete our integration of schools in another year. No fuss and no incident, as Jim Evans would say.

Regards

Lee

Lee Nichols

June 13, 1960

Mr. Lee Nichols
United States Information Agency
Room 560
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Lee:

Your letter of June 7 is most welcome.

As a matter of fact, I added your name to our all-purpose mailing list after our conversation of last month; there may have been a delay in stencil-making, or something, but in any case you will receive all our materials henceforth. The lunch-counter progress report is being mailed today.

We have had the USIA (simply the agency) on our general mailing list for some time, but I realize the odds against a piece of material sent impersonally to so large an agency. If there are particular individuals, in addition to yourself, who should be added, do let me know. We'd like nothing better than to feel our reports are of some use to you and your colleagues there.

We put out a lot of material of one kind or another, but none of it is on a regular schedule

except our monthly bulletin, New South. You will find, however, that we can keep a man's desk pretty well cluttered up!

All the best,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. -- I was pleased and flattered to hear that the USIA is reproducing my New York Times Magazine piece for some overseas use.

Mailed separately: Price report and "School Desegregation; The First Six Years"

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON

June 7

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Noted another of your excellent reports covered in the New York Times of Monday on positive aspects of lunch counter integration. We would like very much to have a copy of that report. *

Further, our head men wonder if it would be possible to be put on your list for regular copies of your reports, if you do them on any regular basis. They feel that your organization's approach is so objective and constructive that the material would be useful for us to quote in discussing American race relations.

We made good use of the material you last sent me on the report on the interracial councils in Texas, sending a dispatch on it to our USIS post in Southern Rhodesia, and elsewhere in Africa. As you may know, people in Africa are vitally interested in our efforts to solve our racial problems, particularly those who have similar problems there.

Sure appreciate word that we can count on copies of your reports on the racial situation, and some indication of their timing.

Still using the material you sent me some time ago on interracial (human relations) councils in general and haven't forgotten whose files they belong in. We are working on the establishment of a human relations council in our county (Montgomery County, Md.) and it's slowgoing.

Regards

Lee

Lee Nichols

Lee Nichols, IPS/EN-Africa
U.S. Information Agency
Room 560, 1776 Pennsylvania Avenue.
Washington 25, D.C.

* Nichols should be receiving our stuff!
See attached memo of May 13, 1960

Sent separately: Cong. Record Reprint
Midsummer Report of Activities, 1958
New South, Oct/1958
Wall St. Journal Reprint-2/14/58 "Religion and Race
Publications Listing, SRC
Popham's, N.Y. Times Reprint-12/1/57

November 5, 1958

Rev Norm Dickson, Jenn.

Mr. Robert D. Nicholson
309 W. 106th Street
New York 25, New York

Dear Mr. Nicholson:

Many thanks for your kind letter and contribution to the Southern Regional Council. This kind of appreciation from someone who has labored in the vineyard is deeply encouraging to us.

Your subscription to New South has been entered, and I am sending you separately a few of the materials which you may find of interest. Unfortunately, we do not publish an index to New South, but we will be glad, at any time, to supply you with information or material on any point that is of particular interest to you.

The film you mention is called "The Face of the South" and consists of an illustrated description "How the South Got This Way" by George Mitchell. It's distributed by the film section of the National Council of Churches and both entertaining and instructive. I hope you will have a chance to see it.

I will pass on your greeting to Ed Driscoll and Ed Lantz, and I know they will join me in kind regards to you and Mrs. Nicholson.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

WORLD YOUTH PROJECTS

ROBERT D. NICHOLSON, Joint Secretary
156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y., U.S.A.
Cable Address: Daybreak, New York

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
YOUTH DEPARTMENT

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
AND SUNDAY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION
YOUTH DEPARTMENT

November 3, 1958

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

In 1954 and 1955 serving on the staff of the United Christian Youth Movement, youth department of the National Council of Churches I had occasion to be working in the South in the establishing and servicing of ecumenical youth councils and the preparation and administration of training conferences. During that time I came to know of and greatly appreciate the work being done by the SRC.

Since that time I have completed seminary and become married. My wife and I are very interested and concerned with the problems that are facing the South. Her background is mostly in Ohio while mine is largely, sixteen years, in Texas with college years in Missouri. We have been helped by having and reading James M. Dabb's good work SOUTHERN HERITAGE. I have shared with her my background in the South and the limited work I did there on behalf of the UCYM.

We have decided that a part of being responsible Christians is to be informed and supporting such notable work as that you are carrying on. To this end we would appreciate your entering our name as a subscriber to the NEW SOUTH. Also if you have other descriptive information on the SRC we would be grateful to receive it. Should you have available an indeces of the past issues of NEW SOUTH we would be glad for that too.

$15.00
CR
rho

As a small token of our interest and support of the SRC we would like to make a contribution. You will find our check enclosed.

I was pleased to have the opportunity of meeting Dr. George Mitchell just before he retired. In a sense this is a belated word of welcome to you in this relatively new job!

The Department of Social Education and Action of our denomination, the United Presbyterian Church in the USA, I believe jointly produced with you folks a film or filmstrip on the South. Can you give me a line on that?

Very best wishes to you in your strategic ministry. Please remember me to two of your neighbors - both Eds - when next you see them - Driscoll and Lantz.

Sincerely yours,

Robert D. Nicholson

Robert D. Nicholson

Use below address for NEW SOUTH and
Reply to: 309 W. 106th, NY 25, NY

P. S.

I would be interested in knowing a little of you background. If its convenient could you pass along a copy of a news release or the like that would carry something along those lines?

August 13, 1959

Rev. Robert D. Nicholson
c/o Quaker Lake Camp
Climax, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Nicholson:

We are mailing you today a package of materials for the participants in the conference, as you requested. We are sending in quantities of 40 the following:

Statement by Emory professors
" by Atlanta doctors
L-8 Report, Race and Intelligence
L-6 Report, The Truth About Washington, D. C.
Special Report: Waiting Room Practices
New South
The Negro Voter in the South

We only have a few copies left of the statement by the Atlanta ministers, and this is included along with two copies of a Special Report: Background Summary on School Desegregation, and two copies of If the Schools are Closed and Race and Conscience in America. The last mentioned is put out by the Friends Service Committee and you may be able to get more copies if you would like them.

We hope that you and the participants will find these materials interesting and helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

MF-- Please ask LWD & Staff to follow through on Nicholson's suggestion # 3 as soon as possible.

HA please

August 12, 1959

Rev. Robert D. Nicholson
The First Presbyterian Church
Dickson, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Nicholson:

Thank you for your letter and the good suggestions concerning participants in the UCYM conferences. We will follow through on both of them.

I must apologize for the failure of New South to reach you. We have remedied the error and have sent you the back issues for 1959. It should come to you regularly henceforth.

Your interest in the Council, and ways in which we can be of service, is most welcome.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl

The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America

The First Presbyterian Church
The Pond Presbyterian Church
DICKSON, TENNESSEE

ROBERT D. NICHOLSON, PASTOR

HICKORY 6-2617

RECEIVED AUG 11 1959

August 10, 1959
VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

There are three brief but important concerns to share with you.

Put on NS. List & sent '59 back issues HCF

1. Please double check my subscription to NEW SOUTH and see that you have this new address - simply "First Presbyterian Church, Dickson." Unfortunatley, I did not receive any of the issues in 1959 except some I specifically requested. Could you then send to this address the '59 ones to date and insure that I am carried as a regular subscriber?

2. Last week I represented the National Council of Churches Youth Department (UCYM) staff in the South Central UCYM Training Conference. Note the enclosed folder. You likely are familiar with these very significant interdenominational, interracial, international conferences to train youth for cooperative action in their states and communities. In an interest group on "Race Relations" we had an unusually fruitful sharing among the Negro and white young people. Unfortunately none in the group knew of the SRC. Their names and addresses are attached. As these are <u>leaders</u> (both youth and adult) I think it would be good stewardship to send each a brief note, mimeographed, referring to this experience and simply share two or three descriptive pieces on the SRC (think NEW SOUTH and Dabbs book ought to be emphasized). Maybe if you have a back copy or so one could be shared with each. These are just some suggestions that occurred to me. My only real concern is that we follow up in some way this initial contact.

3. In the same catagory as "2" I will be in the Southeastern Conference the week of August 16th. Could you send to me at the address given in the folder some materials for distribution? I estimate there will only be around 40 present.

L-8 - Report
Manifesto
Negro Voters in the South
Writing room Special Report

Please forgive me if I seem presumptious but I do feel that the service you are rendering (within the framework and climate of Southerners speaking to Southerners) is most needed and one which I hope increasing numbers of our responsible church leaders will know about and use.

Best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Robert D. Nicholson

Robert D. Nicholson

Maybe Ed D. will be up at the S. E. Conf. or Ed L. or a group of Ga Y. P.

Rev. Robt. D. Nicholson
Quaker Lake Camp
Climax, N. C.

40 people

PURPOSE

- **To offer you a vital experience in the larger Christian fellowship.**
- **To help you study the real problems of young people where you live.**
- **To prepare you for interchurch leadership in your church, community, and state NOW.**
- **To help you make a stronger Christian witness in your church and community.**

PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

Personal Experience in one phase of the Ecumenical movement.

Wider Fellowship includes Christian leaders and young people of several denominations, races, and nations.

Study united approach to *Community* problems. Specific help for organization and leadership of UCYM councils.

Study of *Bible, Christian heritage,* and the *Ecumenical movement.*

Experiences in *interdenominational project planning:* evangelism, week-end work camping, Youth Week, etc.

Study of *commission* area plan in *interdenominational* youth work.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Every delegate must complete and send in a registration form and doctor's certificate.

All delegates are to attend the ENTIRE conference.

Your state or city council may make special transportation arrangements.

Register EARLY, so you will receive "The Last Word." It will give detailed information about the conference you plan to attend. (Hour of arrival, leadership, bedding, etc.)

WHAT TO BRING:

Serviceable sportswear, camp clothes, and school clothes.

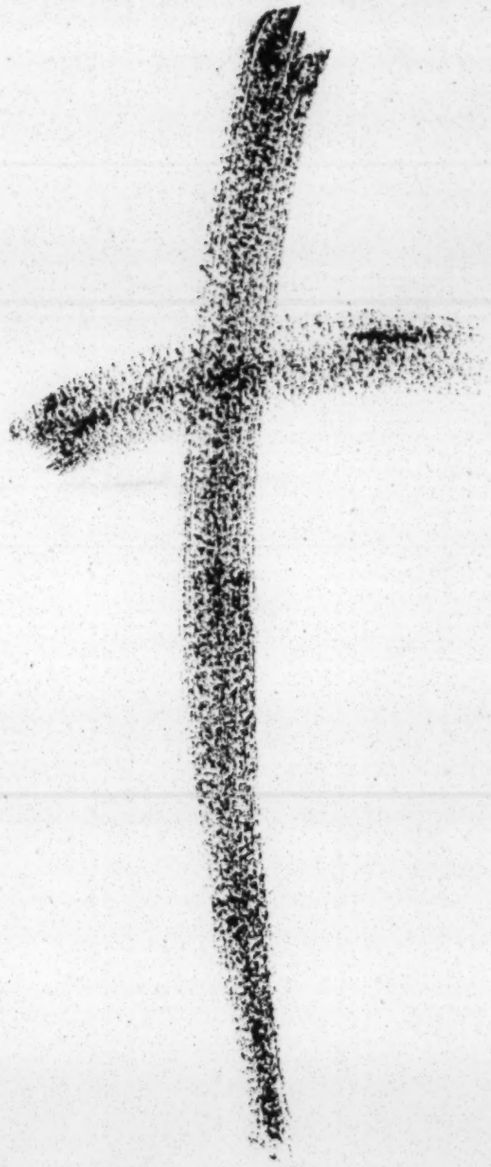
Bible, musical instrument, materials, reports, newsletters about your youth programs. No radios, please.

Money for books, offerings, incidentals.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION write your state, regional or national denominational youth headquarters, your state council of churches or religious education, or United Christian Youth Movement, administered through the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 257 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

UNITED CHRISTIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT
257 Fourth Avenue • New York 10, N. Y.

UNITED CHRISTIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT



1959 TRAINING CONFERENCES

FOR YOU who are youth 15-24 years of age and are . . .

- **Fellowship or interdenominational action chairmen in your youth fellowship in local church, district, presbytery, synod, conference, diocese, state, etc.**
- **Officers or leaders in United Christian Youth Councils—city, county, or state.**
- **Youth leaders in related agencies.**
- **Youth genuinely interested in Christian unity.**

Adult

- **Advisors to such a fellowship group.**
- **Advisors to United Christian Youth Councils in city, county, or state.**

Special permission must be obtained from the Conference Registrar if the above qualifications cannot be met.

1959 TRAINING CONFERENCES

NAME	DATE	PLACE	REGISTRAR	REG/RM/BD
South Dakota	June 7-13	Presbyterian Camp Rapid City, S. D.	Rev. Orville Hepler Box 1304 Huron, South Dakota	$20.00
Ohio	June 14-19	Bluffton College Bluffton, Ohio	Rev. J. A. Clark 141 North Front Street Columbus 15, Ohio	$6.00 20.00
Wash.-No. Idaho	July 1-6	Seabeck, Wash.	Rev. Gerald Pelton 2005 Fifth Ave. (4th floor) Seattle, Washington	
Virginia	July 13-17	Massenetta Springs, Harrisonburg, Virginia	Myron S. Miller 109 West Grace Street Richmond, Virginia	$ 5.00 15.00
Kansas	July 20-25	Camp Mary Dell Abilene, Kansas	Boyd Hughes 1111 Fillmore Topeka, Kansas	
Texas	July 26-Aug. 1	Lake Brownwood Christian Retreat Brownwood, Texas	Mrs. Wanda Vaughn 504 W. 24th Street Austin 5, Texas	$ 7.00 18.00
South Central	Aug. 2-8	Bethany Hills RFD 2 Kingston Springs, Tenn.	Harold Davis Box 5535 Memphis 4, Tennessee	$ 6.00 20.00
West Virginia	Aug. 3-8	EUB Acres EUB Conference Center Buckhannon, West Virginia	Rev. Carl Key 612 Virginia Street, E Charleston 1, West Va.	$ 7.00 15.00
Pennsylvania	Aug. 9-15	Camp Juanita Reedsville, Pennsylvania	Chauncey J. Varner 2403 North Front Street Harrisburg, Pennsylvania	$ 7.50 15.00
Minnesota	Aug. 10-15	Westminster Heights Presbyterian Camp RFD, Chaska, Minn.	Rev. Robert E. Kolze 122 W. Franklin Avenue Minneapolis 4, Minnesota	$ 6.50 15.00
Northeastern	Aug. 15-22	Geneva Point Camp Lake Winnipesaukee New Hampshire	Miss Lillian Schlick Hedding Methodist Church Elmira, New York	$10.50 24.25
Oklahoma	Aug. 16-22		Rev. Earl Kragnes 516 Braniff Bldg. Oklahoma City, Okla.	
Southeastern	Aug. 16-22	Quaker Lake Camp Climax, North Carolina	Dr. Boyd Daniels Box 6637—College Station Durham, North Carolina	$10.00 18.00
Central	Aug. 16-22	Conference Point Camp Lake Geneva, Wisconsin	Rev. Joe Grandlienard 308 Washington Building Madison 5, Wisconsin	$10.50 23.50
Chesapeake Area (Maryland-Del.-Wash., D. C.)	Aug. 29-Sept. 5	Washington College Chestertown, Maryland	Mabel Dawson 14 W. Madison Street Baltimore, Maryland	
California	Sept. 7-12	Idylwood Pines Southern California	James T. Smith 3330 W. Adams Blvd. Los Angeles 18, Cal.	
Iowa			Dr. J. O. Nelson 217 Securities Bldg., 418 Seventh St. Des Moines, Iowa	

Doctor's Certificate

I have examined .....

and believe ..... is qualified to attend Conference, take part in swimming and other outdoor sports.

Operation, serious illness, accident within past year?

.....

Nature of? .....

Heart Conditions? ..... Lungs .....

Athlete's Foot? .....

History of epilepsy, diabetes, convulsions, hysteria?

.....

..... Date .....

Doctor's Signature .....

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Name of your local church ..... Signature of your pastor

Young People's Fellowship ..... If an officer, state your position

Interdenominational Youth Organization ..... If an officer, state your position

If Youth Delegate, state age ..... If Adult, check here .....

Standing this fall in college ..... in high school .....

If not in school, your work .....

Please state your reasons for wishing to attend this particular conference:

.....

.....

After filling out both sides of this form, send it to your state council of churches or your denominational youth office for approval. It will then be sent to the Conference registrar. DO NOT SEND THIS CARD DIRECT TO THE UCYM NATIONAL OFFICE.

To the STATE or
REGIONAL YOUTH DIRECTOR:

Upon your approval, forward applications to the registrar of conference for which application is being made.

Approved by—

_____

State or Regional Youth Director

State Council, Denomination or Agency—

_____

_____

_____

REGISTRATION

Name (Miss, Mrs. or Mr.) _____ Denomination _____

Address _____ (Street) _____ (City) _____ (State)

Name of Parent or Guardian _____ Address _____

If delegate is unable to attend, fees will be refunded if notice is given the Registrar 10 days before the Conference opens.

REGISTRATION FEE ENCLOSED $ _____

Check the Conference you plan to attend:

- ☐ South Dakota
- ☐ Ohio
- ☐ Wash.-No. Idaho
- ☐ Virginia
- ☐ Kansas
- ☐ Texas
- ☐ South Central
- ☐ West Virginia
- ☐ Pennsylvania
- ☐ Minnesota
- ☐ Northeastern
- ☐ Oklahoma
- ☐ Southeastern
- ☐ Central
- ☐ Chesapeake Area
- ☐ California
- ☐ Iowa

Sent July/August 1959 NEW SOUTH
and
Congressional Record Reprint on SRC (Aug. 12, 1959)
M.F.
"At Suggestion of Rev. Rbt. Nicholson..."

Ann Chandler
1062 Hale Rd
Memphis 16

Marianna Waddey
211 N. Palisades Dr.
Signal Mtn., Tenn.

Steve George
311 Delgado Dr.
Baton Rouge, 8
Louisiana

Philip Swire
4756 Sweetbriar St.
Baton Rouge
Louisiana

Arnold L. Crump
3535 Calhoun St
New Orleans
Louisiana

Hunter Hobbs
139 Madison St.
Clarksville, Tennessee

Charles Robinson
1250 Central
Memphis, Tenn.

Paul Charles Bigby
1806 State St.
Little Rock, Ark.

Bill Wade
5205 Trousdale Dr.
Nashville 4, Tenn.

Nelson Campbell
108 Watauga Lane
Lookout Mtn. Tenn.

Ward Ewing
6603 Stone Mill Rd.
Knoxville 19, Tenn

Selina L. Pendergrass
566 Jackson St.
Kingsport, Tennessee

Susie Clayton
614 Signal Mtn. Blvd.
Signal Mtn., Tenn.

Helen Smith
3734 Calhoun St.
New Orleans 25, La.

John Kibbons
Terrace Place
Columbia, Tenn.

Barbara Reynard
4888 Loyola Dr.
Baton Rouge, La.

Noel W. Merrick
2229 Mandeville St.
New Orleans 9, La

Betty Schaeffer
2853 Hacks Cross Rd.
Germantown, Tenn.

Annie Estella Cavathan
318 First Street
Jackson, Tennessee

Esther Ewen
1009 Hanover St.
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Marilyn Hahn
RR #2, Box 103
Evansville, Indiana

Lynn Bartlett
1016 Rolling Fields
Columbia
Tennessee

Lu

Km 1/ NGA

Mamie H. Shields 3414 Cable Ave. Memphis, Tenn.
Jean Brothers 2619 Prentiss Ave. New Orleans 22, La.
Randy Rowland Box, 1 Belfast, Tenn.
Zaida Cesáreo Urb. Dávila 348 Bayamón, Puerto Rico
John Kibbons Jup Terrace Place Columbia, Ten
Bill Smith 664 Vance (Je 54929) Memphis, Tenn.
Alan Bryan 1267 Duane Rd. Chatt. 5, Tenn.
Ross Chearis 541 N. Cumberland Street Jackson, Tennessee
Jerry Talley White acres Lewisburg, Tennessee
Hedy Russo 230 Georgia Ave. Clarksville, Tennessee
Dixon Kirkland 309 James Blvd. Signal Mtn, Tennessee
Terry White 1905 East Virginia St. Evansville 11, Indiana
Richard Porter 1800 E. Capitol Ave. Little Rock, Ark.

February 20, 1961

Reverend Robert D. Nicholson
Minister of Education
Calvary Presbyterian Church
Jackson and Fillmore Streets
San Francisco 15, California

Dear Mr. Nicholson:

Your recent letter was most welcome, and your kind words about the work of the Southern Regional Council were warmly appreciated.

I am happy to send you the enclosed copy of our report "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights." In addition to the encouraging reception in the press, the report has had widespread attention within the new administration. We share your hope that President Kennedy will raise a new standard of leadership in the troubled area of civil rights.

I am sorry that we failed to register your change of address; that has been remedied, and we are mailing you separately copies of the New South issues since last October. You will also receive copies of our other materials issued from time to time.

Bob Hughes, the young Methodist minister who headed the Alabama Council on Human Relations, emerged from his ordeal with full honor. After he spent a weekend in jail, the local prosecutor withdrew the subpoena requiring Bob to produce his membership and contributors' lists. Instead, he was required to tell the Grand Jury only what he himself said to the New York Times reporter, which he cheerfully did. Bob has since accepted appointment as a missionary to Southern Rhodesia -- a long-held ambition which reasons of health had prevented his realizing previously. We are hoping that the Alabama Council will find an able replacement.

At your suggestion, we are sending material about SRC and New South to the Rev. Leslie Eugene Ellison of Winters, Texas. Thank you for this suggestion.

Fortunately, SRC has not been wholly dependent on any one source of funds. It is true that the Fund for the Republic, which was a major supporter for several years, has ceased to make grants for any purpose. The resulting gap in our budget is a large one, and it takes some struggling every year to fill it. Currently, we are having to seek a total of some $75,000 from new sources in order to maintain our program through 1961 at its current level.

The size of our budget and the nature of the organization mean that we must rely heavily on foundations for support. But individual contributions of whatever size are valuable and appreciated. If you know of persons or groups in that area who would be interested in the work of SRC, your good offices will be highly valued.

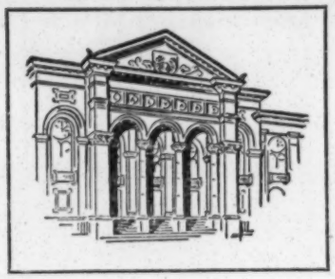
With kindest regards and good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. ("The Federal Executive...")

CARL G. HOWIE, PH. D., *Minister* · HOWARD F. NEWMAN, TH. D., *Associate* · ROBERT D. NICHOLSON, B. D., *Assistant*



CALVARY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

JACKSON AND FILLMORE STREETS · SAN FRANCISCO 15, CALIFORNIA

February 8, 1961

RECEIVED
FEB 10 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming,

It was most heartening to see very recently in the Monday, January 30, 1961 issue of the New York Times news of the civil rights proposals made by the Southern Regional Council and at the same time to see you featured as the "man in the news."

Our thoughts, interests and what monetary support we can give, continue with respect to the most strategic ministry the SRC is rendering in this day and age in the South an area most dear to our hearts.

This news article served to remind me that perhaps you have not received my change of address from the First Presbyterian Church, Dickson, Tennessee, to here. I glued one of your labels on a post card, I thought, and sent it in back in November. At any rate we do wish to keep abreast of the work and most useful studies of the SRC and from time to time make a contribution.

The last copy of the NEW SOUTH I received was Ocotber, 1960, and I would like to have copies of the issues since that time. Also copies of any important mailings.

In talking with George Lantz at the time of the National Council Convention here he mentioned that a grant under which you were operating would end in the somewhat near future. Is this so and when and what provisions are thought to be necessary to carry forward the work of the SRC and what might have to be dropped?

I would greatly appreciate a text of the statement you sent to President Kennedy. It would be good to refer to this in writing our congressmen from this state and our former state. I note in a news conference the President just concluded this morning his heartening indication that he would place his moral support behind the Supreme Court's action and work toward the goal of equal rights for all our citizens.

Again my thanks to you, Mr. Fleming and your staff colleagues. Congratulations on your coverage in the Times and know that you have our continued interest, prayers and support?

Sincerely yours,

Robert D. Nicholson

Robert D. Nicholson
Minister of Education

P. S.

How was the issue involving our young Methodist minister friend, staff worker in the Alabama Council on Human Relations, resolved with respct to his refusal to allow the state to go over his list of supporters?

Permit me to give you the name of

The Rev. Leslie Eugene Ellison, pastor
First Presbyterian Church
Winters, Texas

as one who would appreciate having some general information about the SRC, a sample copy of NEW SOUTH and perhaps one of your studies and if available a copy of the text sent to President Kennedy referred to earlier in this letter. Mr. Ellison is a very conscientous pastor, strong in his convictions but mediating in communicating them - the kind of man that is respected in a community.

Juniper 9-3072

Discussed by Jahoe + wanted this as for A.

1309 Dale Drive
Silver Spring, Md.
September 30, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Secy
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED 9/2/54
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have been recently appointed a member of a newly-created advisory committee on integration to the Montgomery County Board of Education. When I talked with Miss Osborne of American Friends Service Committee about this, she suggested that it might be helpful to me to be in touch with you.

The committee will meet for the first time next week, and I have been trying to learn something about what has happened in other parts of the country, what are the problems involved, what are considered to

be good solutions, what are good techniques to use, etc.

I would appreciate any material you could send me that would be helpful, and I will be happy to send a check to cover whatever charges are involved. For several reasons I think the going will not be easy in our county, and we need help! If you know of other material you think would be helpful to our committee, I would appreciate this information, too.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret E. Nolte

(Mrs. Walter J.)

October 27, 1954

Dictated October 25

Mr. and Mrs. Walter T. Nolte
1309 Dale Drive
Silver Springs, Maryland

Dear the Noltes:

You were mighty nice to take time and travel for the luncheon the other day, and to come out to the meeting the other day. I felt much upheld by your interest and presence.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

1309 Dale Drive
Silver Spring, Maryland
October 18, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
OCT 19 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I appreciate so much your phone call to me, and your letter attached to my thesis.

It seems evident that although there is a small Negro population in the county (6% plus), integration will not come easily. No doubt the fact that the Negro population is so small is a problem, in itself. The community will need a great deal of help in moving toward this goal.

We are very fortunate that you can come to the county ~~next~~ this week, because it is right now that all the people who are trying to work on this problem can use a lot of guidance.

The survey made in 1947 was under the auspices of the Council of Social Agencies, and was concerned with all of the social agencies. There was one section on the Negro in Montgomery County. I'll try to put my hands on a copy of it before you come.

A committee set up by the National Conference of Christians and Jews has been trying for two years now to do something about housing for Negroes in the county. Other groups have been concerned about it before, but I think this is the first group that has actually tried to acquire land and build houses. It has been a very frustrating experience and it has become evident to the committee that nobody intends to sell a decent piece of land to Negroes.

This is just for background. We look forward to meeting you. Thank you so much for the material you sent.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret E. Nolte

(Mrs. Walter T. Nolte)

October 14, 1954

Mrs. Walter T. Nolte
1309 Dale Drive
Silver Springs, Maryland

?

Dear Mrs. Nolte:

I read your thesis with deepening distress. Nothing wrong with the thesis! Good thesis! But frightening situation!

I hope you can tell us when I get up there what kind of a survey was made back in '47. It seems to me that some convulsive effort is going to have to be made to arouse public opinion and cause it to be willing to pay the taxes needed to apply modern services to this needy community.

I look forward to meeting you next week.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence

RECEIVED
11/23/54
Southern Regional Council

1309 Dale Dr.
Silver Spring, Md.
November 21, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

My husband and I had been intending to write to thank you for coming to our county, and then we were so pleased to have your note. You can see that we are very slow about these things.

We will long remember our luncheon conversation with you, and we were mightily pleased with the evening meeting. We have heard many comments about that meeting, all of which indicate that you made a real contribution to this county.

Nevertheless, Walter thinks I should be sure to tell you that the problem of integration is not solved in Montgomery County!

We hope you'll come back to see us again.

Walter joins in sending warmest greetings.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret E. Nolte

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$
S
E

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 (4-55)

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
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LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

APRIL 27, 1959

DR. J. NEAL HUGHLEY
NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

DEEPLY REGRET I CANNOT ACCEPT YOUR INVITATION FOR JULY INSTITUTE. ABSENCE FROM OFFICE PREVENTED EARLIER REPLY.

HAROLD C. FLEMING
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE AT DURHAM
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

April 21, 1959

Wired negative 4/27/59

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

A fundamental error was made in the letter just sent you under date of April 20. In paragraph three the reading should be "with emphasis on Topic II dealing with legal, political, economic and educational problems". We have just invited Dr. J. Oscar Lee of the National Council of Churches to discuss Topic III on moral and religious dimensions.

Very sincerely yours,

J. Neal Hughley/r

J. Neal Hughley

r

RECEIVED APR 22 1959

NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE AT DURHAM
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

April 20, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

During our Summer Session here at North Carolina College we plan to hold for three weeks a Human Relations Institute, July 6 - 25, 1959. Those attending will be primarily principals and teachers in public schools. Indeed, near the end of the Institute program our schedule will overlap with and include the tenth annual session of a Principals Conference, July 23 - 24.

The over-all Institute theme is Trends in Human Relations: The Southern Scene. There will be three broad subtopics as follows:

I. The Status of the Negro in America, Past and Present (Historical orientation)
II. Recent Trends in the South: Legal, Political, Economic, Educational
III. Recent Trends in the South: Moral and Religious Dimensions of the Situation

We are inviting you to be a principal leader and resource person to serve for five days, Monday through Friday, July 13 - 17. Lecture and discussion periods would be daily, tentatively set at 12 - 12:50, and at 2 - 4:00 P.M. You would give us a daily formal presentation under the general subject of "The Southern Scene As I See It", but with emphasis on Topic III dealing with moral and religious dimensions. On Saturday, July 18, a local man will speak to the group on "The Situation in the Durham Area and in North Carolina"; but you are not obliged to remain for the closing day.

We can offer you fifty dollars a day and expenses, that is, a total honorarium of $250.00, plus travel allowance and local housing, meals and entertainment.

We hope with deep earnestness that you are in position to accept, in which case we shall send you promptly any further details necessary. But we must know at once as to whether you are available, and trust that you can reply by return mail.

Very sincerely yours,

J. Neal Hughley /r

J. Neal Hughley

September 14, 1959

Miss Fay M. Blake
Non-Partisan Committee for Political
Education
601 South Vermont Avenue
Los Angeles, California

Dear Miss Blake:

While we would like very much to be of help in supplying the information requested in your recent letter, I regret that we are unable to do so.

The Southern Regional Council, as a tax-exempt organization is, of course, non-partisan and non-political. Therefore, it is necessary for us to engage in no activities which might cast reflection on that status.

I am sending, under separate cover, one of our most recent studies "The Negro and the Ballot in the South," which may be of some interest to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PAmf

NON-PARTISAN COMMITTEE FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

601 SOUTH VERMONT AVENUE • LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

HCF

August 25, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Gentlemen:

We are in the process of publishing a series of pamphlets dealing with various potential candidates for the Presidential nominations in 1960.

We are seeking especially the evaluation of your organization on any or all of the men listed below based on the national issues which you regard as most important:

Richard Nixon
Adlai Stevenson
Earl Warren
John Kennedy
Nelson Rockefeller
Hubert Humphrey
Lyndon Johnson
Stuart Symington
Edmund Brown

We shall also welcome any biographical material, photogrpahs, copies of speeches or any other data which may help the average voter to a better understanding of their public role.

We shall, of course, credit your organization for any material from you which we may use.

Sincerely yours,

Fay M. Blake

NON-PARTISAN COMMITTEE
FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION
Fay M. Blake

FMB:hmn

200

December 15, 1961

Mr. Paul Norgren, Project Director
Princeton University
Industrial Relations Section
Research Project on Minority Group Employment
82 Forrest Street
Stamford, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Norgren:

I am sending (enclosed) two copies of our Houston employment study. I am sorry for the delay; somehow your letter got sidetracked in the office shuffle.

I have asked that your name be put on a mailing list to receive future releases.

I remember quite well reading last year the outline of your study plans and we are greatly interested in the work you are doing. If there are ways in which we can be of use please let me know.

Let me know when you are coming to Atlanta, and I hope you can set aside some time to spend with us.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. 2

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

JM – ~~pls send~~ why don't we put ~~them on the~~ the IRS on Pacaud mailing list? Pls return letter to me: I'll ask & send report

Rs mail list st. 12/14

LD

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS SECTION
RESEARCH PROJECT ON MINORITY GROUP EMPLOYMENT
82 FOREST STREET, STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT
TEL. DAvis 5-1908

PAUL H. NORGREN, *Project Director*
SAMUEL E. HILL, *Associate in Research*

Project Advisory Committee
ELI GINZBERG, *Columbia University*
FREDERICK HARBISON, *Princeton University*
RICHARD A. LESTER, *Princeton University*

November 30, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Would you kindly send me a copy of the Council's recent report on utilization and waste of manpower in Houston, Texas, which was written up in the New York Times last week. As with other reports we have received from the Council, I am sure the report on Houston will be helpful in furthering the study of minority group employment we are conducting.

In carrying out our field research over the past several months, we have been keeping in close touch with Harold Fleming and John Hope, and have received much helpful information and counsel from them. Up to now we have made only a few spot field-work visits in the South, but we plan to do more in the near future. In the course of this work we will certainly plan to visit Atlanta. I hope there will be an opportunity to get together with you at that time and discuss the current Negro employment situation in the South and other matters of mutual interest.

We expect to have our future field-research plans firmed up by the end of December, and can then let you know more definitely when we plan to be in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Paul Norgren

Paul Norgren

LWD files

April 5, 1962

Mr. Ephraim Spivek
Norfolk Jewish Community Council
Post Office Box 11341
Norfolk 17, Virginia

Dear Mr. Spivek:

Mr. Albert D. Chernin of the National Community Relations Advisory Council has asked us to send you information about Carleton Putnam's Race and Reason and its use in Southern school systems. I am sorry to have been so slow in doing so, but I had hoped to be able to turn up information documenting specifically the extent to which it is being used. We do know that public schools in both Mississippi and Louisiana, in great number, are using the book. A copy of a Louisiana State Board of Education resolution in this connection is enclosed, taken from the November, 1961 issue of the White Citizens Council publication, "The Citizen." (This issue of "The Citizen," incidentally, is devoted almost entirely to Carleton Putnam.)

If you have not already done so, you will probably wish to get in touch with Mr. Heslip Lee, Director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, 114-B Broad-Grace Arcade Building, Richmond 19, Virginia, who will be able to provide you with further information on the book's use in Virginia.

Two Southern Regional Council publications prompted by Race and Reason are also enclosed.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

Enc: L-32
"A Virginia View of 'Race and Reason'"
'Race and Reason' to be Studied in Louisiana Schools

National Community Relations Advisory Council

55 West 42nd Street, New York 36, N. Y. • *Telephone:* LOngacre 4-3450

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C. E. ISRAEL, Cincinnati
JULIAN A. KISER, Indiana
CHARLES ZIMMERMAN, Jewish Labor Committee
Representing Association of Jewish Community Relations Workers
SIDNEY Z. VINCENT

Rec'd 3/7/62

March 5th, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Recently, Ephraim Spivek, executive director of the Norfolk Jewish Community Council, a member agency of the National Community Relations Advisory Council, wrote to us requesting information about Karl Putnam's Race and Reason. Mr. Spivek was concerned about its possible use in Virginia public schools.

I would appreciate your sending him any material you have about this book and how it is being used in Southern school systems. Mr. Spivek's address is:

Norfolk Jewish Community Council
Post Office Box 11341
Norfolk 17, Virginia

Cordially yours,

Albert Chernin

ALBERT D. CHERNIN
Director of Community Consultation

ADC/hl

PLENARY SESSION, JUNE 21-24, 1962, TERRACE HILTON HOTEL, CINCINNATI

cooperation in the common cause of Jewish community relations

NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

National Agencies

American Jewish Congress
Jewish Labor Committee
Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America
United Synagogue of America

Local, State, and County Agencies

Jewish Welfare Fund of Akron
Albany Jewish Community Council
Atlanta Jewish Community Council
Federation of Jewish Charities of Atlantic City, N.J.
Baltimore Jewish Council
Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Boston
Jewish Community Council, Bridgeport, Conn.
Brooklyn Jewish Community Council
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Cincinnati Jewish Community Relations Committee
Jewish Community Federation, Cleveland, Ohio
Connecticut Jewish Community Relations Council
Jewish Federation of Delaware
Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Detroit
Eastern Union County, N.J., Jewish Community Council
Jewish Community Council of Easton and Vicinity
Jewish Community Council of Essex County, New Jersey
Jewish Community Council of Flint, Mich.
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Norfolk Jewish Community Council
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Jewish Community Council of Paterson, N.J.
Jewish Community Council of Peoria, Ill.
Jewish Community Council, Perth Amboy, N.J.
Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia
Jewish Community Relations Council, Pittsburgh
Jewish Federation of Portland, Me.
Richmond Jewish Community Council
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Jewish Community Relations Council of St. Louis
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San Francisco Jewish Community Relations Council
Jewish Community Council, Schenectady, N.Y.
Scranton-Lackawanna Jewish Council
Jewish Community Council of Toledo
Jewish Federation of Trenton
Tulsa Jewish Community Council
Jewish Community Council, Utica
Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington (D.C.)
Jewish Federation of Waterbury
Jewish Community Relations Council of the Jewish Federation of Youngstown, Ohio

Sept. 27, 1963

NM MMJ

Please put the following person on our ALL PURPOSE mailing list:

Mr. George H. Esser
North Carolina Fund
107 E. Parrish Street
Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

thanx, mmj

Sept. 30, 1963

BCC

MMJ

Bernice,

Please send twelve (12) copies of V. Henderson's pamplet to Mr. George H. Esser, Jr. (Label attached).

Thanx, mmj

September 30, 1963

Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director
The North Carolina Fund
P. O. Box 1436
Durham, North Carolina

Dear George:

We are sending you twelve (12) copies of Henderson, under separate cover.

I, too, enjoyed our time together last week a great deal, and I feel very grateful to you for making the effort to come to Atlanta to talk with me. I am only sorry that Paul Anthony and Vernon Jordan were away when you were here, because I would like for you to have met them.

You have an awfully big job ahead of you, but an exciting one and I wish you every success. If at any time we can be of help, let us know.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND
POST OFFICE BOX 1436
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
27702

September 28, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I can't tell you how much I enjoyed and profited from our conversation yesterday. I only wish I had been able to get to Atlanta sooner.

On the plane back to Durham I had the opportunity to read some of the material you gave me, and I was particularly impressed by Vivian Henderson's study. I know that this was distributed to newspapers in North Carolina, because it has already been the subject of editorial comment. I would however like to distribute copies to each of our board members. Some of them, of course, have copies--such as John Wheeler and probably the Governor. I want to make sure that each member has a copy, and I would like to call on you for an additional 12 copies.

One of my problems now is to figure out how I can most effectively recruit a staff and at the same time move some of our community projects along. I need about three months more"lead time" than I have been given, but I suppose we all have those "impossible" tasks to perform.

I hope we will be in touch with each other frequently and don't hesitate to call on me if I can be of any assistance to you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

George

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

GHEJr.-lm

JS
MJ - file

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

RALEIGH

DAN K. MOORE
GOVERNOR

Box 584
July 9, 1965

7-15-65 is

See Gov.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

There is being sent to you a brochure published by the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council entitled, "At Work in North Carolina Today".

In this brochure, there are sketches of forty-eight individuals who have prepared or are preparing themselves for non-traditional jobs.

The General Assembly cut the appropriation for the Good Neighbor Council and/or its successor so much that I hope you can continue to send us the "New South" on a complimentary basis. This is a very valuable publication which all would miss reading. The General Assembly cut our budget from $34,600 to $25,000---what a cut.

OK
JWP

Yours truly,

D. S. Coltrane

D. S. Coltrane, Chairman
N. C. Good Neighbor Council

DSC:bjs

See Norfolk Ctee for the Improvement of Educ.

January 19, 1967

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Program Committee Chairman
2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia 23504

Dear Mrs. Mason:

Enclosed is our check for $500.00 to support your January 28 Conference on Education and Minorities.

At your convenience, please acknowledge receipt of these funds on the enclosed copy of this letter and return it to us.

Every good wish for a successful meeting.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km
Enclosures

Norfolk Committee For The Improvement
of Education, Inc.
Norfolk, Virginia
23504

January 17, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education will hold a One-Day Conference on "Education And Minorities" on January 28, 1967 at the Golden Triangle Hotel, Norfolk, Virginia. The sessions will commence at 9:30 a.m. and conclude at 4:00 p.m. At the conclusion of the morning session at 12:30 p.m., a luncheon will follow in the Ballroom.

The theme of the Conference is "Education And Minorities". The purpose, to help parents, educators and the lay public secure greater understanding of mounting problems facing the Negro in preparation for competitive, economic and social life.

We have a conference budget of $1,200.00 but through friends have met $400.00 of this cost. The total remaining includes:

Clerical staff	$400.00
Transportation	160.00
Overnight hotel and meals	105.00
Printing	60.00
Telephone	64.00
Honorariums	150.00
Total	$939.00

The luncheon at $4.00 each is self-liquidating as we are absorbing the reduced cost for students of $2.00 each.

We are asking the Southern Regional Council to underwrite the balance or as much of it as they can. We had asked Lester Dunbar if there was any way the Field Foundation could be of assistance. His reply:

> "If we could do something in response to your letter of December 28, I would certainly want to do it. This Foundation does not, however, as a matter of policy, undertake conference expenses. I am sorry to be so completely non-helpful to you on this important matter. Have you asked Paul Anthony's advice?"

There is a good future ahead for the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education. A fine young businessman, Leonard Strelitz, owner of Haynes Furniture store, the largest in town is a new member of the Board of Directors and chairman of the Finance-Budget Committee. He is completing his latest task, that of raising nearly a million dollars for a Jewish Community Center. As of February 15, he and a committee will set out to raise $20,000.00 the budget for 1967.

This will enable the organization to open a small office, engage a part time executive and clerical worker and really develop our Home Pilot Study project; conduct numerous public meetings, clinics, seminars as well as project Tutoring-Centers. He did not think it best to try and raise any funds before the campaign begins but considers the One-Day Conference a terrific buildup for the Finance Committee's job.

You'll be interested in knowing that the participants include:

Dr. Lyman B. Brooks, provost of Virginia State College,
Irving Sloan, Junior High School teacher in Scarsdale, New York,
Dr. Stephen Wright, Director of the United Negro College Fund,
Dr. Bennetta Washington, Director of Womens Centers, OEO, Washington, D.C. and
D. L. Lamberth, Superintendent of Schools, along with several local businessmen.
Thomas W. Young, Publisher of the Journal and Guide is moderator for the morning panel and Senator Henry Howell for the Luncheon and "Higher Education" panel.

Will send you a program as soon as they come from the press. I hope very much indeed that you can help us, assured that we are on the way to firm financial status.

Our grateful thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C Mason

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Program Committee Chairman
2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia

623-0120

Mrs. Henry Riddick
President

VCM/ug

PS Please return the enclosed clippings until I can secure another set. Dr Stephen Wright of UNCF is the luncheon speaker. vcm

File

Norfolk Committee For The Improvement of Education, Inc.

Norfolk, Virginia
23504

File

January 24, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Our grateful thanks for your prompt and generous response to the urgent plea in underwriting the One-Day Conference "Education And Minorities" to be held at the Golden Triangle Hotel on Saturday, January 28, 1967.

We are able to pay bills already contracted and meet other obligations as indicated in our letter. Everything is moving toward a highly successful program; members are working hard selling tickets. Participants are eagerly awaited.

Your support is a wonderful lift to all of us in this enterprise.

Again our thanks for all your kindness.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C. Mason

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Program Committee Chairman
2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia

MR

Mrs. Henry Riddick
President

VCM/ug

See Norfolk Ctte for the Improvement of Ed

58

Ret: MMJ

February 6, 1967

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Program Committee Chairman
Norfolk Committee for the Improvement
of Education, Inc.
Norfolk, Virginia 23504

Dear Vivian:

Thank you for the excellent report on your meeting. We are delighted to know that you had such a successful one.

Every good wish.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd 2/2/67

(3)

Norfolk Committee For The Improvement of Education, Inc.

Norfolk, Virginia
23504

January 30, 1967

2630 Chesterfield Blvd.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I thought you would be pleased to know the One-Day Conference was an overwhelming success. If 400 people attended, it would have been gratifying. Instead there were 600 adults, over 100 people had to be turned away, 300 students participated and 150 could not be accomodated. The meeting rooms seating 500 had people standing against the walls for all the sessions. The luncheon reservations closed on Wednesday the 25th. The Committee was besieged with requests for tickets. Everyone is talking about it, how was it done getting the fine speakers, selling the idea of Education and Minorities, the involvement of the clergy, the two colleges and the people. A dedicated committee spared no pains, the results speak eloquently.

The central core of the success was your personal concern and support. For days I was worried as to the outcome but your telephone call assuring the underwriting of the project lifted me immeasurably.

Television, radio stations and all three newspapers gave excellent coverage both before and after. Saturday night the stations showed the conference and quoted participants particularly Stephen Wright.

The Text Book Committee is hard at work with their programs. Preparatory Schools and College Committees have meetings scheduled with parents, students and counselors in February and March. Dr. Howard Jones, President of Mt. Hermon Academy will speak to different groups during a week-end period.

The Home Study Project is picking up speed as we secure more volunteers. The new program "Camping Scholarships" in northern camps for Negro youth is also underway. There is so much to be done--we haven't begun to scratch the surface.

We know now, however, that there ia a large body of citizens aware of and seriously concerned with the problems in education of minorities. That concern will be corraled to become identified with the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education.

Again our warmest thanks and appreciation for all your kindness.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian M

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Program Committee Chairman

VCM/ug

File
Norfolk Committee
for Improvement of
Ed.

October 30, 1967

Mrs. William Thomas Mason
2630 Chesterfield Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia 23504

Dear Vivian:

While I certainly understand, I too regret you will be unable to be with us for the Annual Meeting. We shall miss you.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Mrs. William Thomas Mason
2630 Chesterfield Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia 23504

Mr Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Friend:

For the first time since having the privilege of serving on the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council, I must forego attending the Annual meeting. I look forward with sharp anticipation to these meetings for the enjoyment and stimulation helps bridge the gaps when things are not going so well.

We have suffered a real loss in the passing of Tom Young. It doesn't seem possible that he is no longer here.

For personal reasons I am not able to attend but hope the meeting is as brilliant and eventful as in the past.

You will be hearing from me before too long.

My warmest good wishes to you, your staff and all the friends who will come together once more in November.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C Mason

October 27, 1967

#4

PITTSBURGH TENSE IN SCHOOL STRIFE

Student Boycott and Fights Result in Police Patrol

Special to The New York Times

PITTSBURGH, Nov. 4 — In the window of the Blue Bell Coffee Shop four blocks from Oliver High School on this city's North Side is a crudely written sign reading:

"Boycott. Don't go to Oliver until we get justice."

The sign reflects two days of racial disturbances that have brought this city its tensest hours since this country's civil rights movement became a pressing domestic issue.

For the first time in Pittsburgh history, armed policemen stood guard in the halls of a public school this week to maintain order.

A brawl lasting an hour broke out in front of the school Wednesday morning. Before it was over, 13 students and one policeman were treated at hospitals for various injuries. Some of the students suffered from the effect of being sprayed with the chemical Mace used by the police.

The police learned that the night before, Halloween, several white boys had roughed up three Negro girls going to a party near the school. The girls told their boyfriends, who waited outside the school Wednesday morning for the white youths.

Four white Oliver High School students were arrested on charges of assault and battery. Illegal possession of an air pistol and juvenile drinking were other charges filed against the white students.

A half-hour after Wednesday's disturbance broke out, 150 uniformed policemen in more than 40 vehicles converged on the gray 43-year-old school and sealed off streets leading to it. That ended the violence.

Angered by rumors of beatings and the use of tear gas, the students then went to St. Joseph's Church. James Robinson, a Negro vice principal at Oliver, and a police officer tried to answer students' questions but repeatedly were shouted down. Then David W. Craig, Public Safety Director, asked Charles Harris, a Negro leader, to spray him with the Mace. His eyes tearing, Mr. Craig sought to explain to the students that the liquid was not dangerous but decreased an individual's will to fight.

At noon on Thursday about two dozen Negro and white youths started a fight outside the school and on a nearby parking lot, and uniformed city patrolmen marched into the school.

"I don't know who has failed," Police Superintendent James W. Slusser, a youthful looking, crew-cut man, said, "but this situation has become intolerable."

Meeting of Students

A group of Negro students held a meeting Thursday and said they would boycott classes until four demands were met: uniformed policemen are removed from the school; the Board of Education meets with them to talk over their grievances; better communication is established between the student body and faculty; present history textbooks, which make no mention of Negro history, are replaced.

Only about one-fourth of Oliver's 1,031 students, about 33 per cent Negro, turned up for classes yesterday at the school. Policemen who had been detailed to patrol the halls were withdrawn and there were no further disturbances.

Those students who attended classes yesterday did so under a set of 12 rules that governed their conduct toward the police who lined each hallway. They also barred loitering.

Although the school was relatively calm yesterday, school and police officials, who said they believe outsiders, nonstudents, stepped up the disturbances, appeared restive. A committee of parents plans to meet tomorrow night in an effort to resolve the differences, which have been building up since last year.

HARLEM TO HEAR AFRICAN LECTURES

Scholars to Start Heritage Lecture Series Nov. 28

A group of scholars will hold a series of Harlem lectures on African heritage beginning Nov. 28.

The program, which will be free, will be sponsored by the Harlem-Morningside Committee on the African Heritage, which hopes to make people aware of cultural activity in Harlem.

Richard W. Hull, who teaches history at New York University and will deliver one of the lectures, said the series had been developed because so few in the area know that there is much in the way of literature available on their heritage.

'It Is High Time'

"I feel it is high time that universities here in New York take a more responsible position in regard to communities that surround them," he said. "They are now islands of university activities. The time has come for them to take part in ghetto life."

The lectures will be given at the Countee Cullen Library, 104 West 136th Street, and the Association of Trade and Commerce Building, 2370 Seventh Avenue, between 138th and 139th Streets. Talks will be on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 7:30 to 8:45 P.M.

Following are the speakers and their topics:

Nov. 28, Douglas Fraser, "A Survey of the Art of the African Negro."
Nov. 30, Leonard Jeffries, "The African Heritage."
Dec. 5, George Preston, "Art and Society in a Tropical African Culture."
Dec. 7, Graham Irwin, "The Ancient Kingdoms of the Western Sudan."
Dec. 12, Marcia Wright, "The Ancient Trading States of the East African Coast."
Dec. 14, Mrs. Jack Zeller, "African Medical Techniques in Uganda."
Dec. 19, Mrs. Peter Ritner, "The Historical Development of Apartheid in South Africa."
Dec. 21, Carleton Sprague Smith, "The Historical Connection Between Africa and South America."
Jan. 4, Nicholas England, "The Music of Africa."
Jan. 9, Richard Hull, "Political Organization in a pre-European African Kingdom — Katsina."
Jan. 11, Robert Browne, "The Sahara and its Contribution to African Development."
Jan. 16, William Hance, "The Changing Map of Africa."
Jan. 18, Thomas Livingstone, "The Problems of Teaching African Heritage in West Africa and the United States."
Jan. 25, Immanuel Wallerstein, "Social Change in Colonial Africa."
Jan. 30, Terence Hopkins, "The Development of the Ankole Kingdom in Uganda in the 20th Century."
Feb. 6, Alexander Melamid, "Economic Development in Tropical Africa."
Feb. 8, Wilfred Cartey, "Cultural Revival Through the Literature of Emerging African Nations."
Feb. 13, Williard Rhodes, "The Music of Africa."

Talks scheduled for Countee Cullen Library will be given by Messrs. Jeffries, Irwin, Zeller, Smith, England, Browne, Livingstone, Wallerstein and Cartey. The other lectures will be at the Commerce Building.

U.S. STUDIES RIOT IN PHILADELPHIA

Liberties Union Welcomes Move, Charging Brutality

By THOMAS A. JOHNSON
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 18—The Department of Justice has begun an investigation into the riots here yesterday in which 400 policemen clashed with more than 3,500 predominantly Negro high school students.

Clubbing by policemen, attacks on bystanders by the students, 57 arrests and at least 22 injuries marked the incident. There was no violence last night or today.

Students had gathered outside the Board of Education administration building at 21st Street and Benjamin Franklin Parkway while a delegation of 30 presented student demands.

The police say the students outside were disorderly, but school and civil rights officials disagree. When the police attempted to arrest one youth for standing on top of a parked car, students surrounded them.

Scuffle Ensues

A scuffle ensued, with each side blaming the other for starting it, and the general outbreak followed. Negro students attacked bystanders as they made their way back to the Negro district. Among the more seriously hurt was a 35-year-old telephone engineer, Robert W. Bell, who suffered a concussion and an eye injury.

Student demands included an over-all improvement in the education, more Negro teachers and principals, and the teaching of Negro history.

One student leaflet read, "Black youths in Philadelphia schools are being prepared for use as waste material."

The Federal investigation was disclosed by Spencer Coxe, executive director of the Greater Philadelphia branch of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. Coxe said that the Justice Department had requested names of witnesses to the disorders and that 13 witnesses had been turned over to the local office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

"If there was ever a case for Federal intervention, this is it," Mr. Coxe said.

"I mystelf was there, and saw children who were fleeing from the police repeatedly struck over their heads with nightsticks. I saw two children lying on the ground, each with three patrolmen beating them unmercifully with clubs."

Newsmen, office workers and clergymen have repeated these charges.

"I got sick to my stomach," one reporter said.

Police Commissioner Frank L. Rizzo, who comamnded the police during the disorders, has maintained that the police acted only when the student demonstration got out of hand and took on riot proportions.

He could not be reached for comment on the Federal investigation.

The inquiry was welcomed by School Superintendent Mark R. Shepp, who said:

"We are sure that a clear and careful investigation of the whole thing will reveal the wisdom of the position of the Board of Education and school administration handling the demonstrations."

Trouble Begins

He said that the police had agreed that no men in uniform would be assigned to the demonstration. The Civil Disobedience Squad, a plainclothes unit with experience in civil rights protests, was doing an adequate job, he said, until two busloads of uniformed policemen appeared.

Forty-two juveniles were among those arrested. They were charged with delinquency and released.

Charges against the 15 arrested adults were inciting to riot, riot, resisting arrest, disorderly conduct, assault and battery on a policeman, breech of the peace, conspiracy and interfering with a policeman.

All but two were released on bail of up to $500. William Mathis, 34 years old, who heads the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, and Walter Palmer, an official with the model cities program, are being held on $50,000 bail, each.

The high bail was requested by the District Attorney's office on the ground that it had information the two men had conspired to create disturbances in the school.

Two of the arrested adults were white — Lawrence Cameron, 28 a free-lance photographer, and the Rev. E. Marshall Bevins, 47, an Episcopalian minister and long-time rights activist.

Mr. Bevins said in an interview that he had been arrested trying to stop four policemen from beating a prostrate Negro girl of about 14.

'Don's Hit That Girl'

"I told a police official, 'Don't let your men use billyclubs' and he ignored me," the clergyman said.

"Then I ran to the four policemen and told them? 'Don't hit that girl,' and a policeman pushed me from behind and I fell to the ground. Then the policepicked me up and hustled me away to a police van."

The policesaid that the minister was taken into cuustody when he tried to interfere with the policemen making an arrest.

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR
THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

File

December 9, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Friend:

I'm so sorry I missed the Annual Meeting especially after reading the notes in the "Field Activities Newsletter." I enjoy the "Newsletter" immensely for its capsule delineation of important happenings.

Now again the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc. seeks your help and that of the Southern Regional Council. As the attached material shows, we are to have a Negro History Seminar February 9, 10, 16 and 17, 1968. This activity, I believe, will be the beginning of the inclusion of Negro History in the public schools. It is the purpose of the project to do just that, to open the way for Negro History to be taught in training classes for public employees especially police, firemen, social workers, housing authority staffs and others whose work makes it imperative for them to be grounded in the facts and significance of the Negro in America before the Mayflower and after.

We are delighted that John Hope Franklin will head the teaching staff. Everything is set as you will note from the enclosed. (Item 1) It seems particularly fortuitous in the light of what has happened in Pittsburg and Philadelphia. (Item 4)

The budget is also enclosed. (Item 2) The price is so constructed as to allow the greatest number to participate. The cost of the course, as you see, is just a little above the cost of the luncheons.

It's a bit hard to ask the Southern Regional Council to contribute to the support of this enterprise but I know how keenly aware you are of the necessity for such programs here in the south. We will receive some assistance from local friends but not at all like what is needed. Obviously, some of our southern donors will be troubled at the prospect of unvarnished truth being offered to the community instead of the whitewash and downright lies contained in books used in the school system.

We ask your help in suggesting individuals, organizations and/or foundations who possibly might contribute. Naturally, we would not mention the Southern Regional Council unless you thought it good strategy.

Included in plans for 1968 is the teaching of Negro History to children, Project: My Heritage and Yours.

You know how grateful I am for your support. The Norfolk Committee For The Improvement Of Education, Inc. depends upon my personal efforts and deep interest in this matter to develop a highly successful and meaningful Seminar: the results of which, we believe, will spread throughout the community.

Again our thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C Mason

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Program-Projects Chairman
2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia

Mrs. Henry Riddick
Chairman, NCIE, Inc.
2522 Barre Street
Norfolk, Virginia

Enclosed:

1. Negro History Seminar
2. Budget
3. Statement
4. Facsimiles
5. Report 1965-1966

VCM/jb

January 15, 1968

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Program-Projects Chairman
Norfolk Committee for the Improvement
of Education, Inc.
2630 Chesterfield Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Mason:

We have your letter of January 9, and I am impressed again by the diligence of the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education. Alas, we shall not be meeting to award grants for several months yet, so I am afraid we cannot help.

My board hesitates long and usually fatally about making grants for local projects; we don't do a great deal of it even here in New York. I am always glad to hear from old friends, however, and maybe sometime you would have something I could get support for.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

bcc: Paul Anthony

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

Negro History Seminar

Golden Triangle Motor Hotel *February 9-10, 16-17, 1968*

January 9, 1968

JAN 11 1968

Field Foundation
Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

My Dear Friend:

The Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education is hard at work on a project which we believe is of vital importance to the improvement of inter-racial relations in the Norfolk area, and as a matter of fact, throughout the wider community.

On February 9, 10, 16, and 17, 1968 this organization will conduct a twenty-six hour Seminar in Negro History, (Item #1). We believe a great beginning will be made in this community in recognizing the worth and significance of the past as the facts are known of the involvement of Negro people in the shaping and structure of American life. It will affect every aspect of life as children are taught in schools, as adults are brought face to face with a tremendous chronicle of life. Acceptance of valid ambitions and dreams of Negroes will produce greatly accelerated programs as joint alignments are more realistically forged.

Our program this year embraces a farreaching enterprise that will go beyond the Tidewater area. In order to properly finance this Negro History Seminar we need to have part of the expenses underwritten. The enclosed materials will tell the whole story.

I wrote to Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council seeking his help both for contribution if possible, and suggestion and as to others to whom we might appeal. He suggested that the Southern Regional Council would make a contribution, but not in proportion to the deficit. He suggested my writing to you for advice and possible help from the Field Foundation. This is a very large undertaking for such a small organization, but we have been greatly encouraged by the response to date. I do hope that you will be able to talk with your directors and that they will make some response to this appeal. You may know of individuals and/or foundations that might help.

Our warmest thanks and best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely yours,
Vivian C. Mason

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Program-Projects Chairman

VCM/pg

Enclosures

#1

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT
OF EDUCATION, INC.

Norfolk, Virginia
23504

NEGRO HISTORY COURSE

On February 9, 10, 16, and 17, 1968, a 26 hour course will be given on Negro History at the Golden Triangle Hotel, Norfolk, Virginia. This is the first time such a training course has been offered to the entire population of the area.

It is significant and sobering to note that in the recent student flare-ups in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia that among student demands listed is the teaching of Negro History in public schools. (Enclosure #4 facsimiles of articles in the New York Times)

VALUES

We believe this project will be the beginning of new attitudes and new insights into the manifest problems and frustrations of Negro people. Not only the majority group but the Negro himself does not know what he is and what he has done in building America. His past is a closed book that needs desperately to be opened in order that teachers, police and the population as a whole be schooled in the creation of new images.

Daring and tumultuous deeds, great insight and idealism have marked mankinds search and struggle for freedom - the Negro has been unacknowledged and unknown in this same struggle. An era where the Negro and his compatriots are zealously seeking ways to honorably join forces in achieving justice long denied, real knowledge about the Negro is absolutely essential. For millions, men, women, and children of both races, there is only the present: flamboyant, hostile; provoking fear and anger as every news media in the country details in exaggerated form the manifestations of America's sickness, her inability to find quick remedies for age-old cancers.

There is full cognizance that a 26 hour course cannot completely fathom the depths of historical data but it can offer a foundation of facts of Negro living in America, encompassing the past and reflected in the present. The terrible beginnings, the long night of injustice must be savored and understood, if the shadows of night still with us are to be finally dispelled.

PURPOSE

To prepare a way for the teaching of Negro History in public and private schools: ideally Negro History should be included as a part of American History but textbooks in use either omit altogether any reference to the Negroes historic role in America, or distort the facts or include only stereotypes as "Negro heroes." Until new textbooks are written, printed, and widely circulated, Negro History must be treated as Negro History. Imaginative teachers can in many ways join Negro History to classroom programs but teachers with such empathy and skills are not in great supply.

To counteract flagrant untruths contained in approved textbooks enabling teachers and parents to separate truth from fantasy. For example:

> "Life among the Negroes of Virginia in slavery times was generally happy. The Negroes went about in a cheerful manner making a living for themselves and for those whom they worked. They were not so unhappy as some Northerners thought they were, nor were they so happy as some Southerners claimed. The Negroes had their problems and their troubles. But they were not worried by the furious arguments going on between Northerners and Southerners over what should be done with them. In fact, they paid little attention to these arguments."

From "Virginia - History - Government - Geography" by Simkins, Hunicutt, Poole, published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York page 376.

Even in Negro schools, Negro teachers as a whole do not contradict this obvious canard, do not spur their students to seek the truth - the easiest way is followed, simply to go on to the next chapter. All teachers, Negro and white, need in great measure to be taught the facts.

To create understanding of the role of the Negro in the struggle for justice and freedom not as a modern day phenomena but as consistent objectives, taking on different aspects as events have dictated; always in keeping with the pattern of action characteristic of the same struggle by the majority group.

To provide disciplined anchorage for Negro students as they for the first time learn of their inherited identity with the American scene. Psychologically and emotionally the emergence of Negro heroes or heroic deeds, identical and even more so than their white counterparts will lift the individual, strengthening his self-image and self-determination. The majority group exposed to truth that cannot be refuted will begin the process of changing ideas accelerated by sweeping evidence.

To develop consciousness or awareness on the part of the majority group of the interdependence of Americans in the past and currently.

To instill knowledge or availability of information about the Negro through books written in the past and materials now in use.

To encourage subject matter for artists, writers, dramatists, poets, and essayists as the wealth of the past in all its ramifications becomes transformed from obscurity to that which can be discerned.

To popularize the teaching of Negro History

INSTRUCTORS

Classes will be taught by brilliant authorities in history including:

I. Dr. John Hope Franklin, historian, researcher, author and chairman of the History Department, University of Chicago.

II. Dr. Alphonso Castagno, Director of African Studies, Boston University and others.

CONTENT OF COURSE

The course will cover: "African Forebears", "Beginnings in America", "The Revolutionary War and The Negro", "The Struggle for Five Decades", "The Civil War and After", "The Freedman", "The Paradox of Freedom", "The New Century", "The New Patterns of the War Years and Beyond".

SEMINAR PERIODS

Classes will be held on Fridays and Saturdays, February 9, 10, 16, and 17, 1968.

Classes will commence at 9:00 A. M. with the exception of Friday, February 9, when the opening will be at 8:30 A. M.

INVITEES

A widespread promotion campaign soliciting registrations begins December 15, 1967 and continues until the registrations close. Everyone is invited to attend.

COOPERATION

School, police officials and other governmental agencies have consented to furnish substitutes for employees so that they do not suffer loss of pay for the Friday sessions. A number of organizations, including local Anti-Poverty officers have given assurance that parents and youth in the neighborhood centers will attend. Many church and civic groups have made known their intention of sending delegates. Other groups and individuals are being invited.

BUDGET

The entire course including four luncheons is priced at $16.00. Because of the spread of probable registrants, a price had to be fixed that would enable the greatest number to attend. Expenses for this enterprise must be underwritten by concerned friends of the Negro. Students in such projects as "Outward Bound" must be helped to attend as well as the poverty ridden fathers and mothers in the neighborhood Community Centers whose life history might have been different if they had been exposed at an early age to the lives of people like themselves who pushed, fought, worked and studied their way out of the ghetto.

In addition to the February Seminar, a seminar for children in 5 different locations in the area is in the making for the summer of 1968.

An outline of the budget is herewith attached. (#2)

COMMITTEES - IN - OPERATION

1. Overall Planning
2. Book Exhibits
3. African Program
4. Cultural Program
5. Promotion
6. Public Relations
7. Ministers
8. Organizations
9. Publicity
10. Auditing

Vivian C. Mason

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Chairman - Program - Projects
2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia

Mrs. Henry Riddick
Chairman, N C I E, I N C.
2522 Barre Street
Norfolk, Virginia

#2

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR
THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

NEGRO HISTORY COURSE

February 9, 10, 16, and 17, 1968

ESTIMATED BUDGET

I. INCOME

a. 300 participants @ $16.00 each $4800.00

- - - - - - - - -

I. EXPENSES

a. 100 participants - "Upward Bound" students and parents in anti-poverty neighborhood centers..$1600.00

II. PROMOTION

a.	Secretary @ $200.00 a month for 6 months.....	$1200.00
b.	Part-time clerical helper @ $80.00 a month for 6 months.....	480.00
c.	Postage.....	250.00
d.	Posters.....	70.00
e.	Supplies mimeograph paper - stationery - envelopes, etc.....	118.00
f.	Printing - announcements, programs, etc.....	324.00
g.	Telephone - rental of machines, etc.....	200.00
h.	Miscellaneous (transportation, etc.).....	150.00
		$2792.00

III. INSTRUCTORS EXPENSES

a.	Plane transportation.....	$ 300.00
b.	Hotel and other expenses.....	144.00
c.	Honorariums.....	500.00
		$ 944.00

IV. HOTEL COSTS

a. 1600 luncheons @ $3.25 each $5200.00

TOTAL EXPENSES $10,536.00

RECAPITULATION

Total Expense.....$10,536.00

Total Income..... 4,800.00

Deficit $ 5,736.00

File Norfolk Office for the Improvement of Education

File

Paul,

Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason of Norfolk, called yesterday to say that she would very much like to come to the February meeting but says she can't find the money to do so. I told her I would tell you about this since I didn't know whether SRC Board members were having their expenses paid by us.

She also mentioned that she wanted to talk further with you about funding her recent proposal. You will notice that Les has turned her down -- and your letter to her of December 13 stated that if Field did not react favorably for her to callyou collect and discuss other ideas.

She asked that I give you her best regards, and to tell you to take care of yourself.

mmj

File
Norfolk Cttee for
The Improvement of Educ.

December 13, 1967

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Program-Projects Chairman
Norfolk Committee for the Improvement
of Education
2630 Chesterfield Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Vivian:

While we could help your excellent program very modestly, we couldn't begin to provide the amount needed -- as modest as that is considering its value.

May I suggest, since you have the material already prepared, that you get off quickly the proposal to Leslie W. Dunbar, Field Foundation, 250 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017 with a covering letter asking him if the Foundation would be interested. Frankly, I doubt he would be, since his board is strong against giving to "local" programs, but it's worth the effort. If that doesn't work, give me a collect call and we'll discuss other ideas.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See: Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Educ.

February 6, 1968

Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason
2630 Chesterfield Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia 23504

Dear Vivian:

Enclosed is our check for $1,000 in support of the work of the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education in Negro history.

At your convenience please sign the enclosed carbon copy of this letter and return it to us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check: $1,000.00)

#2

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR
THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

NEGRO HISTORY COURSE

February 9, 10, 16, and 17, 1968

ESTIMATED BUDGET

I. INCOME

a. 300 participants @ $16.00 each $4800.00

- - - - - - - - - -

I. EXPENSES

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c.	Honorariums.....	500.00
		$ 944.00

IV. HOTEL COSTS

a. 1600 luncheons @ $3.25 each $5200.00

TOTAL EXPENSES $10,536.00

RECAPITULATION

Total Expense.....	$10,536.00
Total Income.....	4,800.00
Deficit	$ 5,736.00

#3

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR
THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

The Norfolk Committee For The Improvement Of Education, Inc. has worked faithfully since its inception to contribute to the recognition of problems in the community affecting minority groups. Education has been the focal point of inquiry and action. Among the projects, Head Start for children entering the first grade in 1961 and 1962; Tutoring and Cultural Centers, classes for parents and children involving testing programs, public meetings, seminars and other programs.

On January 28, 1967 a one-day seminar was held on "Education and Minorities." Five hundred persons attended and listened with rapt attention to 10 distinguished educators, businessmen, and government officials who explored the subject frankly and constructively.

On December 3, 1966 a public meeting was held on "Negro History." Speakers pointed out the wealth of information available completely ignored by teaching staffs. A resolution was sent to the State Board Of Education asking that Negro History books be included on the recommended textbook lists. A conference on the subject was held with Governor Mills E. Godwin, Jr., chaired by Dr. Jerome Holland, President of Hampton Institute. Mr. Godwin agreed that such materials as described ought to be on the recommended list of school textbooks. The following month a selection of books was included on the list sent out by the State Board of Education and to school officials.

#1

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT
OF EDUCATION, INC.

Norfolk, Virginia
23504

NEGRO HISTORY COURSE

On February 9, 10, 16, and 17, 1968, a 26 hour course will be given on Negro History at the Golden Triangle Hotel, Norfolk, Virginia. This is the first time such a training course has been offered to the entire population of the area.

It is significant and sobering to note that in the recent student flare-ups in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia that among student demands listed is the teaching of Negro History in public schools. (Enclosure #4 facsimiles of articles in the New York Times)

VALUES

We believe this project will be the beginning of new attitudes and new insights into the manifest problems and frustrations of Negro people. Not only the majority group but the Negro himself does not know what he is and what he has done in building America. His past is a closed book that needs desperately to be opened in order that teachers, police and the population as a whole be schooled in the creation of new images.

Daring and tumultuous deeds, great insight and idealism have marked mankinds search and struggle for freedom - the Negro has been unacknowledged and unknown in this same struggle. An era where the Negro and his compatriots are zealously seeking ways to honorably join forces in achieving justice long denied, real knowledge about the Negro is absolutely essential. For millions, men, women, and children of both races, there is only the present: flamboyant, hostile; provoking fear and anger as every news media in the country details in exaggerated form the manifestations of America's sickness, her inability to find quick remedies for age-old cancers.

There is full cognizance that a 26 hour course cannot completely fathom the depths of historical data but it can offer a foundation of facts of Negro living in America, encompassing the past and reflected in the present. The terrible beginnings, the long night of injustice must be savored and understood, if the shadows of night still with us are to be finally dispelled.

PURPOSE

To prepare a way for the teaching of Negro History in public and private schools: ideally Negro History should be included as a part of American History but textbooks in use either omit altogether any reference to the Negroes historic role in America, or distort the facts or include only stereotypes as "Negro heroes." Until new textbooks are written, printed, and widely circulated, Negro History must be treated as Negro History. Imaginative teachers can in many ways join Negro History to classroom programs but teachers with such empathy and skills are not in great supply.

To counteract flagrant untruths contained in approved textbooks enabling teachers and parents to separate truth from fantasy. For example:

> "Life among the Negroes of Virginia in slavery times was generally happy. The Negroes went about in a cheerful manner making a living for themselves and for those whom they worked. They were not so unhappy as some Northerners thought they were, nor were they so happy as some Southerners claimed. The Negroes had their problems and their troubles. But they were not worried by the furious arguments going on between Northerners and Southerners over what should be done with them. In fact, they paid little attention to these arguments."

From "Virginia - History - Government - Geography" by Simkins, Hunicutt, Poole, published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York page 376.

Even in Negro schools, Negro teachers as a whole do not contradict this obvious canard, do not spur their students to seek the truth - the easiest way is followed, simply to go on to the next chapter. All teachers, Negro and white, need in great measure to be taught the facts.

To create understanding of the role of the Negro in the struggle for justice and freedom not as a modern day phenomena but as consistent objectives, taking on different aspects as events have dictated; always in keeping with the pattern of action characteristic of the same struggle by the majority group.

To provide disciplined anchorage for Negro students as they for the first time learn of their inherited identity with the American scene. Psychologically and emotionally the emergence of Negro heroes or heroic deeds, identical and even more so than their white counterparts will lift the individual, strengthening his self-image and self-determination. The majority group exposed to truth that cannot be refuted will begin the process of changing ideas accelerated by sweeping evidence.

To develop consciousness or awareness on the part of the majority group of the interdependence of Americans in the past and currently.

To instill knowledge or availability of information about the Negro through books written in the past and materials now in use.

To encourage subject matter for artists, writers, dramatists, poets, and essayists as the wealth of the past in all its ramifications becomes transformed from obscurity to that which can be discerned.

To popularize the teaching of Negro History

INSTRUCTORS

Classes will be taught by brilliant authorities in history including:

I. Dr. John Hope Franklin, historian, researcher, author and chairman of the History Department, University of Chicago.

II. Dr. Alphonso Castagno, Director of African Studies, Boston University and others.

CONTENT OF COURSE

The course will cover: "African Forebears", "Beginnings in America", "The Revolutionary War and The Negro", "The Struggle for Five Decades", "The Civil War and After", "The Freedman", "The Paradox of Freedom", "The New Century", "The New Patterns of the War Years and Beyond".

SEMINAR PERIODS

Classes will be held on Fridays and Saturdays, February 9, 10, 16, and 17, 1968.

Classes will commence at 9:00 A. M. with the exception of Friday, February 9, when the opening will be at 8:30 A. M.

INVITEES

A widespread promotion campaign soliciting registrations begins December 15, 1967 and continues until the registrations close. Everyone is invited to attend.

COOPERATION

School, police officials and other governmental agencies have consented to furnish substitutes for employees so that they do not suffer loss of pay for the Friday sessions. A number of organizations, including local Anti-Poverty officers have given assurance that parents and youth in the neighborhood centers will attend. Many church and civic groups have made known their intention of sending delegates. Other groups and individuals are being invited.

BUDGET

The entire course including four luncheons is priced at $16.00. Because of the spread of probable registrants, a price had to be fixed that would enable the greatest number to attend. Expenses for this enterprise must be underwritten by concerned friends of the Negro. Students in such projects as "Outward Bound" must be helped to attend as well as the poverty ridden fathers and mothers in the neighborhood Community Centers whose life history might have been different if they had been exposed at an early age to the lives of people like themselves who pushed, fought, worked and studied their way out of the ghetto.

In addition to the February Seminar, a seminar for children in 5 different locations in the area is in the making for the summer of 1968.

An outline of the budget is herewith attached. (#2)

COMMITTEES - IN - OPERATION

1. Overall Planning
2. Book Exhibits
3. African Program
4. Cultural Program
5. Promotion
6. Public Relations
7. Ministers
8. Organizations
9. Publicity
10. Auditing

Vivian C. Mason

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Chairman - Program - Projects
2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia

Mrs. Henry Riddick
Chairman, N C I E, I N C.
2522 Barre Street
Norfolk, Virginia

EXHIBIT I

STUDY

on

THE NORFOLK COMMITTEE

For The

IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION

by

Health-Welfare-Recreation
Planning Council

1963

STUDY COMMITTEE

Henry Hunter, Chairman

Harold Sugg

William Worthington

EX-OFFICIO

Mrs. Virgil F. Laws, President

and

Preston Blake, Jr., Chairman-Pro Tem
Family & Child Welfare Division

Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council

STAFF CONSULTANTS

George F. Rice, Executive Secretary
Keith L. Williams, Director, Family & Child Welfare Division

PREFACE

This is a publication of the Health - Welfare - Recreation Planning Council. In its work the Council is responsible for:

a. Studying and acquiring a thorough knowledge of community needs and services.

b. Analyzing available resources and then developing from that analysis a balanced program or programs designed to meet community needs.

c. Formulating practical, consistent and comprehensive policies to effect efficient and economical inter-agency cooperation and service.

In addition, the Planning Council acts in an advisory capacity to the Budget Committee of the United Communities Fund; sponsors the Volunteer Service Bureau; and operates the Social Service Exchange, the Information and Referral Center on Health, Recreation, and Welfare as well as the Attorney's Referral Service in conjunction with the Norfolk - Portsmouth Bar Association.

Council services are available to public and voluntary non-profit organizations functioning in the health, recreation and welfare field. Additional copies of this study are available upon request to:

Health - Welfare - Recreation Planning Council
100-A Royster Building
Norfolk, Virginia

m2-7896

STUDY

On

THE NORFOLK COMMITTEE

For The

IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION

In 1961, the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education requested a grant from the Norfolk Foundation to establish a summer education project for Negro children (Pre-school through the 4th grade) in East Ghent.[1] The Foundation acted favorably upon the request, viewing the Norfolk Committee's project as a reasonable approach to furthering the public school educational achievement of Negro children. The following year, 1962, the Norfolk Committee applied for a second grant; and based upon the project's apparent achievement in the preceding year, the Foundation made an appropriation of $1,460. The grant, however, was contingent upon the Committee's cooperation with the Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council in an evaluation of their program. The Foundation then formally requested a study by the Planning Council in correspondence dated July 3, 1962. The request was acted upon by the Planning Council Board of Directors on September 19, 1962; and the establishment of a Study Committee was authorized.

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[1]For the purposes of this Study, East Ghent is defined as that area within the following boundaries: (see map Appendix B)

North:	Princess Anne Road	East:	Granby Street
South:	West Olney Road	West:	Colonial Avenue

622-9768

Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council

Study on the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education

STUDY SCOPE:

Although the primary objective of the Study was to determine the appropriateness of Foundation Grants to the education project of the Norfolk Committee, this necessarily involved:

1) The examination of environmental and social conditions in East Ghent.

2) The review of existent services and facilities, public and voluntary, available to residents of East Ghent.

3) The consideration of neighborhood plans, rehabilitative in nature, using self-help type programs to encourage personal initiative and citizen development among adults and children in East Ghent.

During the course of its work, the Study Committee received valuable assistance and cooperation from many individuals as well as both public and voluntary organizations. To all of these people and groups, the Study Committee is deeply indebted for their readiness and willingness to serve their community.

Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council

Study on the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education

FINDINGS:

The organization and aims of the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education[2] are detailed in Appendix A of the Study, which also contains a full description of the physical and social environment of the East Ghent Area. In this regard, it is plain that East Ghent stands not only as a blighted neighborhood to the City of Norfolk and its citizens collectively, but also as a living social blight to those who reside within its boundaries. The area in many respects is such a wasteland in both human and economic terms that question arises as to whether there can be expected from the residents concerned, the property owners involved, or the City itself the extensive commitment of effort required to improve and then stabilize an acutely deteriorated area to a reasonable standard for human habitation. It is in recognition of these facts that the following is presented:

1) The Norfolk Committee in its East Ghent effort has been instrumental in awakening neighborhood citizen concern to present physical and social deterioration in the area as well as the need for the residents to assume such citizen responsibility as to warrant cooperative community effort in their behalf.

2) The pilot work undertaken by the Norfolk Committee in East Ghent now incorporates two phases of activity with a third endeavor projected:

   a) A summer tutorial program begun in 1961 for pre-school and school-age children through the 4th grade. The program objective is to provide children from deprived social and economic backgrounds with academic assistance, and also to inspire in them an interest in educational achievement.

      1) This type of program, though experimental in Norfolk, is a large-scale project under public school auspices in Boston, Chicago, and New York City.

   b) An adult self-help training program with the objective of developing in East Ghent citizens' interest and participation

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[2]The Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education is referred to in the Study as the "Norfolk Committee".

in the improvement of their living conditions and family aspirations. The first step in this program was conducted during the period of December, 1962 through February, 1963 and involved the Boy and Girl Scouts, the Hunton YMCA, and the Phyllis Wheatley Branch YWCA in a leadership training course which 11 East Ghent residents completed. The additional steps entailed in this program remain to be planned and executed.

c) A projected East Ghent Center--a neighborhood type settlement house incorporating both recreation and training programs for children and adults. The traditional settlement house approach, though new to the Norfolk area, has been used successfully in other cities since the late 1800's. The primary purpose has been service to depressed areas in which the actual program is determined by the needs of those residing in the neighborhood. For example: adult services may include cooking, sewing, personal hygiene, family budgeting, etc., while youth services may include recreational activities, training in homemaking, educational assistance, etc. The facility is located in the neighborhood to be served or immediately adjacent, so that, in effect, it can become influential in the guidance of the residents, the prevention of further social breakdown, and the development of constructive ideals and pursuits.

3) Although the initial interest of the Norfolk Committee centered primarily on a pre-school and school-age tutorial education type program, the Committee has broadened its scope and is setting forth the establishment of an East Ghent Center as their present major objective.[3]

a) This change would appear to indicate recognition on the part of the Norfolk Committee that a broad type of neighborhood program effectively reaching both adults and youth would have greater impact upon East Ghent residents than a singular approach immediately affecting only 50 to 70 children or ranging between 1.6% to 2.5%[4] of the population.

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[3]Letter, December 6, 1962; Mrs. W. T. Mason to Norfolk Community Fund

[4]Letter, September 14, 1962; Norfolk Department of Public Health, estimated population East Ghent 2,800 to 3,000 individuals.

Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council

Study on the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education

FINDINGS CONT'D:

4) The Norfolk Committee's educational activities with the pre-school and school-age child, indicative of their strong interest in the educational development of the Negro child, should be in the encouragement of the Norfolk Public School Board to assume responsibility for such service as is necessary to meet the educational needs of children in the neighborhood.

   a) Pre-school educational orientation of students as well as semi-tutorial or remedial assistance to school-age children is a public responsibility and cannot be realistically met in fragmented voluntary effort.

5) The Norfolk School Board has established a pre-school pilot program at Douglas Park School as a method to "demonstrate how school experiences prior to entrance for first grade instruction may provide for some of the academic needs of the pupils".[5]

6) The activity of the members of the Norfolk Committee indicates an ability on their part to initiate development of neighborhood leadership and citizen participation among the Negroes in East Ghent.

   a) This type of activity and the promotion of individual responsibility among the East Ghent residents is a voluntary group function, and the Norfolk Committee has been at the forefront in spearheading such a development.

7) Characteristics of East Ghent area:

   a) Population[6]

1)	Number of residents	=	2,800 - 3,000
2)	Occupancy	=	95% Negro (minimum)
3)	Average per household	=	4.1 individuals

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[5] Journal & Guide, January 10, 1963; "Unique Education Program Going Into Effect in Norfolk In Summer".

[6] Letter, September 14, 1962; Norfolk Public Health Department.

4:30 Wcks. upd
1-
11:00-

Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council

Study on the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education

FINDINGS CONT'D:

b) Physical structures:

1)	No. of dwelling units	=	823
2)	No. of residential structures	=	350
3)	Structures with full plumbing facilities (hot water, kitchen sink, full pvt. bath)	=	210
4)	Structures lacking one or more sanitary facilities	=	140

c) Neighborhood contitions:

Field observation indicates a degree of continuing deterioration; as evidenced by the following environmental and housing action during the period of January First through June Thirieth, 1962, by the Norfolk Department of Public Health:

Complaints (rodents, refuse, sewerage)	=	28
Patrols	=	144
Housing structure complaints	=	15

8) The residents comprising East Ghent are, in many respects, a diverse, heterogeneous group, evidencing little neighborhood cohesion, interest or pride. Although it is estimated that 50% of the population are those relocating within the City of Norfolk, it is equally evident that these are the families and individuals least able to provide adequately for themselves. Educationally, it is believed that approximately 10% of the adults may have had some high school training, whereas the vast majority of the remainder have completed no more than the third or fourth grade. The common occupation among the men is that of laborer and among the women that of day-worker.

a) Under these conditions, youth and children receive little incentive from their families and associates relative to good citizenship or personal achievement. The common denominator, instead, becomes the perpetuation of illiteracy, irresponsible behavior, and ultimate dependency on the community for the necessities of life.

Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council

Study on the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education

FINDINGS CONT'D:

9) The challenge to a city and its people in the resolution of social problems in a blighted area such as East Ghent is appealing. However, a resolution of this type and degree of social problem is also an extremely difficult task to which no American city has found a specific answer. In this regard, it would be a serious underestimation of the East Ghent situation to believe that good intentions or other palliative efforts, even sincerely directed will result in any significant change for the better.

   a) The Ford Foundation, according to its 1962 annual report, appropriated $13.5 million for comprehensive attacks on the human problems of urban "gray" areas during the fiscal year ended September 30, 1962. The "gray" areas were defined as changing neighborhoods inhabited by low-income families, racial minorities and migrants from rural areas and other cities. Initial grants were $1.9 million in Boston; $2.5 million in New Haven and $2 million in Oakland, California, with additional grants in Baltimore, New York City, and Cleveland.

10) The proposed establishment of an East Ghent Center as a neighborhood or settlement house type of operation is one possible approach to the problems in East Ghent. In neighborhoods which have an appreciable degree of citizen interest and cooperation, such centers can be quite effective in providing leisure time activities, meeting room facilities and otherwise serving the interests and desires of the neighborhood. East Ghent is not considered to be ready as yet for a program of this advanced nature which requires broadly constituted, grass-roots neighborhood support for its success. Under present circumstances a more timely, fruitful and economical approach would be:

   a) Establishment of a committee broadly representative of the general community, as well as East Ghent, to be specifically concerned with the East Ghent situation.

   b) Employment of a staff person to assist the Committee, the duties of such a position to include:

      1) Development of an intimate knowledge of the East Ghent community with particular emphasis upon the people who live there, their problems, abilities, interests and aspirations.

Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council

Study on the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education

FINDINGS CONT'D:

2) In concert with the Committee, the formulation and implementation of a planned program of specific activity designed to involve residents in self-help and neighborhood betterment programs.

3) Coordination and direction of all such programs in the area including efforts to enlist participation of presently existing agencies including schools; churches; civic groups; voluntary and tax-supported health, welfare and recreation agencies as well as that of interested citizens.

Features of such a plan as opposed to the establishment of a neighborhood center are:

a) Economy of operation:

1) Capital outlay would be minimal.

2) There could be more coordinated employment of existing services reducing or eliminating the need for duplication.

b) The program can be almost infinitely flexible without dependence on a fixed building, and could be easily and quickly adapted to serve other areas of the city if deemed advisable and necessary.

c) A higher probability of project success when the citizens of the area are directly involved in developing their own program than if services are made available and directed by an outside group.

11) Public recreation facilities available in the area to East Ghent residents are negligible; and the service of voluntary agencies (Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Hunton YMCA and Phyllis Wheatley Branch YWCA) is centered mainly on cooperative effort with the Norfolk Committee toward the basic development of resident leadership. This represents a significant first step, but its success ultimately depends upon the manner in which it is tied into an over-all neighborhood plan.

a) It is recognized that public and voluntary recreation agencies are confronted with service demands equal to or greater than their present ability to render. Thus, under present conditions, the services which they can initiate in East Ghent are distinctly limited unless there is a corresponding "thinning out" of their programs in other sections.

Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council

Study on the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education

FINDINGS CONT'D:

b) An over-all neighborhood program could provide the impetus necessary for the development of resources upon which scouting and other service organizations could build their activities.

c) Public and voluntary recreation services in East Ghent could be more effectively coordinated and programmed to meet the needs of the community under the guidance of a committee intimately associated with the conditions there.

12) The success of such a neighborhood centered approach as outlined in Finding #10 is dependent upon broad public and voluntary support in the City of Norfolk.

a) This will require firm conviction on the part of the City that it is ready to participate in a direct attack on blight conditions in East Ghent with the full resources at its command. The new Minimum Housing Code is a first step; a second and equally vital step is the support of citizen services in the operation of neighborhood-centered activity.

13) In Norfolk, the establishment of services directed to the social habilitation of people as community citizens, is a project which would warrant the participation of voluntary groups and civic organizations along with the City during its initial phase.

a) The education, habilitation and rehabilitation of people to their optimum functioning capacity has been and is an American challenge. It is a practical consideration that through experimentation in East Ghent, answers may be found appropriate to the resolution of similar type social problems in other areas of the City.

Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council

Study on the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education

RECOMMENDATIONS:

The Norfolk Committee has been largely responsible for arousing community concern over East Ghent. There is no doubt that this is an area in desperate need of concerted action. Clearly, physical rebuilding and property improvement represent an importnat aspect in the future of East Ghent, but human rehabilitation is also basic to the ultimate realization of improved living conditions in that area.

The Norfolk Committee in its proposal contemplates three new services: tutorial aid for children, adult self-help training, and a neighborhood center. It is in relation to these proposals as well as the Study Committee's analysis of the East Ghent situation that the following recommendations are made:

1) The Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education participate with the Family and Child Welfare Division of the Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council in the appointment of an East Ghent Project Committee to be specifically concerned with the social, cultural, and moral rehabilitation of this neighborhood as defined on page 1.*

   a) Such a Project Committee to be composed of eleven persons broadly representative of leadership in the Negro community with not less than three nor more than five members to be selected from residents of the East Ghent area as defined. This Committee to have as its function the development of a specific neighborhood centered program similar to that outlined in Finding #10.

   b) The Committee should retain a qualified Project Director to participate in the formulation of plans and to implement the program when designed with necessary guidance and direction being made available by the Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council and its respective professional advisory committees. In this manner, the East Ghent Project and its Director could have as an advisory group Family and Child Welfare Executives whose agencies serve the City of Norfolk as well as the Executives of the Hunton YMCA and Phyllis Wheatley Branch YWCA.

   c) The project to be subject to complete evaluation at the end of the first year of operation and to terminate at the conclusion of the second year unless demonstrated evidence exists that significant results warrant its continuation.

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*The Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education has agreed that a neighborhood approach to the problems of East Ghent is sound and it is willing to participate in the formulation of a East Ghent Project Committee.

Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council

Study on the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education

RECOMMENDATIONS CONT'D:

2) The East Ghent Project be financed through a special request to the Norfolk Foundation for a two year pilot program in accord with the principle of using Foundation funds in demonstration projects of a limited time period.

   a) Should the Foundation not be in a position to underwrite the full cost of the project, additional support by the United Communities Fund would appear warranted in terms of deficit financing during the two year period of the pilot program.

   b) The budget of the East Ghent Neighborhood Project is estimated at:

Salary - Project Director (range)	$6500 to $7500
Office Materials - Stationery supplies, postage, etc.	300
TOTAL:	$6800 to $7800

   Clerical assistance as required could initially be handled through the assistance of the advisory agencies relative to correspondence and reproduction of materials.

   c) Should the evaluation of the pilot program as stated under Recommendation #1 justify its continuation, there would also be necessary a re-determination of financing resources in recognition of the fact that the Norfolk Foundation and/or the United Communities Fund assistance was projected on a two year basis.

3) The Norfolk City Recreation Bureau establish intensive programs for children and adults in the East Ghent area in support of the contemplated activities of the East Ghent Committee.

4) The City of Norfolk through appropriate departments fully enforce the Minimum Housing Code in the East Ghent area.

5) The Norfolk School Board undertake a pilot program for the preschool child in the East Ghent area similar to that now approved for operation at the Douglas Park School between July 15th and August 23rd, 1963.

Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council

Study on the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education

RECOMMENDATIONS CONT'D:

6) Additional programing by public and voluntary Recreation and Social Welfare agencies in East Ghent should be coordinated with the work of the East Ghent Project Committee to ensure maximum neighborhood benefit from the community services which are rendered.

7) The Norfolk Foundation withdraw grant support from the activities of the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education and such grant funds as may be considered appropriate be applied toward the cost of an East Ghent program as set forth in Recommendations #1 and #2.

APPENDIX A

THE NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION

Background:

In January, 1961, Mrs. W. T. Mason and Dr. William F. Brazziel, Director, General Education, Norfolk Division-Virginia State College, convened a meeting of public school educators and interested lay people relative to the education of Negro children. It was noted by Mrs. Mason that in administering a small private school program for Negroes, from September, 1958 to February, 1959, the inadequacy of the Negro child's educational level became evident in comparison to chronological age and expected level of performance. Additionally, in public school tests, conducted by the State of Virginia in 1959-60, it was indicated that Negro children were below average in educational attainment. As a result of the presentation of these facts, it was a consensus of those present that there should be organized a specific group to concern itself with the educational problems of Negro children and "The Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education" was formed.

ACTIVITIES---1961

Recognizing that there needed to be further interpretation and discussion of pupil educational attainment, the Norfolk Committee held three I. Q. and Achievement Clinics in the Winter of 1961. These were followed by a Spring forum entitled "Motivation for Children and Parents for Educational Achievement". As a result of these meetings, it was decided that the Committee should undertake an experimental school project in East Ghent during the Summer of 1961.

The project represented a conviction of the Norfolk Committee that a definite endeavor should be made to improve the educational status of the Negro child. East Ghent was selected on the basis of its known socio-problems and the foreknowledge that these children might benefit from pre-school and grade-school tutoring directed to achievement in their public school work. It was recognized that the children were economically under-privileged and were subjected to unfavorable environmental conditions which would normally mitigate against reasonable educational goals and achievements. Members of the Norfolk Committee called upon approximately 150 families living on Ward, Duncan and Hamilton Avenues, registering 70 children for the Summer School

The facilities of the Unitarian Church, Fifteenth Street and Moran Avenue, were obtained for class-rooms and 62 children actually enrolled. The School offered individual and group instruction to children from 6 to 12 years of age. An evaluation of the 1961 project by the Norfolk Committee was: ". . . .None of us felt we (the teachers and the Norfolk Committee) had achieved measurable results but we were convinced that we must try and continue working with the children of this area. . . .".[1] Basically, the

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[1]Letter, dated July 21, 1962, from Mrs. W. T. Mason to Norfolk Foundation

THE NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION

1961 Summer School experience indicated that progress might be made but that the project would need to be conducted over a period of time before it could be evaluated as to its benefit. Even so, follow-up contacts with the public schools involved indicated a degree of improvement in pupil achievement over what would have been the generally predicted level based on past experience.

ACTIVITIES---1962

Premised upon the experience of its school project in the preceding year, the Committee continued their program in the Summer of 1962. Although it had been initially planned that the program would commence July 1 and continue through August 23, this objective was not attained, and the Summer School began on July 13. (As noted elsewhere in this Report, the Norfolk Foundation made a grant of $1,460 to meet the expense entailed.)

The enrollment figures and average attendance for the 1962 program were:

	Enrollment	Av. Attendance
Pre-Primary Grade (4 yrs. of age)	11	9
Primary Grade (5 and 6 yrs. of age)	12	10
Elementary Grades (2nd thru 4th grade)		
Section A - 8-10 yrs. of age	14	10
Section B - 11-13 yrs. of age	12	8

In order that objective data might be available on the Summer School Program in 1962, the Metropolitan Readiness Tests were administered to the same seven pre-school children at the beginning and end of the six weeks program to determine what degree of progress had been made. At the initial testing, the students ranked from the -1 percentile[2] to the 35th percentile in readiness for entry into first grade. These scores are quite low in the readiness scale. Upon completion of the summer program, the second testing revealed that each of the students had improved in readiness with the lowest ranking in the 6th percentile and the highest in the 73rd percentile. There was an average improvement of 25 percentile points.

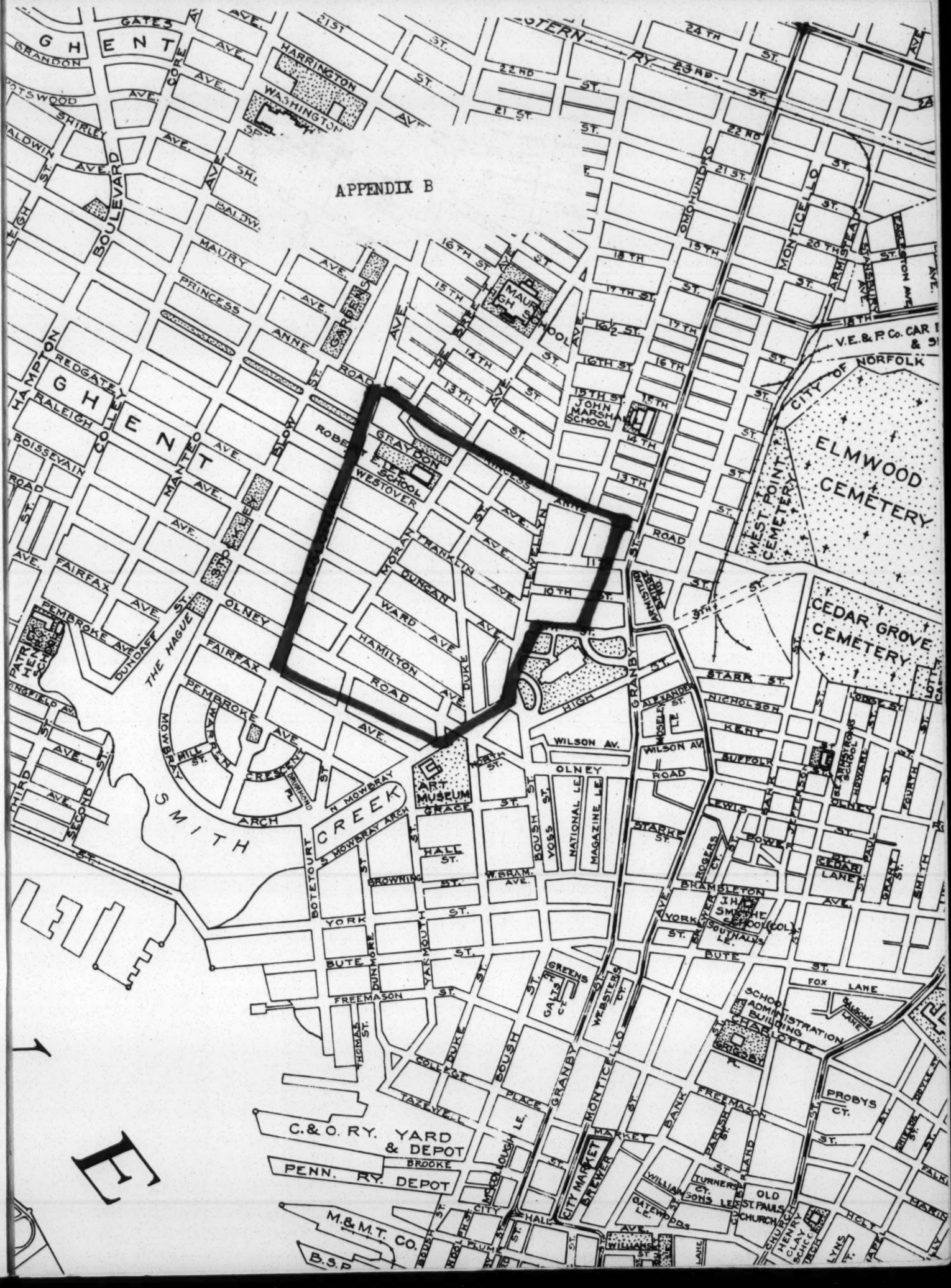
Plans to obtain faculty judgments on older children who attended the summer program in terms of their possible improvement have not been pursued by the Norfolk Committee

[2]As used in this context, a child in the 23rd percentile group would rank at a point below which 23 of every hundred persons would rank for any given unit of measurement. On the Metropolitan Readiness Tests, a percentile rank of 50 is considered normal or average.

USE OF LOCAL RESOURCES

During the initial development of their program, the Norfolk Committee contacted churches in the Ghent area and generally received a synpathetic attitude; however, no direct support to the program was forthcoming. In a like manner, the Committee also approached the Optimist Boys' Club. However, it was their decision that the Club should continue to serve White youth and that the use of the building by another group would not be practical. In addition, the Committee met with representatives of the Norfolk Recreation Bureau and learned that funds were not available to enlarge on present City programs nor was it feasible to make available the area adjacent to Lee School or rooms in the school building for recreation purposes. No contacts were made with other organizations in the health, family and child welfare, or recreation fields.

APPENDIX B


GHENT
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WASHINGTON
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PRINCESS ANNE
REDGATE
RALEIGH
BOISSEVAIN ROAD
HAMPTON
COLLEY
MANTEO
FAIRFAX
PEMBROKE
DUNDAFF
THE HAGUE
OLNEY
HAMILTON ROAD
WARD AVE
DUNCAN
MORAY
FRANKLIN
WESTOVER
GRAYDON
MAURY HIGH SCHOOL
JOHN MARSHALL SCHOOL
ELMWOOD CEMETERY
WEST POINT CEMETERY
CITY OF NORFOLK
V.E.&P. Co. CAR
CEDAR GROVE CEMETERY
MONTICELLO
GRANBY
HIGH
STARK ST.
NICHOLSON
KENT
WILSON AV.
ART MUSEUM
SMITH CREEK
N. MOWBRAY ARCH
S. MOWBRAY ARCH
BOTETOURT
YORK
BUTE
FREEMASON
COLLEGE
TAZEWELL
BOUSH
YOSS
NATIONAL LE
MAGAZINE LE
BROWNING
GRACE
HALL ST.
W. BRAM. AVE.
BRAMBLETON
CEDAR LANE
FOX LANE
SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION BUILDING
CHARLOTTE
PROBYS CT.
FREEMASON
BANK
MARKET
CITY MARKET
BREWER
C.&O. RY. YARD & DEPOT
PENN. RY. DEPOT
M.&M.T. CO.
B.S.P.
OLD ST. PAULS CHURCH
HENRY CLAY SCHOOL
WILLIAMSONS LE.
GATEWOODS
CITY HALL
WILLIAMS ST.
HOLY
MAPLE
E

PA-4
mmj
File
Board - for
corresp.

February 6, 1964

Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason
2630 Chesterfield Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Mason:

Thank you for your good letter of January 29. We are all sorry that you missed the Annual Meeting, and sorry too that you have been ill. I hope this letter finds you well again.

Thank you also for returning the check.

We are very interested in your plan for tutoring centers. I am enclosing a copy of a New South of sometime ago which you may remember. The article by Mary Sands tells about a similar and very successful effort carried out in New Orleans. We were able to make a very modest contribution to the New Orleans work to supplement its local support, and we would certainly be receptive to an application from Norfolk. We cannot do much, but it might be of some help.

Incidentally, one of the happy accomplishments of the Annual Meeting was the election of Mary Sands to the Council.

By very best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Memo from **PAUL ANTHONY**

Lud:

We should know more of the details but Mrs Mason's proposal sounds worthy of a modest contingency grant.

PA

Mrs. William Thomas Mason
PUBLIC RELATIONS CONSULTANT
2630 CHESTERFIELD BOULEVARD
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA 23504

January 29, 1964

returned to CD
A 100.00 CR
advance
annual meeting
RHA
2/3/64

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
A tlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

A fter a serious siege of illness by my husband, I followed suit . I'm happy to report that he has fully recovered but I am still struggling to find complete good health. Up to the last moment I thought it would be possible for me to attend the Annual Meeting but it seemed best for me not to attempt the trip although I believed that the meeting would do me a world of good.

I have not expressed often enough my appreciation and admiration for the tremendous and inspiring achievements of the Southern Regional Council under your guidance and leadership. The materials emanating from your office are the most significant published during these very troubled times.

Just now The Norfolk Committee For The Improvement of Education, inc. is planning to open four Tutoring Centers for Junior and Senior High School students who have not realized their fine potential for academic improvement. The Centers will be held in church Education Halls in different sections of Norfolk. A number of working committees are im operation including Curricula, Instructors, Publicity, Research, Budget-Finance and so on. We have very little funds but am confident that interested citizens of both races will help. This is a first and badly needed for our drop-out problem is one of the worst in the state.

Concentration will be placed on the Language Arts, reading, writing, spelling and oral expression. Unusal experiences are also in the planning. I have great faith that things will work out. If you have any suggestions as to where we may secure some financial backing, we will be most grateful. This project is the result of a series of meetings held here in Norfolk with nationally known experts on the problem. School personnel are cooperating very well indeed as well of course as the membership of the organization.

Please give Mrs. Johnson the returned check for expenses which she was kind enough to send .

Best wishes to you as always,

Sincerely yours,
Miriam Mason

THE NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

February 13, 1964

RECEIVED FEB 19 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks so much for the pamphlet. Mary Sands is a woman after my own heart. We need thousands like her.

Your cordial letter greatly brightened the prospects for the program, "Project Tutoring Centers" opening here in Norfolk. This first Center will be held in the Mount Pleasant Baptist Church Educational Building in Titustown, a thickly settled Negro area. The schools as usual are overcrowded and many, if not the majority, of children come from homes to all intents and purpose designed to produce school dropouts.

The second Center will open today at the Norfolk Methodist Church Educational Building. This is also a typical neighborhood, some nice homes, many rundown or in a swiftly deteriorating condition. Here again, the junior and senior high school students experience in many instances double session classes in the elementary school, traveling long distances from their homes to the junior and senior high school, although they have to pass schools devoted exclusively to white children each day.

Organization

Curricula Committee

This group consisting of experts in English, Reading and Testing, together with heads of the English Department of the Junior and Senior High Schools, developed program goals for the Centers. As soon as the pamphlet comes from the printer with the revisions to be made on February 18th, I will forward same to you. However, special emphasis was placed on providing new experiences for the students in many different areas. These experiences would be used to stimulate class discussion, writing of compositions, reading additional materials, spelling and the development of wider vocabularies.

Center Organization

Each Center will be under the direction of a Supervisor who is responsible for the operation of the endeavor. She is expected to develop classes along with volunteer instructors, make regular reports of progress, help in the planning and execution of trips, visits, special study projects including visitors with special concern for young people.

A local committee of parents and others must be developed to help underwrite the program as it gets underway. The Centers will be open from 4:00 p.m. to 5:30 p.m. for Junior High School students and for seniors from 5:30 to 7:00, from Mondays thru Thursdays. These hours may have to be changed but for the present will be adhered to.

Future Centers

Our hope and expectation is to open at least two more centers in other sections of the city. Norfolk is very widespread with a Negro population scattered broadly. Ten Centers could be profitably operated but the proper staff is not now available.

Staff

The Center supervisors must be paid, for theirs is a regular job practically involving a full day. Even volunteers for teaching are not too plentiful, but we are receiving gratifying assistance from the colleges and churches.

Community Interest

The community is extremely interested in the prospects of the Center and are watching to see what happens. There are so many potential dropouts and the skeptics have said what can you do with two or four centers. The reply has been many of the youngsters have good minds, and we must be imaginative and patient to help them realize the contributions they can make in academic improvement. So many of them live narrow, bleak lives, I wonder why they don't leave school in even greater numbers.

Inadvertently, one reporter, clipping enclosed, stated that Norfolk Division of VSC and the City School Board were helping. I called the president of the college and the superintendent of schools to assure them that this statement was the reporter's way, I suppose, of a rousing interest, and I did not make that assertion. I didnot want them to feel that they had been misrepresented. Both laughed and said actually they would be expected to help in such an enterprise. We are asking the school authorities for books, and such other supplies as they might have, and the college for their experts to continue as consultants as well as meeting space given to the NCIE for the past three years.

Budget

This endeavor has been started on faith and pretty much faith alone. Last week I explained to a very prominent business man the project and he promised to help and try and solicit from friends. The final budget has just been developed by the Budget Committee and I am enclosing a copy. I might say that when we began our East Ghent project, now taken over by the Community Fund, we had no money either. Somehow, I have tremendous faith that when a purpose is right, friends rise up to help.

An informational booklet is being readied for interested persons, for fund solicitation, branches of the Federal government and churches, the school board and others.

Very able student instructors are teaching who will receive a small fee of $.50 an hour. Classes are kept at a maximum of five students.

I can't begin to express to you what your concerns means to us struggling here in Norfolk to make some tangible dent in a situation that actually constitutes a disgrace. I was just informed today that more than 200 students from the Negro High School dropped out during the period of September, 1963 to January, 1964. We must reach the young people headed for the most frustrating period of their life.

This letter was written but not mailed, because we were still working on the budget. I thought it should be sent to you anyway.

Sincerely yours,

Vinay C Mason

(Mrs.) W. T. Mason

-j

THE NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

February 15, 1964

RECEIVED FEB 19 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Enclosed please find an estimated budget for one Tutoring Center for one month. These Centers require full and complete assurance that the purposes, as announced, will be achieved. While the use of volunteers has been repeatedly indicated, there are many areas of administration which must be the responsibility of competent individuals on a salaried basis. We believe that the operation of a third and fourth Center may be taken over by a local organization under the direction of the Norfolk Committee For The Improvement of Education, Incorporated.

The Norfolk Committee For The Improvement of Education, Incorporated therefore makes this application for a grant in support of Project-Tutoring Centers now in operation at Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church Education Center, Titustown and Norfolk Methodist Church Education Center, Lambert's Point.

Very truly yours,

Vivian C. Mason

(Mrs.) W. T. Mason, Chairman
The Norfolk Committee For The
Improvement of Education, Inc.

Enclosure

WTM:nmj

THE NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

February 17, 1964

RECEIVED FEB 19 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The program outlined by the Curricula Committee calls for many enrichening experiences to be developed and carried out for the Tutoring Center Students. Adult teachers are volunteers. An operating committee including recruitment of staff, transportation, finance, welfare, public relations, publicity and so forth, is being developed as speedily as possible.

Funds will be solicited from organizations, although many of them have exhausted funds set aside for contributions. We believe however, the cause is so worthy that reconsideration of the resources for giving will result in donations for the Centers from some of these groups.

We are undertaking this project on faith. Your help will give a tremendous boast to the entire program. I hope it will be possible to advance the basic expenses of "salaries" and "other expenses" totaling $2286.00 for the two Centers for three months.

You have no idea what such a grant will do in lifting the hearts and spirits of those of us who are struggling to make the project a success.

If these two could get going on a secure basis, others will be in the making and help from local sources forthcoming.

My deepest gratitude.

Sincerely yours,

Mary C. Mason

(Mrs.) W. T. Mason

-j

THE NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

February 17, 1964

PROJECT-TUTORING CENTERS

SCHEDULE OF OPERATING EXPENSES FOR ONE CENTER FOR ONE MONTH

Salaries	
1. Supervisor	$150.00
Transportation	24.00
2. Stipend for 4 college student instructors at $.50 an hour for 4 hrs. per week each	128.00
Other Expenses	
Janitor, light, heat, postage supplies, hospitality, telephone	75.00
Total	$377.00

This budget pertains to the two Centers now functioning. We hope and plan to operate thru June 1964. By that time other funds may be available for summer activities.

SUPPLEMENTARY BUDGET FOR BOTH CENTERS

1. Film rentals, printing, etc.	$25.00
2. Expenses for chairman's office, telephone, transportation and clerk	50.00
3. Miscellaneous	20.00
Total	$95.00

Make folder
Cr. ref. Board
Gen. Corresp.
+
Contingency Fund

March 24, 1964

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Chairman
Norfolk Committee for the
Improvement of Education, Inc.
2630 Chesterfield Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Mason:

I am writing to confirm, as per our conversation this morning, that the Southern Regional Council will make a grant of $900.00 to the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, for its Project-Tutoring Centers, to be operated consistent with the proposal you sent us.

We want you to know that the Council is very much impressed by this project, and hope for it a tremendous success. We also appreciate your personal enthusiasm and involvement in getting this meaningful project off the geound.

Please be kind enough to write and tell us exactly when you will need the funds granted. Although you indicated in our conversation this morning, that you would not need these funds until May 1st; however, should the need arise prior to that time, and even then, we would appreciate a letter from you requesting transmittal of same.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

File: Norfolk Ctte for Improvement of Educ.

LWD ✓
PA ✓

THE NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

2630 Chesterfield Boulevard
Norfolk 4, Virginia
April 1, 1964

Vernon May I have this for my files? Mike

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

The grant of $ 900.00 from the Southern Regional Council in support of the Project Tutoring Centers now being carried out by the Norfolk Committee For The Improvement of Education, inc. is a tremendous impetus to the Board of Directors and very much so to our Budget Committee. You have no idea how much your interest and support means to me for as you know there are always problems in getting a new activity off the ground.

The Project has been very well received so much so that we are in hopes that one of our local organizations will take over a new Center sometime this month. By fall we hope to to ready with at least a total of six Centers located in various sections of the city.

The administrative set-up will be somewhat different than that now existing. The plan is to engage a person of great competence as the Administrative Supervisor for all the Centers. Each Center will have two head teachers one for Monday and Wednesday, the other for Tuesday and Thursday. They will be able to give supervision and substitute for an absent instructor. As volunteers the time required would enable the Committee to secure persons willing to give the six hours a week required. The Administrative Supervisor would be paid on a level commeasurate with her responsibilities. Actually the cost in this way would be much less than trying to man Centers with a parttime paid supervisor. We believe that an imaginative and experienced person would be able to achieve brilliant results.

You may send the check at any time. We are soliciting funds locally but do not wish to exhaust the possibilities since we must conduct a drive for the 1964-1965 program. In addition the summer program is to be decided upon next week by the Board. I will write you concerning same.

Please accept our most grateful thanks. You have made us more determined than ever to promote a comprehensive program for the potential drop-outs in our midst.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Allison

THE FORD FOUNDATION

April 30, 1964

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Chairman
Norfolk Committee for the
Improvement of Education, Inc.
2630 Chesterfield Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Mason:

I am enclosing herewith our check in the amount of $900.00, in support of the Project-Tutoring Centers sponsored by the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education. We are pleased to make this grant and wish for your program real success.

We would like to know of your progress and problems as the Project develops. Please keep us informed. Any newspaper clips, magazine articles, or any materials used in the program will be helpful for our files.

Best wishes for a successful program.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure
Ck: $900

LWD ✓
MA ✓ PA ✓
BP ✓ PWL.
MMS-file

May 12, 1964

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Chairman
Norfolk Committee for the
Improvement of Education, Inc.
2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Mason:

Thank you for your letter of May 4, acknowledging receipt of the grant from the Southern Regional Council, to the Project Tutoring Centers, sponsored by the NCIE. We appreciate so much the many attachments which explain in detail the operation of the NCIE.

We pledge you our continued interest in this program and sincerely hope that you will call on us at any time that we may be of service.

We look forward to the clippings mentioned in your letter.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

LWD
PA
PW
MMJ-file

Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

May 4, 1964

2630 Chesterfield Blvd.,

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Thank you very much for the check in the amount of $900.00 received today for the support of Project-Tutoring Centers sponsored by the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education. When the announcement was made at the last Executive Committee meeting of the grant from the Southern Regional Council, very warm and marked expressions of gratitude were contained in the resolution of thanks. Since this project is new and all of the Board members are employed persons much of the detailed work falls upon me after approval is given to go ahead with program plans. You can well imagine how much I am encouraged and inspired by this gift.

I am enclosing samples of materials now in use in processing the project. In addition #1. is a report submitted to the Board of Directors for the March 21 meeting. A supplementary report was given by the Budget Committee chaired by Rev. William Crews. Since the report is still in the making a final budget for summer 1964 and 1964-1965 will be offered at the May Board meeting. #2 is a resume' of program plans for 1964-1966 approved by the Executive Committee and sent to all members of the Board. The approval of every member of the Board is required and we are assured that such approval will be given. Actually we are waiting to hear from two persons who have been ill but will proceed to carry out major items shortly.

On Friday, May 8 two instructors , teachers at Old Dominion College, ou the treasurer of NCIE and myself will visit the Prince Edward Free School Association set-up in Farmville, Va. We seek to learn how this unique program operates, materials in use and other pertinent facts. The treasurer and I are interested in talking with Dr. Sullivan to determine if he has on his staff the kind of person needed as Administrator of Project-Tutoring Centers. We have such a person in mind but do not know whether she will be available.

We need your continued help and interest. Your guidance and advice is sought in many areas so that you will be hearing from me often. Clippings will be sent to you in a few days. Again our warmest thanks for all your kindnesses and concern.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C. Mason

(Mrs.) W.T. Mason
Chairman

#1. Report

March 21, 1964

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

FEBRUARY 12, 1964 to Date

The experience gained during the past two months indicates a possible course of action which would be more feasible than the present arrangement .

PRESENT SET-UP

A. The Lambert's Point Center is under the supervision of Mrs. Maude Martin. It is located at the Norfolk Methodist Church, Re- 2931 Bowden's Ferry Road, Rev. Godfrey Tate, Jr. is the pastor and gives considerable time to the operation of the Center in his church.

B. The Titustown Center is held in the Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church, 118 Mt. Pleasant Avenue, Rev. William Crews, Pastor. Mrs. Frank Studivant is the supercisor. Rev. Crews has given tnstintingly of his time and has been most generous with the facilities of the church.

MAINTENANCE

An early agreement commited the NCIE to agree to be responsible for electricity heat and janitor costs in return for the use of the church. The church officers have asked $15.00 a week for this facility, which amount was not known until about two weeks ago. Since this amount was more than the Committee could be expected to pay, Rev. Tate agreed to take the matter up with his Board and tell them of the decision of the Budget Committee,which was to agree to a donation at the end of the sessions in lieu of a flat sum. Rev. Tate agreed to study bills for the past year during the same period of time to see if there was any appreciable difference in the cost. If none, he agreed to refund the difference.

INSTRUCTORS

Lambert's Point Center has eleven teachers, consisting of a housewife, one student from Old Dominion College, eight instructos who are students at Virginia State College and one school teacher.

Mt. Pleasant Center has one housewife, a social worker, one substitute teacher, two teachers in the City School system, two teachers from Old Dominion College, one student instructor from OD and three student instructors from Virginia State College. or a total of eleven regular instructors.

STUDENTS

Student census varies. At Lambert's Point a total of 30 students comes quite regularly, but ten or more come intermittently. Some classes consist of three, two or one person. The student census at Mr. Pleasant varies from 20 to 25 students .

New students are coming in as instructors for particular subjects are secured. Since attendance is not compulsory unless the student is very serious and earnest there is a tendency on the part of the students who need assistance most to attend irregularly. Visits have been made to the homes of students by Mrs. Carrie McRae, to be sure that parents are acquainted with the program and their cooperation solicited. She found great interest manifested by parents, real desire to have their children attend and in some cases the parents thought they were attending. Various reasons were offered for absence; illness, mother had to be away

from home and student was needed at home--the necessity for regular attendance was not realized. Appreciation was expressed for the opportunities offered students to improve their scholastic standing.

COMPENSATION:

Students who have expressed a desire to work in the Project-Tutoring Centers but who must also find work employment have been happy to contribute their services. A stipend of fifty cents an hour and transportation has been given. Mrs. Erma Hill has been most helpful in transporting some of the students instructors each week.

EXTRA-CURRICULA ACTIVITIES

Students have visited the Norfolk Museum, Hampton Institute, attended a piano concert at Virginia State College thru the courtesy of Mr. Harvey Johnson, Public Relations Officer, attended the concert given by Don Cossack Chorus at the Center Theater thru the courtesy of friends and a group was taken to Hootenany Show by one of the CD professors. Plans are in the making to take a group to the Outdoor Show at Foreman Field on April 24, to the Naval Base for a day's visit, to the Azalea Gardens and the Botanical Tea Gardens. Other activities are in the making, some being developed by individual teachers.

SCHOOL OFFICIALS

School authorities, namely Mr. Lamberth and Mr. Robinson, have pledged complete cooperation. Principals who have extra books have been asked to loan them to the Centers. Additional books have been requested. Instructors not in the city school system will be given permission to attend the seminar in Modern Math and Reading given by the School Board.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REMAINDER OF SEMESTER

I. SPECIAL SIX WEEKS PROGRAM

1. A special tutoring program will be attempted to run from April 20th to May 28th for BTWHS students who can profit by concentrated teaching and who are in danger of failing in one or more subjects this semester. Students and teachers from the college will be invited to share this project. Dr. Capps will give special supervision to the instruction of teachers and recording the results of the project. This program has been discussed with High School Officials.

II. EMERGENCY TEACHERS

Because Instructors are occasionally absent, we believe it is sound and necessary to have at least one emergency teacher assigned to each Center, reporting on alternate days. They should be capable of holding a class together or substituting a worthwhile and interesting program. Young people must be kept alert and concerned--- studying regularly after school is a new experience for many of them. This experience must be nurtured in all possible ways.

2 Report

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.
Norfolk, Virginia

April 28, 1964

To: Board of Directors of NCIE

From: The Executive Committee

Subject: Future Plans of the Organization for 1964 to 1966

Please peruse this outline of proposed plans for the next two years. Suggestions are solicited. The call meeting for Friday Night, May 1st at the residence of the chairman is to discuss and make final decisions in regard to future projects. The Budget Committee, Rev. William Crews, chairman, cannot proceed to draw up a budget until you have approved of future program plans. Requests for financial support from citizens of Norfolk, the Federal Government and Foundations require considerable time before such requests can be considered and acted upon.

****

PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR THE NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

1. Time covered 1964-1966

2. Requests for financial support to be made to:

   a. Clubs, civic groups, labor unions, fraternities, sororities and individuals in city of Norfolk.

   b. Federal aid from any agency interested in this project

   c. From Foundations in Norfolk and elsewhere.

PROJECT - TUTORING CENTERS

A. Extension of Tutoring Centers

   a. It is proposed that Tutoring Centers be considered for the following sections: Midtown in Tidewater Park or Midtown in Young Park area, Campostella-Berkley, lower Lamberts Point Huntersville, Liberty Park, Coronado-Oakwood, Broad Creek Section near Virginia State College and Marathon Avenue. Other sections would also lend themselves to the proposed program.

B. Administration of Centers

   a. A full time administrator would be employed to supervise and administer all Centers. She would be a highly competent educator with considerable experience in youth and group work. As the Administrator she would work closely with Dr. Marion Capps, Coordinator of Curricula, principals and other staff of Junior and Senior High School and organizations sponsoring Centers.

b. Volunteers would be sought to serve as head teachers in the Centers, Instructors would be recruited from the colleges, both professors and able students, those currently employed by the City School system, retired persons, substitutes and personnel from the armed services. Students requiring same would be given an hourly stipend and transportation.

c. The plan calls for asking organizations to sponsor a Center which would bear the name of the organization if they wished. The organizations would be required to work cooperatively with the Administrative Supervisor. Responsibilities would be:

1. To help in securing competent instructors
2. Full responsibility for the administration of a Center that is, opening and closing the building, care of the building, furnishing such supplies as cannot be secured from the School Board
3. Develop cultural activities in addition to those programmed by the Administrator
4. Give a yearly donation to the church for the use of facilities
5. Help to develop a parent auxiliary from among the parents of students
6. Submit quarterly reports to the Administrator and Board of Directors of NCIE and their own organization.

d. An adult education program should be considered in each Center to promote awareness of the serious problems of education, opportunities for scholarships, new occupations now open, educational needs in the locality and many more topics.

3. <u>A central office for NCIE</u>

a. It is necessary for the organization to have a business office where the conduct of business can be carried out efficiently, In the event of the employment of an Administrator such an office is imperative. A clerk, stenographer and perhaps a cadet office worker obtained from the college or high school would be required. Files, furniture and other equipment could be secured from the Surplus Materials Department of the Federal government whose local offices are in Richmond, Va.

4. <u>Center Sponsorship by Local Organizations</u>

a. In order to gain full cooperation of citizens it is proposed that organizations of various kinds be asked to sponsor a Center. Such organizations sould work under the supervision of the Administrator but would bear responsibility for the administration and development of the program in their Center.

b. They would furnish such supplies as noted above. They would carry out their responsibilities with full autonomy, but in keeping with the program and purposes set forth to them.

5. Creation of Special Committee on School Principals Involved

a. It is required that principals or their representatives be drawn into close relationship to the administration of the project. The needs of their students asking for special help, known conditions in the home and other factors would be of great value to the administrator and her co-workers. Such relationships should be forstered, augmented and actively sought. Advise and suggestions should be solicited in all stages of planning for the Centers.

6. CONTACTS WITH CENTRAL SCHOOL BOARD STAFF

a. Continuing cooperative relationship should be maintained and followed up including the head of the system and supervisors as well as special employees in the field.

7. FUTURE HOPES

a. That the Tutoring Centers program will be accepted as the responsibility of the School Board to try and help large numbers of students catch up and improve the quality of academic achievement.

b. To carry out a dynamic campaign to secure kindergartens in the city school system.

Please note: If you cannot be present on Friday night, please indicate your reaction to the above proposals of the Executive Committee

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

INSTRUCTOR'S EVALUATION OF TUTORING ACTIVITIES

1. Name of Instructor Miss Barbara Bracey

2. Subject Taught 608 Ivy Street

3. No. of Students A. _____

B. _____

C. _____

4. Grade Level of Instruction _____

5. Materials Used _____

6. Average Attendance of Students _____

7. Number of Hours given to Instruction _____

8. Strong Points of the Program _____

9. Weak Points of the Program _____

10. Suggestions for Improvement: _____

Signature _____

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

APRIL 17, 1964

PROPOSAL FOR TUTORING CENTERS FOR 1964-1965

NEW CENTERS:

It is proposed that several new Centers be opened in the coming school term in such sections of the City as the Board determines based upon calculated needs as indicated by school figures. Centers have been suggested for Liberty Park, Bolling Park, Campostella, Berkley area, Midtown, lower Lambert's Point, Tidewater Park, Chesterfield Heights and Coronado.

ORGANIZATION SPONSORSHIP

There is the possibility that organizations,namely sororities and fraternities, may undertake to sponsor a Center. Their responsibility would be to underwrite expenses or some part of them, to find teachers and other assistants as needed, and to operate within the prescribed limitations of the NCIE. General supervision would be given by NCIE and joint activities carried out in relation to curricula and outside activities. Groups should be--have the proposition presented to them as quickly as possible so that preparations can be made during the summer and early fall.

GENERAL SUPERVISOR OR ADMINISTRATOR:

A trained, competent, imaginative and resourceful person is needed as overall Administrator, charged with the responsibility of developing the Centers, establishing good working relationships with school authorities, coordinating curricula as established by Dr. Capps, Curricula Coordinator; developing extra curricula activities and directing a cohesive program, supplemented by documentary accounts of work done. The project is complex and demanding, requiring the services of paid and experienced educator

STAFF:

In the event of a greatly enlarged program, requests should be made immediately for American Volunteer staff who will be available under the President's Poverty Program. Coordinating programs at Old Dominion and Virginia State should be initiated so that able students can be recruited in the program and given preliminary training.

FINANCING:

On the basis of the future program,financial programming should be tiven as quickly as possible. The Budget Committee should be instructed to work with the Executive Board and such other persons as may be appointed to construct a budget,embracing the program decided upon. Foundations both local and in other cities should be asked to help finance this project. Local citizens should be solicited, clubs asked to help underwrite the project as they budget their 1964-1965 funds.

This group should aim for and secure at least 200 paid members of the NCIE.

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

PROJECT - TUTORING CENTERS

PAYROLL SHEET FOR STUDENT INSTRUCTORS AT CENTERS

TWO WEEKS PERIOD:

WEEK BEGINNING_____ ENDING_____

NAMES	ADDRESS	MON.	HRS.	TUES.	HRS.	WED.	HRS.	THURS.	HRS.	TOTAL

SIGNED SUPERVISOR:_____

CENTER_____

DATE_____

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

PROJECT - TUTORING CENTERS

REGISTRATION - STUDENT INSTRUCTORS

(MRS.)
(MISS)
(MR.)

1. NAME_____ AGE_____

2. ADDRESS_____ TELEPHONE_____
(Street) (City) (State)

3. COLLEGE ATTENDING_____ CLASSIFICATION_____

4. SUBJECT IN WHICH YOU ARE MAJORING_____ MINOR_____

5. PROBABLE PROFESSION_____

6. LIST COURSES COMPLETED IN MAJOR:

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

7. TUTORING ASSIGNMENT:

Norfolk Methodist Church Education Center (Mrs. Maude Martin, Supervisor)_____

Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church Education Center (Mrs. Frank Studivant,)_____
(Supervisor)

8. Subject_____ Grade in School_____

9. Days_____ Hours_____

10. What other subjects could you teach?_____

11. Where can you be reached at the college? _____

a. First Period_____ Nearest Telephone_____

b. Period just before lunch or 12:00 noon_____ Telephone_____

c. Period after lunch or 1:30 p.m._____ Telephone_____

NORFOLK COMMITTEE
for the
IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

Mrs. W. T. Mason,
Chairman

Dr. William Brazziel
Co-Chairman
Dr. Marion Capps
Co-Chairman
Mrs. Helen Blanton
Membership Secretary

Mrs. Ocie Shields
Treasurer
Mrs. Irma Browne
Corresponding Secretary
Harry Reid
Recording Secretary

A PERSONAL APPEAL

Dear Friend:

The Norfolk Committee For The Improvement of Education, Inc., has offered the citizens of Norfolk several opportunities to hear and talk with a number of brilliant practitioners in the field of education.

Such notables as Daniel Schreiber, originator of "High Horizons" program designed to inspire and encourage potential school drop-outs, Otis Finley, Industrial Secretary of the National Urban League, the School Superintendent of Washington, D.C., who spoke and answered questions, although in the capitol city, by means of a unique electronic, telephonic device have participated in these programs. Cultural programs under the chairmanship of Mrs. Hermione Jackson, given by Norfolk Division of Virginia State College, have delighted hundreds of eager youngsters. These concerts, including a ballet presentation at the Center Theater, were underwritten by several of our concerned public school principals and staff.

In April, 1963, Bernard Kaplan, assistant to Mr. Schreiber of "Project School Drop-Outs", sponsored by the National Education Association of Washington, D.C., gave a graphic and tragic picture of the plight of rich America; the repudiation of education by the unbelievable number of one million boys and girls, men and women, before graduation - the school drop-outs of our day.

The number is increasing and almost needless to say, Negro Youth constitute a very high percentage now on their way to employment and educational oblivion. Mr. Kaplan warned, pleaded and urged the audience to do one or several of many efforts here in our community. "The last to be hired and first to be fired" haven't a chance as functionally, illiterate wanderers seeking jobs that fail to materialize in the rapidly widening automic era.

What can we do to hold these young people in school, to implant fruitful seeds of confidence and self-esteem, to expose them to unknown and unheard experiences, broadening their backgrounds, curiosity and desire to learn.

The NCFTIE has undertaken Project "Tutoring Centers". The purpose is to provide individual and group experiences and instruction in the Language Arts - reading, writing, observing, speaking clearly, fluently and correctly. Failure to master these attributes spells failure in other subjects.

WHO WILL TEACH?

You, we hope - any person equipped by previous experience in the field of education, social work, etc.

HOW WILL THE CURRICULA BE DEVELOPED?

By The Curricula Committee, consisting of language arts experts, teachers and counsellors from Norfolk Division, Virginia State College, Booker T. Washington High, and the Junior High Schools.

WHO WILL BE ENROLLED?

Students recommended by the schools. Boys and girls who have real potential, but fail to use it to the maximum degree. These youths are candidates for the school drop-out army not high school and college graduation.

HOW CAN CITIZENS HELP?

By joining the NCFTIE - - - volunteering as teachers, clerical workers, administrators, home visitors, chaperones for trips, the telephone committee, budget and finance committee, and building clean-up squads, and ever so much more....By attending weekly meetings at Norfolk Division of Virginia State College on Tuesdays, January 28, February 3, February 10, and so on, at 7:30 P. M.

WHERE CENTERS WILL BE HELD

Rev. William H. Crews is Chairman and Rev. Godfrey L. Tate, Jr., is Co-Chairman to find appropriate places. It is expected that for the most part educational centers of our churches will be available. It is hoped to begin with at least five centers, located in Coronado, Lamberts Point, Titustown, Midtown and one other section.

HOURS: 4:00 to 5:30 P. M. - for Junior High School Students
5:30 to 7:00 P. M. - for Senior High School Students

There has been a tremendous and heartening response from principals and staffs of schools in question. It isn't helpful simply to criticize the operation of schools when we can help in resolving some of the problems. Educators are faced with punishing tasks in trying to erase the deficiencies of the home, the courts, the community and lay people, the results of more than 100 years of disadvantages and indifference.

All organizations and every individual concerned with this national tragedy can help. Perhaps all our efforts can be coordinated so that each group working can help each other in these monumental tasks.

The struggle valiantly waged by millions of Americans for fairer and better opportunities for Negro youth can run aground unless we can increase by thousands the trade-trained and academically equipped youth for competitive employment in our communities. Please join us in making Project "Tutoring Centers" a vital, enthusiastic proving ground for those who may be lost forever unless we do Something Now

Our warmest thanks.

Sincerely,

Vivian C Mason

Vivian C. Mason
Chairman
William Brazziel
Marion P. Capps
Co-Chairmen
Irma Browne
Corresponding Secretary

2630 Chesterfield Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia 23504
January 10, 1964

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

PROJECT - TUTORING CENTERS

REGISTRATION AND SUBJECT FORM

DATE_____

1. Name_____ Address_____ Tel._____

2. School_____ Grade_____

3. SUBJECT OR SUBJECTS DESIRED a._____ Teacher_____

b._____ Teacher_____

c._____ Teacher_____

4. List Each Subject and State What Your Problem Is.

a._____

_____

b._____

_____

c._____

_____

5. LIST SUBJECT TEXT BOOK USED AUTHOR PUBLISHER DATE OF PUBLICATION

****

TO BE FILLED IN BY INSTRUCTOR

1. Days_____ Hours_____ Subject_____ Instructor

2. _____ _____

Signed_____
Supervisor

Approved_____

July 10, 1964

Mrs. Vivian Mason
Chairman
Norfolk Committee for the
Improvement of Education, Inc.
2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Mason:

We are enclosing our check in the amount of $940.00 (nine hundred and forty dollars), in support of the Summer Pilot program of the NCIE. We are pleased to make this grant because we realize the need in the area that you are working, and feel that you are doing a good job of fulfilling that need.

Please keep us informed about the Project and send us any materials concerning it as you have in the past. Best wishes for a successful Summer Project.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure
(Ck. $940.00)

LWDV
~~PA~~

Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

VJ - please see me

July 1, 1964
2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

You were like a voice from Heaven calling about the seventy-five percent (75%) expectancy of the grant for the Summer Pilot program. I'm enclosing a write-up in the Virginian-Pilot, Wednesday, July 1, 1964. Several calls came in early this morning offering volunteer services in addition to requests for applications by prospective students. Enthusiasm is running high at the Centers, both from the community and the student body. Mrs. Quick of the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company called after reading the article to say that she would like to install a telephone switchboard apparatus to help train students in the use of the telephone as well as to help them to improve verbal skills. I considered this thoughtfulness most kind and cooperative.

I will keep you informed on these and other activities from time to time. Again our warmest thanks for your wonderful interest in our efforts here in Norfolk.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C. Mason

(Mrs.) W. T. Mason
Chairman

VCM/sma
Enclosure

THE NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

June 13, 1964

SUMMER PILOT PROJECT

June 29 thru July 31

EXPENSES

Administration

a.	Salary for Director			$ 300.00
b.	Salary for Special Teacher	(2)	@$150.00	300.00
c.	Administrative Assistants	(2)	@$ 50.00	100.00
d.	Transportation			75.00

Other

a.	Supplies, films, materials	75.00
b.	Hospitality	40.00
c.	Trips	50.00
		$940.00

PS. Students are asked to pay $ .25 a week to help defray cost of transportation for trips.

LWD ✓
PA ✓

Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

June 12, 1964
2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia

Phone # → 6230120 MAS

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant To the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
N. W. Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

The Publicity Chairman of the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education loaned a folder of clippings to the president of a local club to interest them in a contribution to the work and has been unable to obtain the return of the materials. I kept a few things but now must go back and reconstruct our file. The enclosed clippings were on hand. I will send a complete set as soon as I can get it together.

Plans are going forward for the Summer Pilot Cultural and Orientation Programs. The former is under the supervision of Mrs. Margaret Drake, a counselor at D. J. Jacox Junior High School and president of the local Delta Sigma Theta Sorority Chapter. Students have already enrolled for courses in"Remedial Reading" to be taught by Barbara Lenkhard of Norfolk, a senior student at Emory University in Atlanta, "Art" under the direction of Mrs. Fay Zetlin, and Mres. James Clarke, professional artists, "Adventures In the World of Books" by Mrs. Isabella Feyand, "Dramatics" by several persons who are members of the local Player's Guild.

The sessions are from 10:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. Mondays thru Thursdays at Mount Pleasant Baptist Church Education Center. This project will be extended to include the transfers to integrated schools. Over twelve hundred (1200) have been assigned, for example, one group of over one hundred (100) have been transferred to Norview Junior High School and over one hundred (100) will go to Maury High School. In previous years, briefing sessions were held by me for these students. It is imperative that these students be prepared for the changes that will take place. It would be disastrous for anything untoward to happen now. The gains must be safeguarded. The aim is to meet regularly with the largest groups going to another school.

The Executive Committee believes strongly that the summer enrichening and orientation programs should be directed largely to these transferred students. When 10 or 15 entered integrated schools, it was not too noticeable. However, 100 persons are not so easily lost in the total number. Our aim is to prepare them as much as possible for quick and satisfactory adjustment. Teachers have indicated that many of the transferrees will need intensive tutoring beginning in the fall.

Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

June 12,1964
2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Va.

We are very much in need of funds for the summer program. A modest budget has ben set up--the result of pruning and paring down. The Executive Committee hopes very much indeed that the Southern Regional Council will underwrite the summer work. It was thought best not to approach our donors in Norfolk for the summer project but to make the local appeal next month for the 1964-1965 budget. A report of the winter project, the Budget and program for the next two years are being prepared and will be sent to you.

You cannot imagine how much your demonstrated concern and interest have meant to us. The proposed budget for the summer 1964 is enclosed. Our most grateful thanks for all your kindnesses.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C Mazur

August 14, 1964

Mrs. W. T. Mason
2630 Chesterfield Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Mason:

I am in the process of preparing a report on the NCIE for one of our major contributors. I would appreciate any data or newspaper clips and pamphlets you may have. If you could send them to me at your earliest convenience, it would be most helpful.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:slw

LWD

VJ - remember, please, I want to send a report to New York

Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia 23504

July 21, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

A thousand thanks for the check for nine hundred and forty dollars ($940.00) received during my two weeks absence from the city. Talk about a life saver there has never been a greater one. The Summer Pilot program was begun purely on faith that somehow the money would come. I cannot tell you what a morale builder it was for the Executive Committee.

The program is proceeding with enormous enthusiasm and purpose. The early morning instructional classes are a joy to see. The students come eagerly—there is no coercion on anyone's part. There are hundreds in Norfolk needing the same opportunity. Serious, intent students are taking art under professionals. "Adventures in Books" is taught by a gifted writer-music by a music teacher from Jacox Junior High School and others.

I hope to send the report of Project—Tutoring Centers at the end of this week. My absences from the city has delayed the final draft.

What in the world would we do without you and the Southern Regional Council. This tutoring program has enormous possibilities. We intend to try and maintain centers beginning in October. We solicit and need your advice.

You will be hearing from me soon.

Again our grateful thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C Mason

(Mrs.) W. T. Mason
Chairman

① Newspaper clips
② Program outline
③ Summary letter

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION

REGARDING:

Report of 8/19/64 submitted by Mrs. Mason describing Project. (Sent to Vernon Eagle, New World Foundation 8/28/64

DATE

8/28/64

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

New World Foundations - Contingency Fund

REPORT

of

THE NORFOLK COMMITTEE

For The

IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

1961 - 1964

Norfolk, Virginia

1965

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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Dr. William F. Brazziel

Consultant

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

PROJECT-TUTORING CENTERS

Brief History

Published reports of test findings in 1959-1960 by the Virginia State Board of Education compared intelligence achievement of white and Negro students in rural and urban areas. The report indicated that Negro students fell below national and state norms recorded for white students in all but a few categories. No explanations were offered despite the fact that the levels of achievement seemed incongruous and as such demanded exploratory analyses. Objections for failure to clarify test results were made by individuals and organizations pointing up patent ommissions which would explain to some extent reasons for discrepancies.

These objections were voiced in an article, "Some Interpretations snd Implications of the Virginia Testing Program," by Dr. William F. Brazziel, Jr.:*

> "A cause of some concern in many quarters recently has been the summary of the results of the standarized testing program of the Virginia public schools which were released in late September. Of particular concern to Negro teachers, parents and communities is the relatively low positions achieved by the Negro children in practically all batteries in the program. And so the concerns involve the questions of what the test truly revealed, what they did not reveal and what underlying factors they reflected. It is also quite properly a matter of concern that the test performances of the children have rather grave implications for their continuing development as a member of the greater American society and it is perhaps further a matter of some urgency that Virginia parents, teachers and communities search diligently for ways and means to assure a fuller development of one-fourth of its school population."

Inferior facilities, lack of libraries or inadequate ones, mediocre performance unrelieved by incentives; poverty stricken populations, segregated schools essentially inadequate, inflexible courses of study, lack of competent, trained counselors, indifferent vocational programs, overcrowded classes; combined in a conspiracy to render almost impossible the best efforts of many dedicated Negro educators to lift the quality of individual classroom scholarship.

*Director of General Education, Norfolk Division, Virginia State College

The threat of integration nudged reluctant school officials--the result, building of many new schools for Negroes. These buildings, often imposing, were paramount--equipment and quality teaching were by-products not always regarded as imperative.

Meanwhile, no statement was offered by the state Department of Education to mitigate the condemnatory picture of the scholastic performance of Negro youth in Virginia. They were forthwith condemned by inference to permanent inferiority. *Dr. Brazziel states further:

> "The greatest single lack in the testing program was perhaps in the summary report of the results which were made available to the public. By failing to include variances in the report and stating only averages for the groups, the report fails to reveal to all concerned the great range in abilities and achievement found from school to school, from county to county, from city to city and most importantly from social class to social class within the school. Such lack of revelation could understandably contribute to the drawing of honest but erroneous conclusions by some persons and invidious conclusions by others concerning the abilities and achievements of these children."

Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education

Spurred by the danger of casual acceptance of the testing report, three persons interested in improving achievement and cultural levels of Negro youth, organized the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc. in January, 1961. They were: Dr. William Brazziel-Professor and Coordinator of General Education; Dr. Marian Capps-Director of the Testing Bureau and Professor of Education-Psychology--both on the faculty of the Norfolk Division of Virginia State College--and Vivian Mason-former National President of the National Council of Negro Women, Inc., a community and civic worker.

The Purpose

Purposes incorporated in the Charter were succinctly stated:

(1) "To inform and educate the public of the requirements necessary for excellence in public education....."
(2) "To establish, operate and conduct educational centers....."
(3) "To establish, build or purchase, operate and conduct one or more non-secretarian schools or institutions....."
(4) "To receive gifts, legacies and donations....."
(5) "To exercise all such power and authority as may be necessary to carry out the objects and purposes above specified....."
(6) "To make gifts and appropriations from any or all of its resources from time to time to carry out the objects and purposes of the copporation....."

Parents Drawn Into Lecture Series

Clinics were conducted by Dr. Capps to provide better understanding of commonly used terms as intelligence quotient, reading scores, achievement levels, grade levels, the significance of testing programs, parent responsibility for providing regularized study facilities and other matters relating to educational values. Films were freely used and ample time allowed for questions.

Helping the Community to Understand

A series of lectures by eminent persons in the field of education has been programmed each year. Included in the educational series were the following: Dan Schreiber of New York City, orginator of the "Higher Horizon" project; Otis Finley, Vocational Secretary of the National Urvan league; Mrs. Carla Eyster of Kensington, Maryland and a telephone hookup lecture and discussion by Superintendent of Schools of Washington, D. C., Carl F. Hansen.

Many other speakers were invited, projecting hard engrossing facts. Bernard Kaplan of the National Education Association of Washington, D. C. Project "School Dropouts" brought a message of significance. The audience included members of the Norfolk School Board who noted with very evident interest, a cross-country review of the problems and the remedial measures advanced. Mr. Kaplan's luminous description of the army of youthful school deserters, roaming the streets seeking employment or idling, a prologue to real trouble, inspired the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education to seek to do something about the Norfolk situation.

A number of other speakers brought challenging ideas to the citizens of this community.

East Ghent Project

During the summers of 1961 and 1962, a small project was carried out with children and adults in a blighted, uncohesive neighborhood known as East Ghent.

Most of the residents rented houses or converted apartments formerly occupied by white persons no longer desirous of living in the aura of slums. Deterioration had set in years before Negroes moved in the area. Unsavory dwellings, high percentage of indigents and hazardous street conditions were characteristics underwritten by the complete absence of social agency area programs.

Summer classes for children in academic subjects, art, music and library practices were successfully conducted. In 1962, an experimental project with preschool age children whose achievement levels after six weeks schooling were considered excellent in comparison with readiness tests six weeks prior, confirmed the need for pre-kindergarten and preschool institutions.

The Unitarian Church generously gave the use of their building for the project.

Results of East Ghent Project

A comprehensive report and recommendations based upon two years experiences in East Ghent was submitted to the Norfolk Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council. An analysis of the programs advocated evidenced great understanding of the complexity of problems. Dangerous consequences of continued neglect were set forth with complete candor.

The findings of the Planning Council were detailed and agreement in practically every recommendation sustained. One statement is gratifying--"The Norfolk Committee has been largely responsible for arousing community concern over East Ghent. There is no doubt that this is an area in desperate need of concerted action. Clearly, physical rebuilding and property improvement represent an important aspect in the future of East Ghent, but human rehabilitation is also basic to the ultimate realization of improved living conditions in that area."

(Exhibit 1 - Report "Study on the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education by the Norfolk Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council, 1963.)

Finances - East Ghent Project

Both projects were underwritten by the Norfolk Foundation, whose deep concern for the people and the area had been made manifest. Without their financial and moral support, the programs could not have been carried out.

Project Tutoring Centers

In the fall of 1963, the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education decided the time was propituous to organize and to operate at least two Tutoring Centers. Preparations went fourth for two months; securing suitable centers, head teachers, volunteer staff, finances for expenses, supplies, development of policies inclusive of curricula, hours of schooling, requirements for instructors, supplementary cultural, learning programs and public relations.

Potential Dropouts Identified

Probable dropouts were isolated by facts commonplace in most studies on the problem. There were high numbers of absentees from high school; many obviously attended school reluctantly and with dissatisfaction; scholastic failures and indifference to school responsibilities; unusual numbers of students reading far below grade level and pregnancies of unmarried girls were characteristic

Curricula

Project Tutoring Centers began with the development of ideas as to how and why. Committees were formed to work on this program. The Curricula Committee devoted long hours to defining major objectives of the Tutoring Centers. Two eminent educators at the Norfolk Division of Virginia State College, Dr. Thelma Curl, Head of the English Department and Mrs. Julia Morris, Head of the Reading Clinic, served as Co-consultants.

This committee stressed exploratory trips, discussions, broad associations leading to emphasis in the language arts. Reading, a particular focal point of weakness, was underlined. Since the ability to read fluently and with understanding is a primary requisite, the committee directed, pointed attention to instructors to try and correct weaknesses in this regard. Accent on verbal skills was stressed for serious gaps existed in communication skills. (Exhibit 2 - Curricula Guide)

Operation of Project Tutoring Centers

*Two centers were opened on February 12 and 13, 1964 in the Education Center at Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church, Rev. William Crews, Pastor and the Center at Norfolk Methodist Church, Rev. Godfrey Tate, Jr., Pastor. These ministers gave unqualified devotion to the program. Without their leadership and hard work, the centers would not have been able to operate.

Instructions were given in English, Mathematics, French, Geometry, History and Reading. Many individual sessions were held for this was the bedrock of the whole idea of helping and stimulating the students to better performance. Students admitted they could do better but exerting the effort was difficult. As improvement in grades occured, students became very enthusiastic. Some carried the enthusiasm too high. Pressed for

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*Classes held Monday through Thursday--4 to 6 p.m.

time, one ambitious student, not wishing to fall down on grades for the month, asked the instructor to help him out and write a required composition. It is not clear whether chagrin or shame won the victory after a conversation with the instructor in question.

Cultural Activities

In conformity with recommendations of the Cultural Committee, ten programs were successfully projected. These consisted of the following: all day visit to Hampton Institute, Don Cossack Chorus Concert at Center Theater, piano recital at Norfolk State College, Norfolk Museum visits, moving picture "Lilies of the Field," Botanical Gardens and luncheon at the Tea Room, Norfolk Naval Supply Center visit, Azalea Festival Concert, a Hootenany Concert and closing exercises.

Variety with specific purposes seemed logical if the horizons of the mind and senses were to be accelerated and stimulated. Some students were enormously interested in one event and indifferent to others.

Making all of them equally attractive was not possible but the purpose was accomplished in that choice was offered. Those who preferred visits to the Art Museum in preference to a visit to the Botanical Gardens were encouraged to select the one they liked best if they couldn't manage both.

Visits to interesting places were not made simply for aesthetic appreciation or to provide new experiences but conscious emphasis was placed on future employment opportunities, career-wise information, most of all encouragement and the will to strive for whatever jobs tied in with the visits, they found desirable and seemingly within the scope of their abilities.

An illustration is afforded in the visit to the Naval Supply Center. Prizes were offered by the Committee for the best essay describing the visit. The winning essay stressed the possibility of the author returning some day as an employee.

".....In our business class, we have previously talked about time clocks and cards. Many of us have heard about them but hadn't really seen one. We were given a chance to see the time clocks and cards at the Naval Supply Center. I was actually shocked to see the many clerks, bookkeepers, secretaries, etc., employed for the Federal Government at the Naval Supply Center. My ambition after I have finished my education is to become a secretary and I had thought of secretaries working in a large office for a private firm. But now my whole viewpoint is changed because of my trip to the Naval Supply Center. I really envied those secretaries and it gave me the idea that some day I may be sitting behind a desk working for the Federal Government. My tour also gave me an opportunity to see exactly what type of work my mother does. She is a packer at the Naval Supply Center.....One would think it is almost entirely impossible to spend an entire day enjoyably in one building, but it isn't."

Students helped

A total of 134 students had in some measure been reached in areas they felt were important--justification for the endeavor of the organization and its supporters in the community. A staff of some 30 persons worked at the Centers despite inconveniences which could not be overcome.

Cooperation with School Officials in Norfolk

Close contact was maintained with principals of junior and Booker T. Washington High Schools although only Madison Junior and Booker T. Washington High Schools were involved in the Tutoring Centers. Mrs. Hortense Wells, Coordinator of Elementary Education, contributed her services in an advisory capacity as did others in the school system.

Principals have loaned books for teachers, the School Board, through the Supervisor of Curricula, also loaned books as well as concerned citizens who donated magazines and other materials.

Community Interests

Friends in the community with Mrs. Erma F. Hill, Chairman of the Committee on Transportation, provided cars for the group for many trips.

Basic Problems

Problems indicated by students and instructors were recognized from the beginning and efforts were made to correct them. The short time the project was in operation allowed for some remedial action, but the main result was useful experience for future projects.

Criticisms by students and instructors were wrestled with all winter by the Committee and the Center supervisors. To find sufficient instructors, make regular provisions for absent instructors, visit the homeroom teacher and the parents, provide new materials for reading with appeal to the interests of the students, were problems identified with Tutoring Centers. For example, there is a dearth of reading materials geared to the interest of Negro youth in the early teens. The stories and books developed for that age group are concerned with activities, ideas, problems, amusements and life in general of the upper, middleclass majority group.

There is extreme need for books, stories, articles of an inspirational nature peopled with characters the Negro boy and girl recognize as real persons in his or her world.

In a great many instances, there is absolutely no identification with the life and times of non-white adolescents in current school literature. This is another reason why comprehensive cultural programs are a paramount necessity.

Absences

The attendance of students at times became a problem. Special activities at school mainly in athletics, duties at home, care of younger children, household responsibilities and illness accounted for periodic absences.

Instructors at times were unable to meet their classes--in such instances, doubling up or study sessions in classrooms assigned were not the best solutions but the best to be found at that particular time.

One member of the Committee had the responsibility of visiting homes to ascertain why some students attended irregularly; how parents felt about the Center and if they would like to support its aims by joining the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education. Of 40 such visits:

(1) Every parent was pleased at the idea of having their children helped with school work,

(2) Twenty-Two parents knew nothing about the Center or Committee although they had supposedly signed consent on the registration forms,

(3) Ten parents had large families and wanted the older children to take care of the smaller children, wash clothes, run errands and help cook. No regular time or place was provided for quiet study hours,

(4) Twenty-four (24) parents left it up to the children whether or not "they wanted to attend the Tutoring Center." No persuasion or visible encouragement was given although they insisted that they wanted their children to do better in their school work,

(5) The majority of parents had less than 9th grade education,

(6) The majority of parents had very dim concepts of the grade levels performance-wise their children maintained unless they had been summoned to school for a conference concerning school or some other problem of their offspring.

Mrs. Carrie McRae, the visitor, stressed the meaning of education today as the forerunner of better employment, greater economic security, fuller and more meaningful enjoyment of life.

Finances - Project Tutoring Centers

Contributions were received from public spirited citizens. A national organization renown for its great work in building a climate of human worth where every man regardless of color, religion or any other label shares with other men the same opportunity for success were generous in helping to finance the project.

Closing Program

The Centers held a joint closing exercise on Friday night, June 5, 1964 at Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church Educational Center. The auditorium was filled with students, parents, teachers and members of the Board of Directors and interested friends.

Enthusiasm was plainly evident as students carried out volunteer program assignments. Certificates of Merit were presented to instructors, the students and other outstanding participants.

There was a small note of sadness at the realization of closing. Faces brightened perceptibly, however, when the Summer Pilot Program was announced.

The 134 students reached were justification for the endeavors of the organization and its supporters in the community.

Due credit must be given the two Center Supervisors, Mrs. Maude Martin and Mrs. Frank Sturdivant who were unstinting in discharging their responsibilities. They reflected the ideals of the Center in every way.

Area Wide Cultural Activities

The Cultural Committee, chaired by Mrs. Hermione Jackson, developed, in cooperation with Dr. Rosemary Adams, Head of the Music Department of Norfolk Division Virginia State College, Christmas Concerts participated in by the entire department. Students from Norfolk and surrounding areas were invited and attended these spectaculars. A Spring Festival, sponsored by the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, and ballet performance at the Center Theater by the American Academy of Ballet gave unusual enjoyment to hundreds in attendence.

Summer Pilot Program

The Summer Pilot Program held at Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church Educational Center from June 29, to July 30, was equally as successful. Under the direction of Mrs. Margaret Drake, ninety students were enthusiastic attendants in classes in Remedial Reading, Adventures in Books, Modern Mathematics, English and Art all taught by very able instructors.

This project also was underwritten by a public spirited organization.

Interesting accounts of the project appeared in the daily and weekly press.

Continuance of Project - Tutoring Centers

In August, 1964 a group of mothers asked to have a Tutoring Center established in Tidewater Park (a low cost housing project). Serious concerns were expressed by this group on the levels of achievement attained by their children.

To secure information on how widespread the anxieties of this group were in the project, a questionnaire was formulated and distributed by the mothers. They were able to discuss the problem of educational values very ably with other parents who questioned the purpose of the questionnaire. A recapitulation of the information is attached herewith. (Exhibit 3)

In addition to tutoring help for children, many parents asked for instructions for themselves in reading, writing, modern arithmetic and

other subjects. The desire for intensified cultural programs was expressed repeatedly by the Mother's Club.

Further exploration was made to secure other evidence that students attending public schools needed and wanted help in subjects presenting a problem.

In one school grades 7 to 9 the following was reported on June 15, 1964:

Do You Believe You Need Extra Help in Getting Your Lessons?		In Eng?		In Math?		Would You be Interested in Tutoring after School?		Do You Take Books from the Public Library?		Total in Classes
Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
711	307	348	571	617	350	401	563	525	504	1199

The Board of Directors of the Committee for the Improvement of Education voted to continue the Project Tutoring Centers, to increase the number of Centers in 1964-1965 and to conduct an experimental Center for elementary grade students based upon the findings of the study conducted by the Mother's Club of Tidewater Park.

New Locations

Following several discussions, the idea was advanced that Project Tutoring Centers should be located in public schools. The advantages were numerous and obvious. The support of school officials and principals was to be solicited for the new program to be started in the fall after the report of the first semester's work.

The Board of Directors

A new organization sometimes encounters difficulties in projecting specific program ideas. The Board of Directors of the NCIE must be included in that category. To mitigate this natural condition, extra effort was made by the Board members to focus attention upon the aims of the Committee. Personal interpretation, unusual willingness to assume responsibilities were contributory factors in the success of the program offered by the Committee.

The Board represents a cross section of the community; business, educators, PTA Council, housewives, the church, the professions and civic groups.

Many organizations have assisted in the promotion of the program. The Norfolk Journal and Guide, the Virginian-Pilot and the Ledger-Dispatch have generously portrayed and illustrated activities of the organization.

Norfolk Division of Virginia State College

All facilities at the Norfolk Division of Virginia State College have been available for the work of the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education.

Dr. Lyman B. Brooks, provost and many members of the staff have made notable contributions from the beginnings of the organization. Community concern is a paramount necessity in stimulating improvements in the educational process.

Heightened concern is needed, articulation and action if the inadequacies and mistakes of the past are to be erased.

file - Norfolk Ctee for the Improvement of Educ.

Vernon - please see me
LWDV
PA

Mrs. William Thomas Mason
2630 CHESTERFIELD BOULEVARD
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA 23504

April 10, 1965

623.0120

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

I read with great interest the Southern Regional Council's release, "NEW FEDERAL PROGRAMS IN THE SOUTH," dated March 11, 1965. We anticipated the problems of lack of Negro representation and participation in the Office of Economic Opportunity programs. Your appointed exploratory analysis of the southern pattern in the operation of this new federal program is alarming and calls for forthright action to this new manifestation of habitual discrimination in the South.

We are glad to inform you that here in the Tidewater area that representative Negroes have been elected to serve on the Southeastern Tidewater Opportunities Project (STOP). It is axiomatic that federally based projects in the South must be examined and watched with unremitting vigilance. The commonplace iniquities prevalent in every strata and in every activity reflects basic discrimination against minorities.

I believe that a special investigating power has to be given to a special examining group to go into the South and check on every program funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. It is not enough to accept token participation or token operation of projects. They ought to be examined minutely by persons eminently equipped and sensitive to the subtleties of discrimination patterns in our section of the country.

The investigating group should check information, not as it is given on paper but the actual facts in regards to job classifications, salary scales, job functions, location of projects, effectiveness in working with the poor, participation of the poor as beneficiaries and many other aspects in policy statements and programs plans.

Communities are hungry for these projects, not because they primarily want to eliminate poverty but because there are well-paying jobs attached to these programs. Some of them are not really concerned with the elimination of poverty, they see in the program a fine chance for new jobs. The beneficiaries of the Act will come out on the short end if a very close follow-up is not maintained.

I am delighted to see that the Southern Regional Council is as usual on the march and know that it will continue to unearth discrimination and ineffec-

tual promotion of the Office of Economic Opportunity program as contrary to the aims and objectives of this program. I hope that in the course of discussion with the President of the United States and other high officials involved in the program that the investigating arm of the Office of Economic Opportunity will be strengthened and made a highly important adjunct to the operation of the program.

Again my congratulations and warmest thanks to the Southern Regional Council for their effective operations in defense of minorities.

We have submitted an application to the Southeastern Tidewater Opportunities Project for funds but our expenses still go on and will until the application is acted upon. It may not be until May. We would appreciate any contribution which the Southern Regional Council can make to our present expense account and the operation of three Tutoring Centers.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C. Mason

Mrs. W. T. Mason

VCM:gjb

THE NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

May 15, 1965

TO: THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

FROM: MRS. W. T. MASON, CHAIRMAN

REPORT: CENTER ACTIVITIES
1964 - 1965

Following the closing of centers from summer activities, discussions of the Board of Directors centered in Center activities for fall and winter. Recommendations were made that all Centers be held in public schools in a joint cooperative program. The obvious advantages were cited--students could be contacted easily, the physical setup of the classroom was conducive to more fruitful accomplishments, blackboards, lighting and other facilities were available. The idea prevailed that teachers would more readily give their services if they did not have to leave their school and travel to some other part of the city to tutor.

The negative aspects that the school day would be too long for young people, tiring them out and hardening disinterest in school and any programs identified with the building.

The majority, however, were in agreement that the advantages of establishing Centers in school buildings outweighed any other consideration.

PROGRAM PLANS

The Board authorized the continuation of Centers in cooperation with school authorities. A study of a program to be presented to the Office of Economic Opportunity was agreed upon to include Tutoring Centers and such other projects as experience dictated were necessary.

The plans evolved, after thoughtful evaluation of the Center programs of 1964, are herewith attached. Exhibit I

Centers would be attempted in two junior high schools and in the Tidewater Park area. The obstacles in the path of a flourishing city-wide Tutoring Center scheme were many. The necessity for having experienced teachers to give general supervision to students and volunteer student teachers was a conclusion that could not be deprecated. Teachers, young enough to be energetic, mature enough to administer the program, alert to all situations, had to be identified with the program. Securing cooperation of principals, volunteer teachers and the school authorities was the next step.

STEPS TOWARDS CENTERS

Meetings with school authorities to secure permission to use the buildings, cooperation of principals and teachers, rounding up volunteers from various sources was time consuming, requiring individual and group meetings. Finally a program was set up for Madison and Jacox Junior High Schools and a Tidewater Park Center.

A series of meetings was held with students, some cultural activities carried out and in January, 1965, the Centers opened for academic and cultural projects.

ADMINISTRATION

The Administrator at D. J. Jacox Junior High School was Mrs. Margaret Drake, at Madison Junior High School, Mrs. Juanita Billups and at Tidewater Park, Mrs. JoAnne Walker. They were responsible for developing programs, cultural programs and general overseeing of all all activities.

SUBJECT MATTER TAUGHT

Instructions were given in English, arithmetic, science, social studies and reading. Many of the students were behind in grade, some were at grade levels but anxious to maintain that level for they felt they needed help.

A group of these students were potential dropouts. They were not really interested in studying--academic subjects were a terrible chore. They reflect the great need for readaptation of the public school curricula.

Praiseworthy were the efforts of a group of mothers in Tidewater Park to help at the Center held at St. Mary's Academy, a beautiful new school building.

There were problems of discipline, characterized by disruption in the classroom. The mothers assigned themselves regular hours each day to patrol the halls. Children who came regularly wanted to come and they had to be protected from the indifferent.

The junior high school Centers were likewise successful in teaching subject matter to small groups.

At all schools teachers in the local system were faithful and put in hard work with the volunteer students and teaching assistants.

A total of 287 students were registered in three Centers with 143 completing the program as regulars. A total of some 24 regularly employed teachers helped while a total of 32 persons assisted at least once a week. Classes were held from 3:30 p.m. to 4:30 p.m. Monday through Thursday.

All agreed the program was infinitely worthwhile.

CULTURAL PROJECTS

A wide variety of cultural programs were offered: Visits to the Norfolk Museum, sessions at Kirn Memorial Library, concerts at Virginia State College, trips to the Park, parties at homes of children of the majority group through the Unitarian Church, an elaborate Christmas play and party at Catholic High School, hikes to City Park and Zoo, talks on Africa, Spain and the West Indies by persons recently returned and exhibits from these areas were exciting highlights.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That the Centers be put on a regular school basis financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity. This will insure regular attendance of teachers. However, volunteers would be used also,

2. That a larger program to secure greater cooperation from parents be instituted,

3. Committees be formulated to develop special reading matter for children whose lives are narrowly confined,

4. That the Centers be continued during the summer months.

Finances:

The Centers during the fall of 1964 to the spring of 1965, were financed by contributions from concerned friends in the community.

THE NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.
CENTERS-SUMMER 1965

June 25, 1965

The Board of Directors, special committee on Application for a Grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity, made a request for a total program in March, 1965. The application requested funds for as many Centers as are necessary but specified the development of at least ten with all speed possible.

The Southeastern Tidewater Opportunity Project (STOP) was slow in becoming organized. It was not apparent until the middle of June, 1965 that no overall programs except Operation Headstart would be funded. The summer of 1965 has been taken up with the hiring of staff and finding of office space. Programs will be considered after that. No projects are in sight until late fall.

This left the program for Center of the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education in a predicament. Plans were developed for one Center at Moung Pleasant Baptist Church Educational Center. Additional space was secured in the Annex of Titustown Elementary School. Over 160 students registered the first three days. A director and three professional teachers had been engaged while a request for five Job-Study Work Students from Virginia State College was approved. Students from the Norfolk Academy and Hampton Institute were accepted as volunteers.

Ideally, there should be no more than ten students to a teaching assistant. A professional teacher must be employed for every three teaching assistants to supervise and train the assistants.

The Titustown Center is in full swing. Sewing, arithmetic, art, music, French, drama, reading and English are taught. The staff consists of professional educators, students from the colleges and students from high school and private schools.

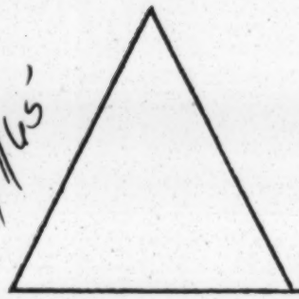
The Director and professional staff are paid a nominal fee. Other expenses include custodial fee for school, supplies of many kinds, printing, transportation and books.

The second and third Centers are waiting to be opened. Donors of the past have been kind but everyone expected the Office of Economic Opportunity to take on the cost this year.

It cannot be done because of lack of funds. The Tidewater Park mothers raised nearly one hundred dollars ($100.00) for "their Center." Hundreds of children are in the streets. The same is true of other areas. Unfortunately the idea that the Anti-Poverty Program would take full responsibility gained complete acceptance. Previous donors thought they would not be called upon. It has created an extremely difficult situation.

Rec'd 7/7/65

File ~~Southern~~ Rels Orgs - Baptist - gen.



PEAKLAND BAPTIST CHURCH - Lynchburg, Virginia

ARTHUR H. BROWN, JR.
MINISTER

CHURCH: 4018 PEAKLAND PLACE
STUDY: 1519 SOMERSET DRIVE

PHV
PW
MLV

July 6, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The recent material sent you by Martin England relative to the local newspaper situation should be treated as confidential, since the presentation is still in the making.

Thank you.

Cordially,

Arthur H. Brown, Jr.

Arthur H. Brown Jr.
Minister

AHB/Jr.:jb

file

CROSS REFERENCE

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc.

RE:

Aaron E. Norman Fund - Deborah Cole ltr. of July 9 transmitting $1,000 for NCIE Summer work.

DATE: July 12, 1965 (date of ltr to Mrs. W. T. Mason of Norfolk Comm.)

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

~~Norfolk Com. for the Improvement of Education~~, Inc.
Aaron Norman Fund

File

Cr. ref. Aaron E. Norman Fund re: Deborah Cole ltr. of July 9 transmitting $1,000.00 for NCIE Summer work)

July 12, 1965

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Chairman
Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc.
2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Mason:

We are pleased to enclose our check for $1,000.00 in support of the summer program of the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc. This support is made possible through the generosity of the Aaron E. Norman Fund.

Please have receipt of these funds acknowledged on the enclosed carbon of this letter and return it to us at your convenience.

Best wishes for a good summer.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
cc: Mrs. Deborah M. Cole

$1,000.00

The Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc.

2630 Chesterfield Blvd.

Norfolk, Virginia

Support of summer program

Aaron E. Norman Fund

July 12 65

Paul Anthony

Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

Rec'd 7/7/65

TA - did you hear from Deborah Cole?

2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia
July 5, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Please find herewith enclosed the duplicate of the materials sent to Mrs. Deborah Cole, Aaron E. Norman Fund, 575 Madison Ave., New York.

I cannot express to you my gratitude for the persistant efforts you are making to enable the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education to carry out Tutoring and Cultural Center projects this summer. It was, as you can imagine, a terrible disappointment that the Southeastern Tidewater Opportunity Project (STOP) was not organized to develop any projects here this summer except Operation Headstart.

Our Center in Titustown is moving ahead in a most stimulating fashion. It is our hope to open the Tidewater Park Center by the 20th of the month even if we have to run for only four weeks.

Again my warmest thanks for all your kindnesses.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C. Mason

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Chairman

VCM:gb

Enc.

Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

Rec'd file 7/19/65

P.A.

MS file

2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia
July 16, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Our deepest gratitude to you for the spirited and persistent manner in which you followed up the request of the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education for help for our summer project. Without your intuitive feelings of sympathy as well as your widespread knowledge of resources, it would not have been possible for the Committee to have met the commitments of the organization for its summer work.

You do know the tight schedules organizations like ours operate under. This is wholly evident in your successful pursuit of funds. We are more grateful than words can convey.

Our sincerest thanks for all your kindnesses and the best of everything to you.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C. Mason

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Chairman

VCM:gb

November 23, 1965

Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason
2630 Chesterfield Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Mason:

As promised, here are two copies of Mr. Dunbar's presentation to the Annual Meeting of 1964. Enclosed also are the materials you wished returned to you on the Norfolk Committee. These were very useful to us in reporting to the New World Foundation, and we wish we could keep them on file here. However, Mr. Anthony has asked me to get your permission to use them again if the need should arise.

It was good having you with us this year during the Annual Meeting.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures

Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc.
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

August 19, 1964
2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Enclosed please find clippings concerning the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education activities, together with a report on activities from the beginning of the organization to date. We enclose a copy of the report made in 1963 on the work of the Committee in East Ghent.

The latest clippings concern the Summer Pilot Program. Others were sent to you previously but I gathered you wanted a separate set.

We are going ahead in the belief that the budget necessary to operate eight new centers in addition to the two already established will be available. I know you will do whatever you can to help in the new program being planned.

The Summer Pilot Program was a singular success, far beyond what we dared hoped for. Your concern in underwriting the endeavor made it possible to move forward.

I look forward to hearing from you on the prospects for the future. Please feel perfectly free to criticize the report or make suggestions to improve it.

Have you ever had any contacts with Cyrus Eaton of Cleveland? I'm searching for financial supporters. We must have the salary of the City-Wide Administration in hand before engaging her. We have in mind a well recommended educator- a former teacher in the Prince Edward Free School Project.

Again, our warmest thanks for everything,

Sincerely yours,

Viviane C. Mason

(Mrs.) W. T. Mason, Chairman

Enclosures
VCM/sma

ps. If you don't need the enclosed clippings, please return them to me if possible.

LWD ✓
PAV ✓
LEV ✓
file
MJ

File

Cr. ref
N.W. Tabian - Citizenship
re: Free report
Submitted to Norfolk - 8/28/64
+ News clips
describing project

returned to Mr. M. Nov. 23, 1964 See Mary Lane date

File
Norfolk Committee
for the Improvement of
Education

August 2, 1966

Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason
2630 Chesterfield Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Mason:

Enclosed is our check for $300.00 representing a research grant for the purpose of determining the effects of your summer school program on disadvantaged children. We would be happy to have your summer-end report whenever it is available.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check, $300.00)

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

529A EST JUL 29 66 AA153 COA165

CT NFA002 NL PD NORFOGK VIR 28

PAUL ANTHONY, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 FORESIGHT ST NW ATLA

THE CONTRIBUTION FROM SIC WILL BE OF WONDERFUL HELP WE ARE RUNNING A SIZEABLE DEFFICET. NEED THE MONEY TO MEET SALARIES AND OTHER COSTS FOR PERIOD ENDING AUGUST 4 OUR GRATEFUL THANKS

VIVIAN MASON.

SF1201(R2-65)

File
Norfolk Cttee for the Improvement ...

July 26, 1966

Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason
Chairman
Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of
Education, Inc.
2630 Chesterfield Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Mason:

I have not answered your request of July 9 earlier because I first wanted to take it to the donor who made possible most of the support for the Norfolk Committee in the past. Unfortunately, no more funds are available from that source.

It is conceivable that we could help in the amount of several hundred dollars -- possibly $400 - $500, though likely somewhat less than this. Would this amount be of importance to you? Is it still time for this to help? And, would this guarantee the expanded program?

If you will let me know at your earliest convenience, I will respond immediately with any funds we are able to pull together here.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

(3)

Rec'd 7/12/66

Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

July 9, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc. opened a greatly expanded Tutoring-Cultural Center at Titustown Elementary School Annex on Monday, June 27, 1966. This was proceeded by three registration and teacher orientation programs on June 22, 23 and 24th.

Eighty students had returned applications by Friday, June 24. Although we knew there would be additional applications on Monday, we were not prepared for 100 new students clamoring to be admitted although this was the forth summer for NCIE, in the area. New subjects were offered this term which probably accounts for the new enrollment. You will note on the enclosed application the range of subjects offered.

Teachers competent by education and experience are employed in this project. We have learned that experienced educators must be engaged as head teachers. Volunteers are used as helpers to the teachers. The head teachers in addition to having responsibility for their subject matter supervise her volunteers and develop cultural programs for week-ends.

We are faced with two problems first to cut off all students who registered after June 27th or secure additional space at a nearby church and reschedule courses given, in addition to engaging at least three more teachers at a weekly honorarium totaling $105.00.

Mount Pleasant Church is willing to give space. The funds necessary are not available. We planned for classes in academic subjects of ten each in order to actually achieve improvement in each student. Larger classes will defeat the purpose of the project.

Another project, the result of a Home Study Pilot project is awaiting funds to be launched. This is an unfortunate time to seek contributions here. On June 14 a hard run Councilmanic election took considerable money and now the Senatorial campaign has made heavy inroads. Persons who usually contribute to the NCIE are waiting until fall to send a check. Despite this several of our old contributors have been concerned and are supporting the effort.

Quite naturally many people thought that the local Office of Economic Opportunity (STOP in Norfolk) was geared to fund such projects or the School Board under the Elementary and Secondary Schools Act. The former accepted our application for Study Centers but these are new projects, the old ones must continue. The School Board under 89-10 is conducting enrichment courses in

THE NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

July 9, 1966

public schools this summer but hundreds of children in need of this cannot be included.

Our deficit causes anxiety for we would be most reluctant to relinquish any teachers presently employed and hope through a miracle to be able to engage three more. If we cannot it means at least 75 students will have to be sent home. This would discourage these boys and girls anxious to improve and damage our good public relations in the area.

This winter 800 students were taken to "Sound of Music" and other programs. They, their teachers and parents were overjoyed.

I know this is late in the season but wish it would be possible for the Southern Regional Council to underwrite some part of the summer program. Our work goes on the year round, trying to strengthen subject matter for students who are weak and giving them a glimpse of the world that to so many is closed.

Enclosed please find honorarium scale and total budget projected, also enclosed is a facsimile of paragraphs taken from the "Report and Recommendations of the Council to the President's White House Conference," held in Washington, D. C., June 1 and 2, 1966.

We will be relieved and exceedingly grateful for what contribution you can make.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C Mason

2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Chairman

VCM:elm
Enclosures

THE NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

PROJECT-TUTORING AND CULTURAL CENTERS

APPLICATION FOR SUMMER SESSION

June 22 thru August 6, 1966

PLACE: DATE:_____, 19__

DIRECTOR:

1. NAME_____ ADDRESS_____ TEL._____

2. SCHOOL ATTENDING_____ GRADE NEXT SEMESTER_____

3. PARENTS NAMES_____

SUBJECTS DESIRED-CHECK

Mon. and Weds.
Grades 4 thru 6
(Check)

1. Art____
2. Music____
3. Sewing____
4. French____
5. Instrumental Music____

Mon. and Weds.
Grades 7 to 10
(Check)

1. Art____
2. Music____
3. Sewing____
4. French____
5. Instrumental Music____

Tues. and Thurs.
Grades 4 thru 6
(Check)

1. English____
2. General Arithmetic Review____
3. Negro History____
4. Sewing____
5. Dramatics____

Tues. and Thurs.
Grades 7 to 10
(Check)

1. Art of Conversation____
2. Social Studies____
3. Negro History____
4. World of Books____
5. Math or Science Review____

PLEDGE BY STUDENT:

If accepted for this program, I pledge to attend regularly, to pay 25 cents each Monday as a contribution to special events expenses and to conduct myself as a lady or gentleman at all times.

SIGNED_____

PARENT'S CONSENT:

The undersigned freely gives consent for _____ to attend the Summer Tutoring and Cultural Center and absolves the sponsors from any damage or injury that may occur as a result of such attendance.

SIGNED_____

Registration: Wednesday, June 22, 1966 - 2:00 to 4:00 p.m.
Thursday, June 23, 1966 - 2:00 to 4:00 p.m.
Friday, June 24, 1966 - 2:00 to 4:00 p.m.

Classes Begin June 27, 1966 - 9:00 a.m.

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

White House Conference

"To Fulfill These Rights"

June 1 and 2, 1966

COUNCIL'S REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE CONFERENCE

"In Norfolk, Virginia, a Council for the Improvement of Education grew in a different fashion out of the concern of middle class Negroes and white liberals over a published report of the low achievement levels of Negro children. Five Negro civic organizations and a Negro newspaper banded together to give structure and publicity to a council that had various committees of citizens treating different aspects of the problem.".....

"A primary principle of such community education committees has proved to be the attraction of every organized source of help. The united fund raising organizations can begin important sources of financial support for new agencies geared to educational needs, as well as health and welfare. *In Norfolk, for example the Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council was so influenced by the enrichment centers set up by the new committee that it developed a whole new approach to long range anti-poverty planning.".....

*The Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education developed the East Ghent program as a pilot project in 1961 and 1962.

THE NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

Project Tutoring-Cultural Centers

Budget for Summer 1966

Titustown Elementary School Annex for 140 Students

June 22 to August 5, 1966

1. Administration		Weekly	6 weeks
a. Honorarium for Director	7 weeks-	$60.00	$ 420.00
b. Resource Teachers	2 @	40.00	480.00
c. Public School Teachers	3 @	35.00	630.00
d. Asst. Head Teachers	3 @	25.00	450.00
e. Sewing Specialist	1 @	35.00	210.00
		Total	$2,190.00

2. Supplies

a. Sewing machine rentals, art supplies, paper, etc. ..... $ 78.00

3. Cultural Trips

a. Supplementing transportation..... 129.00

4. Mimeographing, printing, books 32.00

	$2,429.00
On hand.....	1,325.00
Deficit.....	$1,104.00

Supplementary Budget

Due to Expanded Registration

1. Administration	Weekly	5 weeks
a. Head Teacher	@ $45.00	$ 225.00
b. Public School Teacher	@ 35.00	175.00
		$ 400.00
	Deficit....	1,104.00
	Total Deficit...	$1,504.00

File Norfolk Ctee for Improvement of Educ.

August 22, 1966

Mrs. Vivian C. Mason
Chairman
Norfolk Committee for the Improvement
of Education, Inc.
2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Mason:

Thank you for your nice letter and the receipt of the two contributions from SRC.

We are very pleased that we were in a position to offer this modest help to your very important work.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Received 8/15/66

Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

(3)

August 12, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

You were a "life saver" in helping to store up the financial deficit experienced this summer by the check for three hundred dollars ($300.00) received as a "research grant for the purpose of determining the effects of your summer school program on disadvantaged children."

It came in time to meet the final payroll and other expenses. The Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education is deeply appreciative of your response to needs that were causing considerable anxiety.

A report will be sent to you on the summer program conducted to be followed by an evaluation by Mr. Calhoun, the Titustown Elementary School Principal, and his teaching staff.

The Committee on Tutoring Centers will meet early next week to determine future programs.

Again our warmest thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C. Mason

Mrs. W. T. Mason
Chairman

2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia

VCM/jeb

(Receipts enclosed + grant to RHA:
$1,000 - July 15, 1965
300 - Aug. 5, 1966)
mj

#5

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

June, 1965 -- September, 1966

Norfolk, Virginia

NORFOLK COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

REPORT 1965 - 1966

PROGRAM - TIDEWATER PARK

Tidewater Park Center opened in the late fall of 1964 after four summer sessions with the Mothers' Club of the area. Meetings reflected the anxiety of parents to the progress their children were making in school. There was universal dissatisfaction with reading ability; some mothers felt students were not interested enough in school, others indicated they wanted broader experiences for their offspring.

A NEW AREA IS SERVICED

Tidewater Park is an area of low income families, the majority residing in public housing. A Catholic Church, a private Catholic School, a Catholic Infants Home and other churches were within a stones throw of a transformed former slum area now a commercial plaza with stores of various kinds. These stores are tempting to small-fry. This has caused problems of delinquency for the temptation to take what doesn't belong to one is ever present. Measures were taken by merchants to curb this situation when it threatened to get out of hand. The Housing Development contains the Charlotte Street Center, a recreational facility maintained by the city. Children in this and adjoining areas attend either Tidewater Park or Laura B. Titus Elementary School, Ruffner Junior and Booker T. Washington High Schools.

TESTING

To determine the best course of procedure in attempting to encourage and help the children, Dr. Marian Capps, head of the Testing Bureau of Norfolk Division of Virginia State College and coordinator for the Project-Tutoring Centers, tested nearly 100 student registrants. Strengths and weaknesses were revealed to be used by the Director and teachers in developing tutorial assistance. This formed the basis for the tutoring programs carried out.

FUNCTIONING

The enthusiasm of students was marked through the fall of 1964 and winter of 1965 but as warm weather approached and sidewalks beckoned, frequent absences were noted. Parents were advised without notable response. Working mothers of otherwise unsupervised children were a source of deep concern. The attention span is short in many students. The impulse to play pronounced. This was recognized in that variations in learning were adopted. The long day in schooling discouraged some and they fell by the wayside, others continued to attend. Many youngsters are given door keys as young as nine and ten years of age--on their own from closing of school until a parent arrives home. These parents or guardians were not easily contacted because of limited time of the tutors.

THE MOTHERS' CONTRIBUTION

The Mothers' Club worked assiduously with the Center Director and the teachers. They served as aides on duty in the halls, helping to clear the building when classes were over, training the youngsters to help keep the building clear and

conduct themselves with decorum. This group gave an autumn "Fun Night", successfully raising money to meet small expenses of the Center.

ST. MARY'S CONTRIBUTIONS

St. Mary's Academy on Holt Street sheltered the Tidewater Park Project. Father LeFrois and his corps of assistants were kind and helpful in every possible way. The use of the building with janitorial services for after school programs was contributed by St. Mary's Church.

NEW PROGRAM PLANS FOR 1965

Following the closing of 1964 summer activities, discussions of the Board of Directors centered on programs for fall and winter of 1965. Recommendations were made that all centers be held in public schools in a joint cooperative program. The obvious advantages were cited--students could be contacted easily, the physical setup of the classroom was conducive to more fruitful accomplishments, blackboards, lighting and other facilities were available. The idea prevailed that teachers would more readily give their services if they were not compelled to travel to some other part of the city to tutor.

The negative aspects were that the school day would be too long for young people, tiring them out and hardening disinterest in school and any program identified with the building. The majority, however, were in agreement that the advantages of establishing centers in school buildings outweighed other considerations.

STEPS TOWARDS CENTERS

The plan involved establishing centers at two junior high schools and in the Tidewater Park area. The obstacles in the path of flourishing city-wide Tutoring Centers schemes were many. The necessity for having experienced teachers to give general supervision to students and volunteer student teachers was a conclusion that could not be deprecated. Teachers, young enough to be energetic, mature enough to administer the program, alert and imaginative had to be identified with the program. Securing cooperation of principals, volunteer teachers and the school authorities was the next step. Meeting with school authorities to secure permission to use the buildings, cooperation of principals and teachers, rounding up volunteers from various sources was time consuming, requiring individual and group meetings. Finally in January, 1965 programs were set up in Madison and Jacox Junior High Schools and in Tidewater Park at St. Mary's School.

ADMINISTRATION-JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL CENTERS

The administrator at D. J. Jacox Junior High School was Mrs. Margaret Drake; at Madison Junior High School, Mrs. Juanita Billups and at Tidewater Park, Mrs. Joanne Walker. In addition, responsibility was given Mrs. Walker to act as a liaison between the other Centers and the Board of Directors. All were responsible for developing programs, cultural projects and general overseeing of activities.

Instructions were given in English, arithmetic, science, social studies and reading. Many of the students were behind their grade, some were at grade level but anxious to maintain that level for they felt they needed strengthening.

A small group of students were potential dropouts. They were not really interested in studying--academic subjects were a terrible chore. They reflected the great need for readaptation of the public school curricula.

TITUSTOWN CENTER SUMMER 1965

A six week Summer Tutor Center project was conducted at Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church and Titustown Elementary School Annex from June 15 to July 29, 1965. A full complement of public school instructors and volunteers provided in classes in arithmetic, English, science, art, social studies, dramatics and reading. Trips of many kinds were taken throughout the Tidewater area. Art shows and concerts were attended during the summer festival at City Park.

Special emphasis was placed on reading and art classes. Professional instructors gave great competance in these areas training volunteers and overseeing the work undertaken. Walter Thrift and Mrs. Fay Zetlin, professional artists were volunteer directors of a flourishing art program.

A play given at the Little Theatre of Virginia State College produced by Mrs. Isabelle Fay employed the newest techniques of the modern school of acting delighting an exuberant group of boys and girls who performed ably assisted by a full orchestra of students taught by Mrs. Ethel Anderson.

Volunteers rendered excellent service as did the educators who received a small honorarium. Mrs. Margaret Drake was administrator in charge. Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church contributed the church facilities and janitorial services for the project.

TITUSTOWN CENTER SUMMER 1966

The other project for 1966 was designed to give students and teachers alike opportunity to broaden the approach and process of tutoring students in designated subjects. The innovation of Negro History, French, sewing and social studies seemed apt vehicles of not only exposure to specifics but could induce the introduction of different ideas than those of the regular curricula.

A real tie-in with life as it is lived and expectancies that might be possibilities was at the core of the hoped for teaching experiment. For example, Negroes know little of the history and contributions of their own people to civilization in general and to America specifically. With drama classes, English, art and music as the perifery, the hope was that departure from required subject matter, adventures in approach and content would result in the teaching of Negro history and social studies as a natural sequence of events, building pride of achievement and a deep sense of identification and belonging. This was not achieved. Part of the reason rests with the short preparatory time given to the teachers before the Center opened. There were casual factors also of training and environment, however, the work carried on was carefully programmed by the staff and they executed the program faithfully. Special mention must be made of the youth volunteers who were an integral part of the program.

Several delightful people came to bring entertainment and instruction -- including the French Consul, Pierre Schmidt, the Trent family of musicians and Mr. and Mrs. Rueben Jarvis. The regular teaching staff was given an honorarium for six weeks of service. Expenses of the summer session included clerical, custodial service and expenses incidental to the project. Mrs. Mary Guillory, a Woodrow Wilson Fellow was the administrator.

PROBLEMS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Problems of discipline varied with teachers. In an effort to alter the atmosphere, discipline was somewhat relaxed. Some students took advantage of this, they were too free. This presented a challenge to the teachers and some handled it very well. Other teachers provided more time for students to be more articulate.

PROBLEMS OF SPEECH

There seems to be, however, a preceptible inability to talk openly, freely and to the point by some students in the upper elementary grades. Sometimes a kind of tugging operation ensues to induce young people to carry on sustained conversations.

It raises a question--does the lack of experience in many areas hamper speech, because students feel they have nothing to say worthwhile on that subject, are the students overwhelmed by the teacher's ability to articulate effectively; do minority families still embrace to a considerable degree the admonition, "Children should be seen and not heard" and are students fearful that mistakes in English will be checked pointedly and before the thought can find expression?

Some of the smaller, but nevertheless, significant speech patterns are noticeable. When asked his name--the inevitable reply--"John", "Sam", or whatever. Frequently the family name is not recognized as the name, an important possession of the child--that it is the distinguishing characteristic of every boy and girl. The reasons can be found in some aspects of family life and culture.

Pronunciation of words is sometimes notably faulty including the name, parents' names, street address and the school. At an early age many children are already handicapped in the use of the English language--so pronounced that it is difficult to understand what they say. These same impediments are pronounced in many adults--handicaps in job situations.

SUGGESTED ACTION

The need appears to be more speech corrective programs beginning in the first grade, voice exercises, playlets, tape recording sessions, word pronunciation and recognition, incentive projects together with many other devices. Parents need to be drawn into these remedial programs. Children imitate them and the influence of the home environment is a terrific counterforce against school goals. Parents can be communicated with so they can understand why the school is emphasizing speech habits and speech development. Few will resist or resent this further effort to help their offspring successfully prepare for the years ahead.

AN INNOVATION HOME STUDY PROJECT

Under the sponsorship of Mrs. Margaret Tate, a Home Study Project was instituted in the Lamberts Point area after a survey made by several members of the Board of Directors and students from Old Dominion College. Forms were distributed to parents and those who wished to participate in the program. Some reluctance was encountered as parents asked why people were so interested in their children. Other parents were anxious and delighted at the prospect of an individual approach to the deficiencies of their boys and girls.

The purposes were:

(a) To provide after school help on an individual basis to students when parents asked for such help. This assistance would be given in the home.

(b) To build a good relationship between tutor and pupil so students would become imbued with the idea that someone was concerned and interested in helping the boy or girl to improve.

(c) To help parents and children initiate and maintain regular study habits.

(d) To include in the program cultural activities and other contacts and associations.

Students from Old Dominion College registered for the project after three organization meetings. Dr. Thelma Curl of Virginia State College gave an illuminating orientation talk to prepare the tutors for their students and parents.

It is too early to give a complete and detailed account of progress made, however, interestingly enough there were students whose grades improved encouragingly. Parents have expressed appreciation for the effective help offered. This program has received high priority on the 1966-67 program goals of Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, Inc.

TRIBUTE TO TEACHING STAFF

A tribute must be made to all who worked in the Tutoring Center projects. Sometimes teachers were forced to miss classes for good and sufficient reasons. Their concern and willingness to go beyond the requirements of the day surprised many people but demonstrated that there are teachers unhappily aware of the range of deficiencies in the school programs, so much so that they were eager to do more than their contracts required to remedy some of these ills. None of these volunteer teachers were paid, the exception was the summer programs requiring a four day week as a minimum where teachers received very small honorariums. Another group of exceptional volunteers were college, high school students who were devoted to accomplishing the tasks undertaken.

All Tutoring Centers maintained integrated staffs consisting of public school teachers, housewives and students.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The experiences of Project Tutoring Centers led to these recommendations:

1. That Tutoring Cultural Centers be continued but not necessarily held in the same school students attend for regular sessions. This may entail transportation and time problems;

2. That learning programs be alternated with other learning programs of a different nature--record playing with and without purpose, some opportunities for dancing, spontaneous and lilting--informal mid-afternoon snacks, reading aloud of fiction and poetry and acting out lessons by two-way conversations;

3. That parents of students be brought together as often as possible to help with the program, to share and participate in learning experiences, for an example, several mothers at the Tidewater Park Center wanted to learn "modern math". A class was started but the teacher took on other commitments and was unable to continue. The "students" were very disappointed, despite earnest efforts another teacher could not be found;

4. Special endeavors should be exercised to bring fathers into the realm of tutorial and cultural programs. The absence of fathers is of consequence for they do not feel or experience in many cases, the tide of urgency felt by mothers and many of the children. There are many reasons for what appears to be indifference....the pressures of economic inadequacy, poor instructional background, environmental defeatism coupled with a sense of inferiority, combines and have induced the feeling that there is little or no real future for minorities and their offspring;

5. That training programs be instituted for persons accepted to work in Tutorial Center programs both those operated during the school term and the summer activities. The purpose is manifold, to develop in these teachers the desire and ability to widen the horizons of learning, experiences, expectations, imagination, possibilities and methods in teaching youngsters beyond the confines of the curricula offered in the public school system. They must be trained to employ other criteria of judgement than that which they have been exposed to and utilize in the teaching process. The conclusion of other historians for example, the specious treatment of the Negro in history books, the contradictory realities of life in a "democracy", the overt hostilities predicted upon race are dominant factors clouding the entire process and goals of education. It is perhaps too much to expect teachers, well meaning as they may be, to shift from positions of security and habit to a more provacative posture in the transmission of ideas.

THE CULTURAL COMMITTEE

Over six hundred grade school children attended an April, Saturday morning showing of "Sound of Music" at the Riverview Theatre. Some two hundred and fifty of these were given free tickets by sponsors.

A benefit performance of the same picture was held on Friday, May 16, 1966 to provide funds for other cultural opportunities.

ANNUAL MUSICAL PROGRAM

The third annual Christmas Concert for school children sponsored by the Cultural Committee of the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education was presented by the Music Department of Norfolk Division of Virginia State College under the direction of Dr. Rosemary Adams and Donald Patterson just before the Christmas holidays. "Standing room only" meant many children were turned away. This was sufficient for the decision to take the next showing in December, 1966 to the Center Theatre. "Amahl and the Night Visitors" was beautifully rendered by a talented troop of students of the college.

OTHER PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

On March 5, 1966 Dr. Bruce Welch, child psychologist from Richmond schools spoke at Norfolk Division of Virginia State College on the problems and conditions of education bearing most heavily on the Negro child. His talk centered in deficiencies of education and the caliber of teaching skills and remedial programs necessary to correct environmental deprivation and social exile.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL ACT

A public meeting was sponsored on May 16, 1966 to acquaint and inform the public of the content, purpose and goals of this important legislation. Attorney Samuel Halpern, Director of Legislation, U. S. Department of Education spoke at Norfolk Division of Virginia State College to an interested audience, setting forth the purposes of the Act.

PRESENTATION OF ACTION PROGRAM

A set of sixteen proposals for action under this act compiled by a committee consisting of Dr. William Brazziel, Director of General Education at Norfolk Division of Virginia State College and consultant to NCIE, Dr. Marion Capps, and Albert Preston, Principal of Booker T. Washington High School was submitted to the Norfolk School Board on May 27, 1965, a copy of which is attached.

APPLICATION TO OEO

Application was made to the Office of Economic Opportunity in the winter of 1965 for Tutoring Center projects, occupational classes in gardening, clerical work research assistants, a consumer program and information centers.

These Study Centers would be quiet places to enable the students to achieve the daily assignments with counseling and help--given needed assistance where students could not study at home for various reasons and where necessary help was not available.

Late in July, 1966 word was received from the Director of STOP that the final approval of the program based on additional reports submitted as requested had been approved. The Tutorial-Center Committee has undertaken responsibility for a program of four Centers to open in the fall of 1966. The expectancy is that details incidental to the opening of these centers will have been finalized by the late fall. It is some satisfaction to the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education to have been the pioneers in this program in this community.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

No effort has been made to raise large sums of money, because the programs agreed upon taxed the capacity of the Board of Directors in terms of time available. Memberships have been solicited informally. The response indicates the need for an active Membership Committee.

The program of the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education has been underwritten by three sources, membership fees, contributions from citizen donors and a yearly contribution on a contingent basis, from an organization, the Southern Regional Council, of Atlanta, Georgia, which is engaged in bettering opportunities in education, social, economic and political life for racial minorities in the South.

Total amount of funds - September 1, 1965 to September, 1966.

From all sources----------$4765.50

Total disbursements for instructors, printing, postage, honorariums, clerical assistance, transportation, cultural programs, conferences, office supplies, etc.----------$4450.94

Balance, September, 1966----------$ 314.56

COUNTING THE COST

How does one estimate costs in the projection of programs involving the welfare of human beings? What measuring rods are to be utilized? Who can say what was the sum total of accomplishment? In what ways can the influence of teachers be calculated? Who knows what spark is lit that finally builds a fire of hope and achievement. If a few are caught up in a dream, they can believe in; a dream that sustains them from the disillusionments of life, the cost of such a miracle cannot be numerically equated.

MEMBERSHIP--PROJECT-TUTORING CENTERS 1965-1966

	Regular	Occasional
Tidewater Park	68	52
Titustown 1965	97	24
Titustown 1966	92	25
Jacox Junior High School	67	23
Madison Junior High School	24	7
TOTAL	342	131

Attendance	
Special Cultural Programs	
1965	623
1966	613
Home Pilot Study	23
	1601

Over 1600 students, boys and girls were attracted to some phase of the program instituted by the NCIE. Since the actual cost of the instructional program amounted to $2524.20, the average cost per pupil was $7.00 plus. This must be regarded as a very small outlay for the operation of instruction and cultural undergirding.

NEEDS UNMET

Reading materials are needed to help minority children become identified with their city and to comprehend the important role they have inherited. A housing project for example is a vital adjunct to the well being of the city; how and why are object lessons for dwellers in these projects, who can readily identify with this housing reality. Children in middle class neighborhoods need to see themselves as natural products of the community with cogent knowledge of the vital factors in community and neighborhood living.

ILLUSIONS SUSTAINED BY INACCURACIES

One of the most innocuous resources offered to students is the current portrayal of American life as contained in text books and suggested reading lists. So far as minority children are concerned, it constitutes official shutout from participation in the achievements of their country and community.

The blithe recital of life as enjoyed by the transplanted natives to suburbia bears no relationship for the most part to the various facets of life as the Negro boy or girl knows it. Conversely, the children of suburbia are strengthened in their conviction of being God's chosen; those others, alien and despoiled must be inferior and undesirable, else why would they be so set apart.

Democracy is not only weakened but given a false and devious face in the light of all the differences that flourish in our communities. All children need to know the truth but we fail to impart it and education is our only hope for the dissemination of its realities.

The hope is that a collective, honest, unbiased project to assemble and construct purposeful reading materials will emerge as a project goal.

IMPORTANCE OF HOME STUDY PROJECT

The Home Study project is concerned with the introduction of new and little tried methods of communication; invoking responses that eminates when individuals find common language, mutual respect, empathy and finally reasons that can be accepted for defined goals. Parental identification on a closer basis, promoting understanding of the child is one of the important by-products of this program.

The Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education plans a broadened base of volunteer service in this program with an appeal to housewives, businessmen, students and then they are able to serve, men and women in the armed forces. Many are of the opinion that in the final analysis the Home Study Project will be the most effective method of remedial teaching. The individual method is an effort to reach through barriers of indifference, hostility and resentment to the boy and girl beneath who reflects the disorders and malfunctions of our times.

FUTURE ADMINISTRATION OF N C I E PROGRAMS

There is justification in the desire to extend the program of education, to reach people who have little concern with the problems of education as well as those who do have concern. Vigilance is the price of liberty, the cost is no less if we want an educated citizenry.

If extensive programs old and new are to be offered, some thought should be given to setting up a small office and a staff. A paid executive assistant, supporting clerical staff, possibly from the Office of Economic Opportunity and college student help programs; ought to be considered in the light of the need to accelerate remedial programs in educational and cultural advancement of minorities. The majority of Negro students will be in all Negro schools for some time to come if residential patterns are maintained as they are now. There are psychological impediments as well as economic and social barriers affecting the educational training of these children.

NEED FOR ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH EDUCATION

Communities must have and must support organizations like the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education to serve as catalysts, watchdogs and pilots, introducing new programs of learning in planned projects. Such a group must conduct seminars, public meetings, discussion groups, show films and other media as a means of convincing the public that education for life is more than a building, more than teachers, students and fixed curricula.

> "The objectives of equal educational opportunity, higher quality of education, and reduction of racial concentration in the schools cannot be achieved by the schools alone. They require the cooperation and concerted effort of all elements of the public. The organized non-governmental elements of society including the church, business and labor organizations, and civic and social organizations, must lend their efforts to the attainment of these crucial goals. Individual citizens and families--parents and children--must also do their part in this necessary national program.".....

> "Educators have a right to be concerned lest schools take on too many of the problems stemming from family and community inadequacies. They must recognize, however, that the schools have come to be viewed as strategic centers for meeting the needs of social and technological change, and for remedying widespread social and racial injustices. Federal and state funds and technical assistance are becoming increasingly available for this purpose.

> These new resources make it all the more important that citizens and private groups, especially business leadership, join in the development of new ideas and solutions.".....

THE OUTLOOK

There is some significance in the comments and conclusions reached by the Council's Report and Recommendations to the President's Conference on Education. These findings issued "To Fulfill These Rights" for the White House Conference held on June 1 and 2, 1966 in Washington, D. C. read in part:

> "In Norfolk, Virginia, a council for the Improvement of Education grew in a different fashion out of the concern of middle class Negroes and White Liberals over a published report of the low levels of Negro children. Five Negro civic organizations and a Negro newspaper banded together to give structure and publicity to a council that had various committees of citizens treating different aspects of the problem.".....
>
> "A primary principle of such community education committees has proved to be the attraction of every organized source of help. The united fund raising organizations can begin important sources of financial support for new agencies geared to educational needs, as well as health and welfare. In Norfolk, for example the Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council was so influenced by the enrichment centers set up by the new committee that it developed a whole new approach to long range anti-poverty planning.".....

The Project Tutoring-Centers has been adopted by the Norfolk School system with classes conducted in various schools similar to the program begun in 1961 by the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education. There is serious warning in the observations of Dr. Bruce Welch who spoke before a teachers group on March 4, 1966 preceding the public meeting on March 5, 1966. "If after-school classes are to be conducted in the same routine, as in the earlier day classes, it will be a tragic waste of the tax payers money. Entirely new approaches and even goals must distinguish this tutorial program if it is to succeed."

THANKS FOR SUPPORT

The Norfolk City School Board has given most cooperative support to the work of the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, public lectures have

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*Council's Report and Recommendations, to the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights", page 50.

been attended by one or more officials, the use of Titustown Elementary School Annex given without cost except for custodial services and books have been loaned.

Parents and interested citizens in the community in all project areas served as chaperones and teacher's aides, businessmen furnished transportation, in addition to financial contributions and were in general pillars of support.

NORFOLK DIVISION OF VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE

The use of meeting rooms for the Board of Directors and public meetings was contributed by Norfolk Division of Virginia State College through the interest and support of the Provost, Dr. Lyman B. Brooks and the Public Relations Officer, Harvey Johnson. This provision for holding meetings has been essential to the success of the program. Faculty members of the college have contributed services from time to time undergirding projects of various kinds.

JOURNAL AND GUIDE AND THE VIRGINIAN-PILOT

The Journal and Guide through the publisher, Thomas W. Young and the Virginian-Pilot have recounted in news stories and pictures the various aspects of programs undertaken by the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education. This too is a most important aspect of developing community interest and support.

RADIO STATION WRAP - TV WTAR

The personal enthusiasm and unique promotion given the work of the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education by Stewart Barnodess, the Manager of WTAR was a signal factor in programs sponsored. The Women's Director, Mrs. Leola Dyson, spared no pains to keep the efforts of this organization on the air.

Mrs. Mildred Alexander, Women's Director of WTAR, held interviews on television with members of the Board of Directors to explain the program in an appeal for volunteers.

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The Board of Directors, all busy men and women, with few exceptions are employed full time or are in business. They have been ardent proponents of the duty and place of lay persons in the realm of helping to improve the educational process. They have worked hard at difficult tasks, expressive of their insight into problems of various kinds. The united efforts of these persons with professional educators has been invaluable for the anxieties of one group and the day by day experiences of the other have found common ground for study and action.

The impetus given to educational goals by the Virginia General Assembly of 1966 gives renewed hope, to continue to press for remedial and forthright action to elevate educational standards and opportunities for all children, especially to rescue from privation and separateness the children of minority families.

OFFICERS*

Mrs. W. T. Mason
President

Dr. Marion C. Capps
Vice-President

Harry Reid
Recording Secretary

Mrs. Wendell Browne
Corresponding Secretary

Mrs. Joseph Greene
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Rev. William Crews
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Mrs. Hermione Jackson
Cultural Chairman**

Dr. William Brazziel, Consultant

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Mrs. Henry Riddick

Burnett Spruell

William Talley

Mrs. William Talley

Mrs. Godfrey L. Tate, Jr.

Rev. Godfrey L. Tate, Jr.

Mrs. Allen Vann

Sterling Walker

Thomas W. Young

*Until June, 1966
**Until September, 1965

NORFOLK COMMITTEE
for the
IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, INC.

Mrs. W. T. Mason,
Chairman

Dr. William Brazziel
Co-Chairman
Dr. Marion Capps
Co-Chairman
Mrs. Helen Blanton
Membership Secretary

Mrs. Ocie Shields
Treasurer
Mrs. Irma Browne
Corresponding Secretary
Harry Reid
Recording Secretary

A PERSONAL APPEAL

Dear Friend:

The Norfolk Committee For The Improvement of Education, Inc., has offered the citizens of Norfolk several opportunities to hear and talk with a number of brilliant practitioners in the field of education.

Such notables as Daniel Schreiber, originator of "High Horizons" program designed to inspire and encourage potential school drop-outs, Otis Finley, Industrial Secretary of the National Urban League, the School Superintendent of Washington, D.C., who spoke and answered questions, although in the capitol city, by means of a unique electronic, telephonic device have participated in these programs. Cultural programs under the chairmanship of Mrs. Hermione Jackson, given by Norfolk Division of Virginia State College, have delighted hundreds of eager youngsters. These concerts, including a ballet presentation at the Center Theater, were underwritten by several of our concerned public school principals and staff.

In April, 1963, Bernard Kaplan, assistant to Mr. Schreiber of "Project School Drop-Outs", sponsored by the National Education Association of Washington, D.C., gave a graphic and tragic picture of the plight of rich America; the repudiation of education by the unbelievable number of one million boys and girls, men and women, before graduation - the school drop-outs of our day.

The number is increasing and almost needless to say, Negro Youth constitute a very high percentage now on their way to employment and educational oblivion. Mr. Kaplan warned, pleaded and urged the audience to do one or several of many efforts here in our community. "The last to be hired and first to be fired" haven't a chance as functionally, illiterate wanderers seeking jobs that fail to materialize in the rapidly widening automic era.

What can we do to hold these young people in school, to implant fruitful seeds of confidence and self-esteem, to expose them to unknown and unheard experiences, broadening their backgrounds, curiosity and desire to learn.

The NCFTIE has undertaken Project "Tutoring Centers". The purpose is to provide individual and group experiences and instruction in the Language Arts - reading, writing, observing, speaking clearly, fluently and correctly. Failure to master these attributes spells failure in other subjects.

WHO WILL TEACH?

You, we hope - any person equipped by previous experience in the field of education, social work, etc.

HOW WILL THE CURRICULA BE DEVELOPED?

By The Curricula Committee, consisting of language arts experts, teachers and counsellors from Norfolk Division, Virginia State College, Booker T. Washington High, and the Junior High Schools.

WHO WILL BE ENROLLED?

Students recommended by the schools. Boys and girls who have real potential, but fail to use it to the maximum degree. These youths are candidates for the school drop-out army not high school and college graduation.

HOW CAN CITIZENS HELP?

By joining the NCFTIE - - - volunteering as teachers, clerical workers, administrators, home visitors, chaperones for trips, the telephone committee, budget and finance committee, and building clean-up squads, and ever so much more....By attending weekly meetings at Norfolk Division of Virginia State College on Tuesdays, January 28, February 3, February 10, and so on, at 7:30 P. M.

WHERE CENTERS WILL BE HELD

Rev. William H. Crews is Chairman and Rev. Godfrey L. Tate, Jr., is Co-Chairman to find appropriate places. It is expected that for the most part educational centers of our churches will be available. It is hoped to begin with at least five centers, located in Coronado, Lamberts Point, Titustown, Midtown and one other section.

HOURS: 4:00 to 5:30 P. M. - for Junior High School Students
5:30 to 7:00 P. M. - for Senior High School Students

There has been a tremendous and heartening response from principals and staffs of schools in question. It isn't helpful simply to criticize the operation of schools when we can help in resolving some of the problems. Educators are faced with punishing tasks in trying to erase the deficiencies of the home, the courts, the community and lay people, the results of more than 100 years of disadvantages and indifference.

All organizations and every individual concerned with this national tragedy can help. Perhaps all our efforts can be coordinated so that each group working can help each other in these monumental tasks.

The struggle valiantly waged by millions of Americans for fairer and better opportunities for Negro youth can run aground unless we can increase by thousands the trade-trained and academically equipped youth for competitive employment in our communities. Please join us in making Project "Tutoring Centers" a vital, enthusiastic proving ground for those who may be lost forever unless we do Something Now

Our warmest thanks.

Sincerely,

Vivian C Mason

2630 Chesterfield Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia 23504

Vivian C. Mason
Chairman
William Brazziel
Marion P. Capps
Co-Chairmen
Irma Browne
Corresponding Secretary

11. 9

CONTRACT FOR THE SALE AND PURCHASE
OF REAL ESTATE

THIS AGREEMENT this day entered into by and between ISAAC DANIELS, hereinafter referred to as the "Seller," and NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE (A.A.L.), a farm cooperative organized under the Laws of the State of Mississippi, hereinafter referred to as the "Purchaser";

W I T N E S S E T H:

1. The Seller hereby agrees to sell, and the Purchaser hereby agrees to purchase from the Seller, the following described parcel of land lying and being situate in Bolivar County, Mississippi, more particularly described as follows, to-wit:

> A parcel of land in the South Half of Section 3, Township 23 North, Range 6 West, Bolivar County, Mississippi, more particularly described as follows:
>
> Begin 132 feet due North of the Southwest corner of said Section 3, and run thence North 89° 33' East 1800 feet; thence North 89° 59' East 2500 feet; thence 89° East 980 feet to a point 149 feet north of the Southeast corner of said Section 3; run thence due North 2,530 feet to the Northeast corner of the South Half (S½) of said Section 3; thence due West 5,280 feet to the Northwest corner of said South Half (S½) of Section 3; thence due South 2,508 feet to the point of beginning; containing 305 acres, more or less, and conveyed expressly excluding the South 19 acres of said Section 3.

2. The purchase price of the property is Five Hundred Twenty-Five and No/100 Dollars ($525.00) per acre. It is believed that the total acreage in said tract of land is 305 acres, and if such is the case, then the total consideration will be One Hundred Sixty Thousand One Hundred Twenty-Five and No/100 Dollars ($160,125.00). The property was recently surveyed in connection with Seller's loan from The Federal Land Bank. The acreage in the tract shall be verified by the surveyor who made the said recent survey, and if the certificate of such surveyor is to the

effect that the acreage is more or less than 305 acres, then, in such event, the purchase price shall be adjusted accordingly on the basis of the said agreed price of Five Hundred Twenty-Five and No/100 Dollars ($525.00) per acre.

3. Ad Valorem taxes for the year 1969 shall be prorated between the parties hereto as of the date on which the transaction is consummated.

4. The Seller agrees to furnish the Purchaser, at Seller's expense, with a Certificate of Title from a reputable attorney showing merchantable title in the Seller. The term "merchantable title" as used herein shall be such as will be deemed satisfactory by Mississippi Valley Title Insurance Company, or other title insurance company doing business in the State of Mississippi, for an owner's policy of title insurance in favor of the Purchaser showing exceptions only for current taxes, matters of survey and possession, existing easements for roads, drainage canals and public utilities, and a one-half (1/2) interest in the oil, gas and other minerals as previously reserved by Seller's predecessor in title.

5. A reasonable time shall be allowed for examination of the title and for preparation of the Certificate of Title. Should the title examination reveal defects which can be cured, the Seller hereby obligates himself to cure the same as expeditiously as possible, and to execute and tender a Warranty Deed to the Purchaser conveying a good and merchantable title in accordance with the terms of this agreement.

6. The Seller has represented to the Purchaser that there are no liens for special improvements, assessments, or any other liens against the said property, and if the attorney's Certificate of Title should reveal the presence of any such liens, then, in

such event, the Seller agrees to pay and discharge the same in full before the transaction is consummated.

7. Possession of the property shall be delivered to the Purchaser when the Deed is delivered.

8. The Purchaser has deposited with the Seller the sum of Eight Thousand and No/100 Dollars ($8,000.00), as earnest money. If the title is merchantable, said deposit shall be applied onto the purchase price. If the title is not merchantable, the Seller is to return the earnest money to the Purchaser. In the event the title is found to be merchantable and the Purchaser fails to carry out and perform the terms of this agreement, it shall forfeit the above mentioned earnest money as liquidated damages for breach of this agreement.

9. The sale is to be closed within a reasonable time from delivery of the attorney's Certificate of Title to the Purchaser or as soon thereafter as merchantable title can be effected; provided, however, that Purchaser shall have a reasonable time from the date of this contract to make application for and to secure a satisfactory mortgage loan committment to finance its purchase.

10. Purchaser agrees that the consideration specified in Paragraph 2 above shall be paid to the Seller in such manner that the transaction will be qualified as an installment sale under Internal Revenue Service Regulations. If a problem is encountered with respect to the Seller's security for the balance of the purchase price, on account of the Purchaser having to give a first mortgage on the property to finance its purchase of the land, then, in such event, the parties agree that security other than the land itself, satisfactory to the Seller, will be acquired by the Purchaser with the balance of the purchase money, and such security will be

pledged to the Purchaser or placed in escrow with a suitable escrow agent in order that the Seller's purchase money note will be adequately secured.

WITNESS THE SIGNATURES of the parties, on this the 24th day of January, 1969.

Witness:
Jm Howorth
Mrs J Howorth

Isaac Daniels
ISAAC DANIELS

SELLER

NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE (A.A.L.)

Witness:
Jm Howorth
Mrs J Howorth

BY Willie Finch President
Mrs Lucendia Young Sec't.

PURCHASER

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

COUNTY OF BOLIVAR

This day personally appeared before me, the undersigned authority in and for the jurisdiction aforesaid, Willie Finch and Mrs. Lucendia Young, who acknowledged to me that ~~he~~ they ~~is~~ are President & Secretary of North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative (A.A.L.), a farm cooperative organized under the Laws of the State of Mississippi, and that as such officer and being duly authorized so to do, he signed, executed, sealed and delivered the above and foregoing instrument of writing on the day and year therein mentioned, for and on behalf of

said corporation.

GIVEN under my hand and seal of office, this the 24th day of January, 1969.

Frances W. Hood
NOTARY PUBLIC

My Commission Expires:
1/28/71

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI
COUNTY OF Bolivar

This day personally appeared before me, the undersigned authority in and for the jurisdiction aforesaid ISAAC DANIELS, who acknowledged to me that he signed, executed and delivered the above and foregoing instrument of writing on the day and year therein mentioned for the intent and purposes therein set forth.

GIVEN under my hand and seal of office, this the 24th day of January, 1969.

Frances W. Hood
NOTARY PUBLIC

My Commission Expires:
1/28/71

P. O. BOX 387

11.9

PHONES:
OFFICE 843-2086
HOME 843-2610

ABE D. SOMERVILLE
LAWYER
120 N. PEARMAN AVE. — OPPOSITE COURT HOUSE

CLEVELAND, MISSISSIPPI 38732

March 14, 1969

North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative, (A.A.L.)
Mound Bayou, Mississippi

Gentlemen:

Mr. Isaac Daniel and his wife, Mrs. Abbie Daniel, the sellers of 305 acres of land in Bolivar County, Mississippi to the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative (A.A.L.) have requested us to furnish a certificate of title on the said 305 acres for your approval.

The land described in the contract of sale dated January 24, 1969, is as follows:

A parcel of land in the South Half of Section Three (3), Township 23 North, Range 5 West, Bolivar County, Mississippi, more particularly described as follows: Beginning 132 feet due North of the southwest corner of said Section 3, and run North 89 degrees 33 minutes East 1800 feet; thence North 89 degrees 59 minutes East 2500 feet; thence South 89 degrees 59 minutes East 980 feet to a point 149 feet north of the southeast corner of said Section 3; run thence due North 2530 feet to the northeast corner of the South Half of said Section 3; thence run due West 5280 feet to the northwest corner of said South Half of Section 3; thence run due South 2508 feet to the point of beginning, containing 305 acres, more or less, and being the property conveyed to Jacob S. Borodofsky by the heirs of S. D. Robbins by deed dated September 25, 1919 as recorded in Book J-9 at page 234 in the records in the office of the Clerk of the Chancery Court of Bolivar County in Cleveland, Mississippi, hereby expressly excluding the South 19 acres of said Section 3; and being a part of the property conveyed to Isaac Daniel and wife, Abbie Daniel, by the heir of Jacob S. Borodofsky by deed dated December 15, 1964 of record in Deed Book M-77 at page 447 in the records in the office of the Dlerk of the Chancery Court of Bolivar County in Cleveland, Mississippi; but subject to all existing easements for roads, drainage canals and public utilities and to the reservation to the heir of Jacob S. Borodofsky of one-half of all oil, gas and minerals in, on and under the aforesaid property with the right to make exploration thereon for same.

Is it 305 acres or 19 acres the same as S D Robbins to Borodofsky

Our examination of the title of this property has covered a period of time from January 10, 1856 when one-half of it was patented to Robert Shotwell, the other half was patented to Robert Shotwell on December 5, 1856.

There is a clear line of the title for more than 50 years:

(1) Isaac Daniel and wife, Abbie Daniel received title by warranty deed on December 15, 1964 from Julia Eldee Borodofsky Mayer, and her husband Maurice Mayer, recorded in Book M-77 at page 447.

(2) They received title under the Will of Jacob (J. S.) Borodofsky (probated May 2, 1946). See Will Book 2, page 326.

(3) Jacob Borodofsky received title by warranty deed dated September 25, 1919 from the heirs at law of S. D. Robbins, deceased, see Book J-9,page 234.

(4) S. D. Robbins received title by warranty deed dated January 3, 1893 from James Hill, see Book A-9 page 84 at Rosedale.

(5) James Hill received title by warranty deed dated November 14, 1890 from Louisville, New Orleans and Texas Railroad Company. See Book 2, page 195 at Rosedale.

(6) The Louisville, New Orleans and Texas Railroad Company received a deed from the State of Mississippi on May 23, 1888. See Book MM, page 286 at Rosedale.

(7) There was another deed from the State of Mississippi in 1884 in Book GG, page 296 at Rosedale.

Along the way from 1884 to date, the owners executed many deeds of trust:

? open

(1) Isaac Daniel gave a deed of trust to The Federal Land Bank dated December 16, 1964, recorded in Book N-112, page 129, which is not canceled. (The Borodofskys were paid in cash from the proceeds of the loan from The Federal Land Bank).

open

Isaac Daniel to Clarksdale Credit Production Association in Book N-133, page 396, which is not canceled. Isaac Daniel also gave other deeds of trust which are satisfied and canceled.

(2) Jacob S. Borodofsky gave 15 deeds of trust, all of which have been satisfied and canceled.

(3) S. D. Robbins gave three deeds of trust, all of which are satisfied and canceled.

Oil and Gas and Minerals, etc.

The deed from Mrs. Julia Eldee Borodofsky Mayer, et al to Isaac Daniel et al contains the following immediately after the description which contained other acreage, to-wit: "But subject to all existing easements for roads, drainage canals and public utilities and reserving to the grantor and excepting from the conveyance hereon one-half of all oil, gas and minerals in, on and under the aforesaid property."

Also in the deed is the following: "As indicated above, the grantor does hereby reserve and except from this conveyance one-half of all oil, gas and minerals in, on and under the aforesaid property, and the grantor reserves the right to make exploration thereon for oil, gas and minerals."

We found an oil and gas lease dated October 30, 1940 by J. S. Borodofsky to Byrd Hamilton, assigned to Magnolia Petroleum Company, for a primary term of ten years at a yearly rental and as long thereafter as oil, gas and other minerals are produced from the land. The lease appears to have lapsed.

There are no judgments outstanding, tax liens, tax sales or Lis Pendens notices on record affecting said property.

Recapitulation

After a careful examination of the records in the Chancery Clerk's offices in Cleveland and Rosedale, Bolivar County, we are of the opinion and find that Isaac Daniel and wife Abbie Daniel are vested with a merchantable fee simple title to the property described above with the following exceptions, to-wit:

1. Taxes for the year 1969 and subsequent years, including drainage taxes, etc. levied by the State and County.

2. Existing easements for roads, drainage canals and public utilities. We did not find any right of way conveyances.

3. One-half of the oil, gas and minerals, with right of exploration.

4. Deed of trust from Isaac Daniel and wife to the Clarksdale Production Credit Association of record in Book N-133 at page 396.

5. Deed of trust from Isaac Daniel and wife to The Federal Land Bank, dated December 16, 1964 of record in Book N-112 at page 129, on this and other property.

It is understood the seller will arrange a cancellation of The Federal Land Bank deed of trust and the Crop Production deed of trust concurrently with the closing of this sale.

Yours very truly,

A. D. SOMERVILLE

BY: Joseph M. Howorth

11.9

W. M. Thomas, Consulting Engineer

343 CENTRAL AVE.

CLEVELAND, MISSISSIPPI

March 20, 1968

Mr. Joseph M. Howorth
Attorney at Law
Cleveland, Mississippi

Dear Sir:

This is to certify that we have calculated the acreage in a tract of land belonging to Issaac Daniels, which lies in the S 1/2 of section 15, Township 23 North, Range 5 West, Bolivar County, Mississippi, and found said tract to contain 307.03 acres of land more or less.

The south boundary line of the above mentioned tract was established by a survey by us. The calculated acreage was taken from a description furnished us from a sales contract between Issaac Daniels the seller, and North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative (A. A. L.), the purchaser, which was dated January 24, 1969.

Yours truly,

W. M. Thomas

W. M. Thomas, Consulting Engr.
Mississippi Reg. No. 400

11.9

April 17, 1969

Mrs. Hilary S. Feldstein
Assistant Program Officer
Division of National Affairs for
Social Development
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mrs. Feldstein:

Please consider this our letter of endorsement on the grant of $161,175.00. On receipt of these funds we will use this grant to make a loan to the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative for the purchase of 307 acres of land.

I have asked Mr. John Lewis, of our staff, to determine what other assistance we can provide this cooperative.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Francis B. Stevens

11.9

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

April 15, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On April 10, 1969 the Officers of the Foundation approved a recoverable grant to the Southern Regional Council for $161,175 in order that the Southern Regional Council may loan that amount to the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative to purchase 307 acres according to a contract signed with Isaac Daniel. This letter is by way of unofficial notification. Official notification will be sent upon receipt of your letter of endorsement.

We are now working out the terms to be included in the grant letter, and have stated that "the terms for the repayment of the loan and recovery of the grant will be negotiated by the Foundation and the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative with the consent of the Southern Regional Council." We have expressed it this way because we hope to make a loan, later, to the North Bolivar County Farm Co-op which will cover the land and part of the cannery, allowing them to repay you in full then. Less preferably, once the cannery package is complete, we would work out a longer term repayment scheme to the Southern Regional Council separately; but as this is obviously a bookkeeping problem for you and has no apparent advantages to any of the other parties, I'm sure we will use the first scheme. However, it may take three to six months to work out the cannery package.

We will also include in the grant letter terms for the recovery of the grant, if for some reason (e. g. the cannery package falling through) it appears that the North Bolivar County Farm Co-op will not be able to repay the grant. This wording probably will allow either for forgiving of the loan and the grant or sale

of the land, etc. with loss accruing to the Foundation, depending upon the Foundation's evaluation of the cooperative's viability.

I hope this is satisfactory to you. If you have any questions, please call my office (212 573 5052). Thank you very much for all your help.

Sincerely yours,

Hilary S. Feldstein

(Mrs.) Hilary S. Feldstein
Assistant Program Officer

cc: John Hatch

11.9

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

April 15, 1969

COPY

Mr. Francis B. Stevens
Butler, Snow, O'Mara, Stevens & Cannada
Suite 700, Petroleum Building
P. O. Box 22567
Jackson, Mississippi 39205

Dear Mr. Stevens:

This letter is to inform you, unofficially, that on April 10th the Officers of the Foundation approved a recoverable grant to the Southern Regional Council for $161,175 which is to be loaned to the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative. This grant was made in order that the North Bolivar County Farm Co-op could honor its contract with Isaac Daniel for the purchase of 307 acres.

An official letter notifying the Southern Regional Council of the grant (with copies to you and to Mr. Hatch), and the payment of the grant will go out about a week to ten days after the Foundation's receipt of the Southern Regional Council's letter of endorsement.

I hope this letter will be sufficient guarantee to Mr. Isaac and his lawyers that the funds for completing the contract are in fact assured and on their way.

We have made the recoverable grant for the full amount so that you can repay the Southern Cooperative Development Project the $8,000 loaned as option money.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Hilary S. Feldstein
Assistant Program Officer

cc: John Hatch
Paul Anthony

11.9

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

HOWARD R. DRESSNER
SECRETARY

May 12, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

690-0431
Grant Number

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am pleased to inform you that The Ford Foundation has approved a recoverable grant of $161,175 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. in order that the Council may loan that amount to the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative (a farm cooperative organized under the Laws of the State of Mississippi)for the purchase of 307 acres of land located in Bolivar County, Mississippi, in accordance with a contract of sale entered into between North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative and Mr. Isaac Daniel (seller) in January 1969. It is understood that the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative will use the land for farming and cannery purposes. It is also understood that the Foundation's action is being taken in accordance with your letter of April 17, 1969 addressed to Mrs. Hilary S. Feldstein of the Foundation staff.

This grant is made on the specific condition that the Southern Regional Council will obtain a mortgage on the 307 acres of land from the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative, which interest free mortgage will mature at the earliest of two (2) years from the date of the mortgage or at such time that North Bolivar ceases to use the land for farming or cannery purposes. In the event that North Bolivar ceases to utilize the land as a farm or for cannery purposes, the Southern Regional Council will foreclose the mortgage, take title to the land, sell the land and return the amount of the grant to the Ford Foundation after deducting any expenses incurred by the Council and any loss on the sale.

It is anticipated that the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative will establish a cannery within the next year. In the event and at the time that the cannery plans are perfected and approved, terms will be worked out by which the Southern Regional Council is repaid the existing mortgage and the debt will then be established between the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative and the Ford Foundation covering the land and part of the cost of the cannery.

Payment of the grant funds will be made in full in the near future by Mr. Thomas H. Lenagh, Treasurer of the Foundation.

The attached statement, which specifies further terms and provisions

applicable to this grant, should be read carefully. If you wish additional information, please communicate with us. In all correspondence concerning this grant, reference should be made to the grant number designated on the preceding page.

On behalf of the Foundation, may I extend every good wish for the success of the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative project and may I thank the Southern Regional Council for its assistance with this project.

Sincerely,

Howard R. Dressner

Attachment

cc: Mr. John Hatch
Dr. Jack Geiger
Mr. Francis B. Stevens
Mr. Lyle Marshall

11.9

THE FORD FOUNDATION, 320 EAST 43rd STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

TERMS OF GRANT

AND OTHER PROVISIONS

Grantee:

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Date: May 12, 1969

Amount: $161,175

Period: One year

1. Public Announcements. The Foundation will refer to this grant in a press release that will be sent to you in advance. If you wish to release additional information following the Foundation's public announcement, you may do so without prior clearance from the Foundation. However, should you wish to make an earlier announcement, please consult with the Foundation's Office of Reports.

The grant will also be listed in the Foundation's next annual report.

The Foundation would appreciate receiving copies of press releases concerning this grant, as well as photographs, film scripts, or any published material about the grant or the work it has made possible.

2. Reports to the Foundation. A written report should be furnished to the Secretary of the Foundation upon completion of the program for which the grant has been made. If the period of the grant exceeds one year, interim reports should be furnished annually, in addition to the final report. These reports should contain a signed financial accounting by categories of expenditure, a narrative account of what was accomplished by the expenditure of the funds and reference to any

publications resulting from the grant.

3. Expenditure of Grant Funds. Under the laws of the United States Government applicable to the Foundation, all grants, including this one, must be expended solely for "educational, scientific, or charitable" purposes. The grant is for the purposes stated in the accompanying letter of grant notification and may be modified only with the Foundation's approval.

4. Return of Grant Funds. Grant funds will be returned to the Foundation

   if the grantee is a United States organization and loses its tax-exempt status under United States federal laws; or

   if the grantee is a foreign organization and loses its tax-exempt status under comparable laws of the nation in which its charter was issued; or

   if these funds are not expended or committed for the purposes of the grant and within the period stated.

5. Commitment. This grant is made with the understanding that the Foundation has no obligation to provide other or additional support for the grantee, unless otherwise stated in the accompanying letter of grant notification.

11.9

ROBERT C. CANNADA
JUNIOR O'MARA
GEO. H. BUTLER
PHINEAS STEVENS
ROGER C. LANDRUM
FRANCIS B. STEVENS
DAN McCULLEN
HAROLD D. MILLER, JR.
THOMAS W. PREWITT
LAWRENCE J. FRANCK
C. EUGENE McROBERTS, JR.
JOHN A. CRAWFORD
D. CARL BLACK, JR.
JAMES W. O'MARA
W. SCOTT WELCH, III

BUTLER, SNOW, O'MARA, STEVENS & CANNADA
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS AT LAW
SUITE 700 PETROLEUM BUILDING
P. O. BOX 22567 · TELEPHONE 948-5711
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI
39205

GEO. BUTLER (1948)
J. MORGAN STEVENS (1951)
CHAS. B. SNOW (1960)

May 12, 1969

AIR MAIL

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

In Re: Loan to North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative (A.A.L.)

Check for $ on deposit pr to Mtg.

Dear Paul:

Confirming our telephone conversation, we enclose the following documents:

(1) Copy of proposed Warranty Deed from Rev. Isaac Daniel and wife, to NBC Farm Cooperative (AAL).

(2) Copy of Seller's Certificate of Title.

(3) Surveyor's Certificate as to Acreage.

(4) Copy of proposed Promissory Note.

(5) Copy of proposed Deed of Trust to Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Please have your Attorneys review the enclosures and see if they are in order. We are sending these on to you as soon as possible, because we want to close the purchase of the land just as quickly as we possibly can after receipt of your check.

We appreciate your cooperation in expediting this transaction.

With kindest regards, we are

Very truly yours,

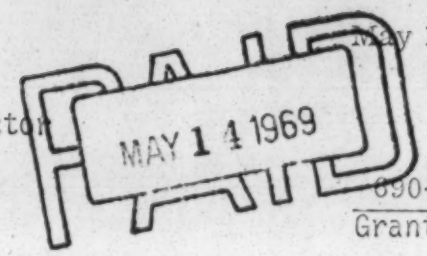
BUTLER, SNOW, O'MARA, STEVENS & CANNADA

By Francis

encl.
FBS:mco

HOWARD R. DRESSNER
SECRETARY

May 12, 1969



Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

690-0431
Grant Number

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am pleased to inform you that The Ford Foundation has approved a recoverable grant of $161,175 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. in order that the Council may loan that amount to the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative (a farm cooperative organized under the Laws of the State of Mississippi) for the purchase of 307 acres of land located in Bolivar County, Mississippi, in accordance with a contract of sale entered into between North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative and Mr. Isaac Daniel (seller) in January 1969. It is understood that the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative will use the land for farming and cannery purposes. It is also understood that the Foundation's action is being taken in accordance with your letter of April 17, 1969 addressed to Mrs. Hilary S. Feldstein of the Foundation staff.

This grant is made on the specific condition that the Southern Regional Council will obtain a mortgage on the 307 acres of land from the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative, which interest free mortgage will mature at the earliest of two (2) years from the date of the mortgage or at such time that North Bolivar ceases to use the land for farming or cannery purposes. In the event that North Bolivar ceases to utilize the land as a farm or for cannery purposes, the Southern Regional Council will foreclose the mortgage, take title to the land, sell the land and return the amount of the grant to the Ford Foundation after deducting any expenses incurred by the Council and any loss on the sale.

It is anticipated that the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative will establish a cannery within the next year. In the event and at the time that the cannery plans are perfected and approved, terms will be worked out by which the Southern Regional Council is repaid the existing mortgage and the debt will then be established between the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative and the Ford Foundation covering the land and part of the cost of the cannery.

Payment of the grant funds will be made in full in the near future by Mr. Thomas H. Lenagh, Treasurer of the Foundation.

The attached statement, which specifies further terms and provisions

applicable to this grant, should be read carefully. If you wish additional information, please communicate with us. In all correspondence concerning this grant, reference should be made to the grant number designated on the preceding page.

On behalf of the Foundation, may I extend every good wish for the success of the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative project and may I thank the Southern Regional Council for its assistance with this project.

Sincerely,

Howard R. Dressner

Attachment

cc: Mr. John Hatch
Dr. Jack Geiger
Mr. Francis B. Stevens
Mr. Lyle Marshall

AND OTHER PROVISIONS

Grantee:

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Date: May 12, 1969

Amount: $161,175

Period: One year

1. Public Announcements. The Foundation will refer to this grant in a press release that will be sent to you in advance. If you wish to release additional information following the Foundation's public announcement, you may do so without prior clearance from the Foundation. However, should you wish to make an earlier announcement, please consult with the Foundation's Office of Reports.

The grant will also be listed in the Foundation's next annual report.

The Foundation would appreciate receiving copies of press releases concerning this grant, as well as photographs, film scripts, or any published material about the grant or the work it has made possible.

2. Reports to the Foundation. A written report should be furnished to the Secretary of the Foundation upon completion of the program for which the grant has been made. If the period of the grant exceeds one year, interim reports should be furnished annually, in addition to the final report. These reports should contain a signed financial accounting by categories of expenditure, a narrative account of what was accomplished by the expenditure of the funds and reference to any

applicable to the Foundation, all grants, including this one, must be expended solely for "educational, scientific, or charitable" purposes. The grant is for the purposes stated in the accompanying letter of grant notification and may be modified only with the Foundation's approval.

4. Return of Grant Funds. Grant funds will be returned to the Foundation

   if the grantee is a United States organization and loses its tax-exempt status under United States federal laws; or

   if the grantee is a foreign organization and loses its tax-exempt status under comparable laws of the nation in which its charter was issued; or

   if these funds are not expended or committed for the purposes of the grant and within the period stated.

5. Commitment. This grant is made with the understanding that the Foundation has no obligation to provide other or additional support for the grantee, unless otherwise stated in the accompanying letter of grant notification.

11.9

May 14, 1969

Mr. Francis B. Stevens
Butler, Snow, O'Mara, Stevens & Cannada
Suite 700 Petroleum Building
P. O. Box 22567
Jackson, Mississippi 39205

Dear Mr. Stevens:

Enclosed is our check for $161,175.00 representing a loan from The Southern Regional Council to the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative. make folder

You and the Cooperative have copies of the letter from Mr. H. R. Dressner, Secretary of The Ford Foundation, outlining the stipulations of this grant.

Most specifically, these funds are to be used for the purchase of 307 acres of land located in Bolivar County, Mississippi.

Secondly, this land is to be used for farming and cannery purposes. Finally, it is imperative that no portion of these funds be used for political purposes or in any way contrary to the stipulations of Internal Revenue Code 501-C3.

It will be necessary for us to have financial and program reports every six months until the loan is repaid.

We are very pleased that we are able to offer this assistance and have high hopes for the economic success of this venture.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure - Check $161,175.00

cc: North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative
also
Mr. H. R. Dressner, The Ford Foundation

Form 2091-5M-11/68

11.9

TITLE INSURANCE COMPANY OF MINNESOTA

a Stock Company, of Minneapolis, Minnesota

INTERIM TITLE INSURANCE BINDER

To: Southern Regional Council, Inc., a Georgia Corporation - MORTGAGEE, North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative (A.A.L.), a farm cooperative organized under the Laws of the State of Mississippi - OWNER

Application No. 109,605 & 0-23,705

Binder No.

TITLE INSURANCE COMPANY OF MINNESOTA hereby insures:

That the title to the land described in Schedule A hereof has been examined by its attorney; that on the 14th day of March 1969, at 8:00 o'clock A. M., as of which date the search of the public records was completed, the title to said land was vested, in fee simple, in Isaac Daniel and wife, Abbie Daniel subject only to such defects, encumbrances, liens and charges or requirements as are shown in Schedule B herein.

That upon receipt of a final certificate in the form provided hereon from its attorney, to whom a copy of this binder is being sent, showing compliance with and satisfaction of the requirements set forth in Schedule "B" of this binder, and upon payment of its premium for title insurance, this company will issue to you as the insured, its policy of title insurance in the sum of ONE HUNDRED SIXTY ONE THOUSAND, ONE HUNDRED SEVENTY FIVE AND No/100ths ($ 161,175.00) dollars, showing in Schedule B thereof only such exceptions as appear in Section II of Schedule B of this binder provided no liens, encumbrances or objections intervene between the aforesaid date and the date the instrument creating the estate or interest to be insured is recorded, or if liens, encumbrances or objections intervene, provided same are satisfied or removed.

This binder is delivered and accepted upon the understanding that you have no personal knowledge or intimation of any defect, objection, lien or encumbrance affecting said premises other than those shown under Schedule B hereof, and your failure to disclose any such personal information shall render this binder and any policy issued based hereon, null and void as to such defect, objection, lien or encumbrance.

Nothing contained in this binder shall be construed as a guarantee against the consequences of the exercise and enforcement or attempted enforcement of governmental "police power" over the property described herein.

This binder is preliminary to the issuance of a policy of title insurance and shall become null and void, unless policy of title insurance is issued, and the premium therefor paid, within six months from the date hereof.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the said Company has caused its corporate seal to be affixed and these presents to be signed by its duly authorized officers, the time, day, and date first above written.

TITLE INSURANCE COMPANY OF MINNESOTA

TITLE INSURANCE COMPANY OF MINNESOTA CORPORATE SEAL

R M Beuese
President

ATTEST: R. J. Garwood
Secretary

Countersigned:

By Not required
Authorized Resident Agent

Countersigned:

By [illegible]
Validating Officer

SCHEDULE "A"

Legal description of the land referred to in this binder:

Situated in County of Bolivar, State of Mississippi, to-wit:

A parcel of land in the South Half of Section Three (3), Township 23 North, Range 5 West, Bolivar County, Mississippi, more particularly described as follows: Beginning 132 feet due North of the southwest corner of said Section 3, and run North 89 degrees 33 minutes East 1800 feet; thence North 89 degrees 59 minutes East 2500 feet; thence South 89 degrees 59 minutes East 980 feet to a point 149 feet north of the southeast corner of said Section 3; run thence due North 2530 feet to the northeast corner of the South Half of said Section 3; thence run due West 5280 feet to the northwest corner of said South Half of Section 3; thence run due South 2508 feet to the point of beginning, containing 305 acres, more or less, and being the property conveyed to Jacob S. Borodofsky by the heirs of S. D. Robbins by deed dated September 25, 1919 as recorded in Book J-9 at page 234 in the records in the office of the Clerk of the Chancery Court of Bolivar County in Cleveland, Mississippi, hereby expressly excluding the South 19 acres of said Section 3; and being a part of the property conveyed to Isaac Daniel and wife, Abbie Daniel, by the heir of Jacob S. Borodofsky by deed dated December 15, 1964 of record in Deed Book M-77 at page 447 in the records in the office of the Dlerk of the Chancery Court of Bolivar County in Cleveland, Mississippi; but subject to all existing easements for roads, drainage canals and public utilities and to the reservation to the heir of Jacob S. Borodofsky of one-half of all oil, gas and minerals in, on and under the aforesaid property with the right to make exploration thereon for same.

SECTION I. Showing defects and objections to be removed or eliminated, liens and encumbrances to be satisfied and discharged of record and requirements to be compiled with before policy of title insurance can be issued without exception thereto.

Item 1. Proper instrument creating the interest or estate to be insured must be executed and duly filed for record, to-wit:

(a) Execution and recordation without intervening rights of a warranty deed by Isaac Daniel and wife, Mrs. Abbie Daniel, conveying the property described in Schedule "A" above to North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative (A.A.L.), a farm cooperative organized under the Laws of the State of Mississippi.

(b) Execution and recordation without intervening rights of a first deed of trust by North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative (A.A.L.), a farm cooperative organized under the Laws of the State of Mississippi, to Francis B. Stevens, Trustee, Southern Regional Council, Inc., a Georgia Corporation, Beneficiary, securing an indebtedness in the sum of $161,175.00.

Item 2. Full consideration for the interest or estate to be insured must be paid to or for the account of grantors or mortgagors.

Item 3. Furnish satisfactory evidence that there are no outstanding mechanics or materialmen's liens against the subject property.

Such evidence shall consist of:

(a). Owner's and contractor's affidavit with final certificate.

(b).

(c).

Item 4. Proper satisfaction, cancellation or release of subject property from deeds of trust as follows: (1) from Isaac Daniel and wife, to Clarksdale Production Credit Association, recorded in Book N-133 at page 396. (2) from Isaac Daniel and wife, to Federal Land Bank of New Orleans, recorded in Book N-112 at page 129.

SCHEDULE "B"

(Attorneys should initial each item as cleared)

SECTION I. Showing defects and objections to be removed or eliminated; liens and encumbrances to be satisfied and discharged of record and requirements to be compiled with before policy of title insurance can be issued without exception thereto.

Item 1. Proper instrument creating the interest or estate to be insured must be executed and duly filed for record, to-wit:

(a) Execution and recordation without intervening rights of a warranty deed by Isaac Daniel and wife, Mrs. Abbie Daniel, conveying the property described in Schedule "A" above to North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative (A.A.L.), a farm cooperative organized under the Laws of the State of Mississippi.

(b) Execution and recordation without intervening rights of a first deed of trust by North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative (A.A.L.), a farm cooperative organized under the Laws of the State of Mississippi, to Francis B. Stevens, Trustee, Southern Regional Council, Inc., a Georgia Corporation, Beneficiary, securing an indebtedness in the sum of $161,175.00.

Item 2. Full consideration for the interest or estate to be insured must be paid to or for the account of grantors or mortgagors.

Item 3. Furnish satisfactory evidence that there are no outstanding mechanics or materialmen's liens against the subject property.

Such evidence shall consist of:

(a). Owner's and contractor's affidavit with final certificate.

(b).

(c).

Item 4. Proper satisfaction, cancellation or release of subject property from deeds of trust as follows: (1) from Isaac Daniel and wife, to Clarksdale Production Credit Association, recorded in Book N-133 at page 396. (2) from Isaac Daniel and wife, to Federal Land Bank of New Orleans, recorded in Book N-112 at page 129.

SECTION II. Exceptions, if any, to be shown under Schedule "B" of policy, (such as easements, restrictive convenants, leases, unpaid taxes, and assessments, maturing subsequent to date hereof, prior liens, or liens assumed, as listed below).

Item 1. Taxes for the year 19 69, which said taxes are not due or payable until January 1 1970 and taxes for subsequent years, not due and payable.

Item 2. Existing easements for roads, drainage canals and public utilities.

Item 3. Levies, taxes, assessments, betterments and benefits of Lead Bayou Drainage District for the year 1969 and subsequent years.

Item 4. Rights of parties in possession, deficiency in quantity of land, boundary line disputes, roadways, unrecorded servitudes or easements, any matters not of record which would be disclosed by an accurate survey and inspection of the property, and easements or other uses of subject property not visible from the surface.

Item

ATTORNEY'S FINAL CERTIFICATE

(NOTE—Attorneys must initial items in Section I Schedule B as cleared.)

To Title Insurance Company of Minnesota:

This is to certify that title to the real estate described under Schedule "A" of the foregoing Interim Binder of your Company, is at the date of this Certificate, vested of record, in fee simple, in _____ and that the instrument creating the estate or interest in said real estate which you have been asked to insure, is a (underscore which)—sale with warranty—first mortgage—and is sufficient, legal and valid according to its tenor and purport, (a) dated the _____ day of _____, 19____, duly executed by _____ to _____ duly recorded on the _____ records of _____ County, State of _____, on the _____ day of _____, 19____ at _____ o'clock _____ M., in Book _____ Page _____; (b) (underscore which) second mortgage—assigned by instrument—sale with warranty—dated _____, 19____. Executed by _____ To _____ Recorded on the _____ day of _____, 19____, at _____ o'clock _____ M., in Book _____, Page _____ on the _____ records of said County; that the other requirements of Section I of Schedule "B" of said Binder have been complied with; that the liens and encumbrances shown under Section I of Schedule "B" of said Binder have been properly satisfied and released of record; that nothing has been filed of record or come to the attention of the undersigned which would affect adversely the estate or interest in said real estate to be insured; and that the estate or interest to be insured is subject only to the defects, objections, liens and encumbrances set forth under Section II of Schedule "B" of said Interim Binder. You are requested to issue policy of title insurance accordingly.

Also, this is to certify that all taxes and assessments against said real estate have been paid up to and including those for the year 19____.

This is to further certify that — the Consideration paid for the above sale with warranty is $_____; the principal amount secured by the above first mortgage is $_____, by second, if any, is $_____; and the final maturity date of first is _____ and second, if any, is _____.

My examination of the title to said real estate was continued from the date first written on your Interim Binder above down to the _____ day of _____, 19____, at _____ o'clock _____ M.

_____

Attorney

INTERIM TITLE

INSURANCE BINDER

Application No._____

Binder No._____

Amount $_____

To Mortgagee

_____

Mortgagor

_____

TITLE INSURANCE COMPANY
OF MINNESOTA
Minneapolis, Minnesota

11.9

PROMISSORY NOTE

$161,175.00

Mound Bayou, Mississippi
May 15, 1969

ON DEMAND, after date, the undersigned NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE (A.A.L.), a farm cooperative organized under the Laws of the State of Mississippi, promises to pay to SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC., Or Order, the sum of One Hundred Sixty One Thousand One Hundred Seventy-Five and No/100 Dollars ($161,175.00), for value received, with a reasonable attorney's fee for collection if not paid when due.

The drawer and endorsers severally waive presentment for payment, protest and notice of protest, and notice of nonpayment of this note.

This note is secured by a deed of trust on real property situated in the Second Judicial District of Bolivar County, Mississippi.

Negotiable and Payable at Atlanta, Georgia.

NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE (A.A.L.)

Seal

By_____
President

_____
Secretary

For posting

11.9

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

May 15, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Re: Grant 690-0431

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We enclose our check for $161,175 payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

This remittance represents payment of our grant of $161,175 to the Council in order that the Council may loan that amount to the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative. The terms of this grant were set forth in Mr. Dressner's letter to you dated May 12, 1969.

We would appreciate your signing the copy of this letter and returning it in the enclosed envelope.

Very truly yours,

Norman W. MacLeod
Assistant to Treasurer

Enclosures

$ 161,175.00
5-19-69
Km

11.9

ISAAC DANIEL, ET UX, SALE OF PROPERTY TO
NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE (A.A.L.) AND
LOAN SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5-15-69

Purchase Price		$161,175.00
Less:		
Earnest Money Paid....	$8,000.00	
Pro Rata Taxes as of 4/1/69	182.04	
		8,182.04
Balance Due Sellers ----------		$152,992.96

- -

Loan Southern Regional Council, Inc.		$161,175.00
Less:		
Earnest Money Advanced		8,000.00
Balance ----------		$153,175.00
To Be Disbursed:		
To Sellers balance of purchase price	$152,992.96	
To Mississippi Valley Title Insurance Company for title binder and title policies	479.90	
To Chancery Clerk, Bolivar County, recording fees:		
Warranty Deed .. $1.50		
Deed of Trust .. 5.25		
	6.75	
		153,479.61
	(-)	$ 304.61

Ruth Vick

11.9

HAAS, HOLLAND, FREEMAN, LEVISON & GIBERT

HERBERT J. HAAS (1905-1953)

JOSEPH F. HAAS
J. KURT HOLLAND
RICHARD C. FREEMAN
S. JARVIN LEVISON
ROBERT H. WALLING
HUGH W. GIBERT
RICHARD N. HUBERT

EDWARD L. GREENBLATT
RICHARD D. FLEXNER
DAVID F. ROCK
ROSE M. SCHREIBER
WILLIAM R. KING

LAW OFFICES
2709 FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
ATLANTA, GA. 30303

TELEPHONE 525-6141
AREA CODE 404

May 19, 1969

Dictated 5/16/69

Mr. Jim Wood
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Jim:

Please note the enclosed copy of letter written to Mr. Stevens today. I particularly call your attention to the paragraphs referring to the notice which I think ought to be brought home to Ford in some way, namely, the fact that the property will be charged with a claim for one-half the minerals together with the right to explore the same and the further fact that there has been no surveyor's plat drawn showing the exact situation of this property insofar as boundary lines are concerned.

It may also be to Ford's interest to know about the possibility of the title policy being issued when they do take over.

In all events you will notice that I have asked Mr. Stevens to hold up until you have had an opportunity to at least bring this to Ford's attention, so it is my suggestion that you do so at once and then notify Mr. Stevens by telephone so that the deal will not be delayed and then confirm this in writing in sending me a copy.

In the meantime, I enclose the interim binder title policy, the closing statement and the contract of sale. If you have any questions, please call me.

Kindest personal regards,

Joe

Joseph F. Haas
For the Firm

JFH:ds

11.9

HAAS, HOLLAND, FREEMAN, LEVISON & GIBERT

HERBERT J. HAAS (1905-1953)

JOSEPH F. HAAS
J. KURT HOLLAND
RICHARD C. FREEMAN
S. JARVIN LEVISON
ROBERT H. WALLING
HUGH W. GIBERT
RICHARD N. HUBERT

EDWARD L. GREENBLATT
RICHARD D. FLEXNER
DAVID F. ROCK
ROSE M. SCHREIBER
WILLIAM R. KING

LAW OFFICES
2709 FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
ATLANTA, GA. 30303

TELEPHONE 525-6141
AREA CODE 404

May 19, 1969

Dictated 5/16/69

COPY

Mr. Francis B. Stevens
Butler, Snow, O'Mara, Stevens & Cannada
Suite 700, Petroleum Building
Jackson, Mississippi 39205

Re: North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative (A.A.L.)
Purchase of Property from Isaac Daniel, et ux,
and Loan from Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Dear Mr. Stevens:

Thanks for yours of May the 14th. We have examined the enclosures and have no real question of substance other than a mild queryy as to the continued relevance of paragraph X of the sales contract which calls for the payment to be in such manner as to permit Seller to treat the transaction as an installment sale. Since apparently the entire purchase price is being paid in cash, I am wondering whether or not this provision has been waived or modified. Perhaps you can advise me about this.

In connection with the $8,000.00 earnest money which was advanced, you will by now have received the check from the Southern Regional Council in the full amount of the purchase price. It is our preference that the entire $8,000.00 earnest money be refunded to Southern Regional Council and that any charges that may have accrued as a result of this transaction be invoiced to Southern Regional Council.

I would also like to raise one additional point. As you know this transaction contemplates that within a period of perhaps two years the Ford Foundation will come in and

in one way or another take over Southern Regional Council's position in this transaction. Since I don't believe that the title policy will inure to the benefit of Ford, I wonder if you could make some arrangement with Mississippi Valley to cover Ford at a somewhat reduced premium if and when Ford does come into the picture. I would appreciate your advice on this as well.

Finally, I think we ought to have somewhere of record so that Ford can see it the fact that there is the encumbrance of a one-half interest in the minerals together with the right of exploration for the same. As you stated, there is nothing that we can do about eliminating this encumbrance since it has been in the chain of title for a number of years, but I do feel that Ford ought to be aware of it though I do not think it will effect the transaction one way or another. In this connection, I do suggest one word of caution and that is to allow sufficient time for Jim Wood of Southern Regional Council (to whom a copy of this letter is going) to bring this to the attention of Ford. I also think Ford ought to be advised that no survey has been made of the property in the sense of a plat being drawn although you have had the surveyor evaluate the number of acres. I understand from what you tell me that a physical examination of the premises does not reveal anything indicating the existance of drainage canals, roadways, or tenants in possession. You might advise us about this also for the record.

Please let us know when the transaction has been consummated and I think perhaps you could send the papers to me after recording and issuance of the title policy. In the interim, however, you could send the check for $8,000.00 and a notice of the fact that the deal has been closed and the invoice for any charges.

Kindest personal regards,

Joseph F. Haas
For the Firm

JFH:ds
cc: Mr. Jim Wood

COPY

May 21, 1969

Mr. Howard R. Dressner
Secretary
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Dressner:

This will acknowledge with our grateful appreciation the Ford Foundation's grant in support of the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative, and to inform you of our transmittal of these funds through Mr. Francis B. Stevens to the Cooperative. Presumably, these transactions were completed on May 16th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

ROBERT C CANNADA
JUNIOR O'MARA
GEO H. BUTLER
PHINEAS STEVENS
ROGER C LANDRUM
FRANCIS B. STEVENS
DAN McCULLEN
HAROLD D MILLER, JR.
THOMAS W. PREWITT
LAWRENCE J. FRANCK
C. EUGENE McROBERTS, JR
JOHN A. CRAWFORD
D. CARL BLACK, JR.
JAMES W. O'MARA
W. SCOTT WELCH, III

BUTLER, SNOW, O'MARA STEVENS & CANNADA
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS AT LAW
SUITE 700 PETROLEUM BUILDING
P. O. BOX 22567 · TELEPHONE 948-5711
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI
39205

GEO BUTLER 1948
J. MORGAN STEVENS 1951
CHAS B. SNOW 1960

May 26, 1969

Mr. Joseph F. Haas
Haas, Holland, Freeman, Levison & Gibert
Attorneys at Law
2709 First National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

In Re: North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative (A.A.L.)--Purchase from Isaac Daniel, et ux, and Loan from Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Dear Mr. Haas:

Thank you for your letter of May 19. You are correct in your assumption that Paragraph 10 of the Contract was waived by the Seller.

Our letter of May 14 was in error in assuming that the $8,000.00 earnest money had been advanced by Ford. This was not the case. The earnest money had been loaned to NBC Farm Co-Op by the Southern Federation of Cooperatives in Lafayette, Louisiana. By this time, the $8,000.00 has been refunded to the lender. The mechanical procedures of the Ford Foundation would not allow for the $8,000.00 to be advanced by Ford within the time required to bind the contract, so our client borrowed it from another source.

We have checked with Mississippi Valley Title Insurance Company in regard to the problem of the Ford Foundation being the real party in interest. They have stated that Ford will be covered by the mortgagee policy, because Ford will come within the definition of the insured as set forth in the policy. This would be true even without an assignment, but in the event Southern Regional Council, Inc. were to assign the Note and Deed of Trust to Ford, then it most assuredly would be covered by the mortgagee policy.

601
741-2574

For your information, since we all have a common objective in this transaction, we went ahead and ordered an Owner's policy as well as a mortgagee policy. Both policies can be secured at the same time for a relatively small amount in excess of what the mortgagee policy alone would cost, so we recommended to NBC Co-Op that it go ahead and order an owner's policy also.

With regard to the reservation of minerals, it was our understanding that Jim Wood of Southern Regional Council, Inc. did, in fact, bring the matter to the attention of Mrs. Hilary Feldstein of the Ford Foundation staff before actually mailing the check to us.

This will confirm the fact that although no survey plat was made, a physical examination of the premises was made by Mr. John Hatch, Project Director for the NBC Farm Cooperative. As a matter of fact, the Co-Op had been in actual possession of the land for a number of weeks before the transaction was closed. The only drainage facilities on the premises are those constructed for the drainage of the land itself, and do not indicate any problems of prescription. The same is true with respect to roadways. The only roadways are dirt lanes constructed for private use by the owner in gaining access to the cultivated fields. No problems of prescription were evidenced. There is one tenant in possession (if you can call this particular type of occupancy a tenancy), but Mr. Hatch had made his arrangements with the tenant before the transaction was consummated. This is an old negro man who lives in a shack on the premises but is not claiming by adverse possession.

The transaction was closed on May 16, although all of the papers were dated for purpose of convenience on May 15, 1969. Enclosed to you herewith are the following:

(a) Original Promissory Note executed by the President and Secretary of North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative (A.A.L.), to Southern Regional Council, Inc., in the amount of $161,175.00, dated May 15, 1969.

(b) Original Deed of Trust of even date, securing said Note, which Deed of Trust has been recorded in Book N 143 at Page 149 thereof of the records of deeds of trust in the office of the Chancery Clerk of the Second Judicial District of Bolivar County, Mississippi.

The Attorney for the Seller is in the process of making his final certificate to the title insurance company. The final title policy should be delivered to us next week and will be forwarded on to you promptly.

If you have any further questions, or if you know of anything else that needs to be done in connection with this transaction, please let us know.

With kindest regards and best wishes, we are

Very truly yours,

BUTLER,SNOW,O'MARA,STEVENS & CANNADA

By Francis B. Stevens

encl.

FBS:mco

cc: Mr. John Hatch
Tufts-Delta Health Center, Inc.
P. O. Drawer 209
Mound Bayou, Mississippi

PROMISSORY NOTE

$161,175.00

Mound Bayou, Mississippi
May 15, 1969

ON DEMAND, after date, the undersigned NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE (A.A.L.), a farm cooperative organized under the Laws of the State of Mississippi, promises to pay to SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC., Or Order, the sum of One Hundred Sixty One Thousand One Hundred Seventy-Five and No/100 Dollars ($161,175.00), for value received, with a reasonable attorney's fee for collection if not paid when due.

The drawer and endorsers severally waive presentment for payment, protest and notice of protest, and notice of nonpayment of this note.

This note is secured by a deed of trust on real property situated in the Second Judicial District of Bolivar County, Mississippi.

Negotiable and Payable at Atlanta, Georgia.

NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE (A.A.L.)

By _____
President

Mrs Lucendia Young
Secretary

DEED OF TRUST

WHEREAS, the undersigned grantor, NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE (A.A.L.), a farm cooperative organized under the Laws of the State of Mississippi, of Mound Bayou, Mississippi;

owes SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

hereinafter called the beneficiary, the sum of One Hundred Sixty One Thousand One Hundred Seventy-Five and No/100----------($161,175.00)---------- DOLLARS,

evidenced by promissory note of even date herewith, XXXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXX, as follows, to-wit:

Payable On Demand after date, with no interest.

And, whereas, the undersigned is anxious to secure the payment of said indebtedness at the maturity thereof and renewals thereof in whole, or in part, and also any further and future advances to be made to grantor or grantors, or either of them, by the beneficiary or the assigns of the beneficiary as well as any other indebtedness which may be due or become due to the beneficiary or the assigns of the beneficiary by the grantor or grantors in this deed of trust, or either of them; therefore, in consideration of $5.00 to it paid by Francis B. Stevens, trustee, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, the undersigned grantor do es hereby convey and warrant unto Francis B. Stevens, trustee, the following described real estate, together with any buildings, structures, machinery, fixtures, equipment and improvements thereon, or that may hereafter be erected thereon, whether the same be permanent or temporary, and whether now or hereafter attached to or used in connection with said premises, and the hereditaments and appurtenances and all other rights thereunto belonging or in anywise now or hereafter appertaining (if being the intention of the grantors to describe all of the property belonging to the grantors of the kinds and classes described herein located in the county stated herein, and also any property of said classes which may be hereafter acquired by the grantors), which real estate, with the improvements thereon, is situated in the County of Bolivar, Second Judicial District State of Mississippi, and is described as follows, to-wit:

A parcel of land in the South Half of Section Three (3), Township 23 North, Range 5 West, Bolivar County, Mississippi, more particularly described as follows:
Beginning 132 feet due North of the southwest corner of said Section 3, and run North 89 degrees 33 minutes East 1800 feet; thence North 89 degrees 59 minutes East 2500 feet; thence South 89 degrees 59 minutes East 980 feet to a point 149 feet north of the southeast corner of said Section 3; run thence due North 2530 feet to the northeast corner of the South Half of said Section 3; thence run due West 5280 feet to the northwest corner of said South Half of Section 3; thence run due South 2508 feet to the point of beginning, containing 305 acres, more or less, and being the property conveyed to Jacob S. Borodofsky by the heirs of S. D. Robbins by deed dated September 25, 1919 as recorded in Book J-9 at Page 234 in the records in the office of the Clerk of the Chancery Court of Bolivar County in Cleveland, Mississippi, hereby expressly excluding the South 19 acres of said Section 3; and being a part of the property conveyed to Isaac Daniel and wife, Abbie Daniel, by the heir of Jacob S. Borodofsky by deed dated December 15, 1964 of record in Deed Book M-77 at page 447 in the records in the office of the Clerk of the Chancery Court of Bolivar County, in Cleveland, Mississippi.
This conveyance is subject to all of the reservations and conditions contained and set forth in that certain Warranty Deed from Isaac Daniel and Abbie Daniel to the Grantor herein, of even date herewith, which deed has been recorded in the office of the Chancery Clerk of Bolivar County, Mississippi, and reference to which deed is hereby made.

THIS IS A PURCHASE MONEY DEED OF TRUST

It is understood and agreed that this conveyance is made subject to and that the parties hereto have agreed on and are bound by and will observe and fulfill the following covenants, stipulations, and conditions as obligatory upon the respective parties:

First: In addition to the aforesaid indebtedness, any and all extensions or renewals of the same or any part thereof, and any and all further or future advances, loans and extensions of credit by the beneficiary herein, or the holder or holders of the indebtedness above described, to the grantors or any of them are intended to be secured and are secured by this instrument.

Second. The grantors bind and obligate themselves to insure the buildings situated on the above described property in the sum of not less than $_____against loss by fire and windstorm, in some reputable fire and tornado insurance company, to be approved by the beneficiary, for the entire term of the above loan, and to keep the same so insured for the said term, with standard mortgagee clause in favor of said beneficiary attached to the said policies, and further agree to deliver said policies and renewals thereof to said beneficiary, with receipt on said policies showing full payment of the premium thereon, or separate receipts delivered showing payment of said premiums for the term thereof. If said grantors shall obtain more, either of fire or tornado insurance, than the above amounts, then all of said insurance shall be made payable by standard mortgagee clause to the beneficiary herein.

Third. The grantors shall pay all taxes within the time required by law as they shall fall due and at once forward the original tax receipts to said beneficiary, and also shall pay promptly all liens and judgments which may become liens on said above described property.

Fourth. In case the grantors, their heirs or assigns, or either of them, or their vendees of the property herein conveyed, immediate or remote, should become insolvent, or apply to a bankruptcy court to be adjudicated a voluntary bankrupt, or proceedings be instituted to put them in involuntary bankruptcy, or should any proceedings be taken against the grantors, or their said vendees, immediate or remote, or either of them, looking to the appointment of a receiver, assignee, or trustee, then, and in either or any such case, all rents becoming due thereafter on the property herein conveyed shall be due and payable to the beneficiary herein, to be applied on the indebtedness secured hereby, and the wholse indebtedness hereby secured, may, at the option of the said beneficiary or beneficiary's assigns, be declared due and payable.

Fifth. The undersigned further represents unto the said beneficiary for the purpose of obtaining the loan or of obtaining deferred payment on the debt, as the case may be, secured by this instrument, that there are no liens, leases, or encumbrances of any sort against the property conveyed herein, except, if any, as shown by the records of said county.

Sixth. The grantors further bind themselves not to sell the property hereinbefore conveyed without the written consent of the beneficiary, and further agree not to abandon said property, and a breach of either of these agreements and conditions shall cause the entire indebtedness secured hereby to become due and payable at the option of the said beneficiary or beneficiary's assigns.

Seventh. That should the grantors fail to pay, as hereinabove stipulated, all taxes, assessments, liens, or judgments, or to insure the property and pay the premiums therefor, then the said beneficiary, or beneficiary's successors and assigns, may at their option pay any such unpaid taxes, assessments, liens, or judgments, and insure said improvements, pay the premiums therefor, and, without notice, at their option, declare the whole debt secured by this trust deed to be due and payable and proceed to foreclose same at once. All taxes, assessments, liens, judgments, and insurance premiums paid by the said beneficiary, and all necessary expenses incurred by said beneficiary in connection therewith, including any expense incurred in defending the title of the grantor to this real estate, where necessary for the protection of the said beneficiary's interests, or in defending his trust deed as a valid first lien on the real estate described or intended to be described herein, where necessary, or in seeking to have the trust deed reformed by judicial proceedings, where necessary because of mistake in this act, shall constitute a part of the debt secured by this mortgage and become immediately due and payable to the said beneficiary. The grantors agree to pay all necessary and usual charges incident to the consummation of this loan, and likewise the usual and necessary costs incident to the cancellation upon the record or records of this trust deed after the loan has been repaid in full.

Eighth. It is further agreed that grantors will commit no waste on the property conveyed herein, and that, in event the undersigned grantors fail to keep in as good state of repair as they now are the buildings and appurtenances hereinabove conveyed, the beneficiary herein shall have the right at beneficiary's option to make any needed repairs, betterments, or improvements, and that any expenditure for such purpose will be a legitimate indebtedness against the undersigned and against the property embraced in this trust deed, and the cost of any such repairs, betterments, or improvements will become a part of the debt secured by this instrument.

Ninth. It is distinctly understood and agreed that a failure by the grantors to pay any one of the above notes or installments of principal, or the interest as it shall become due, or to do or perform any of the above agreements, shall cause the entire indebtedness to fall due and payable at the option of said beneficiary, or beneficiary's assigns, and shall fully empower the said beneficiary or beneficiary's assigns to have the trustee, or any successor in said trust herein, to execute his trust, and said beneficiary or beneficiary's assigns shall not be required to declare such acceleration in writing, or give notice of it.

Tenth. If the property conveyed herein should be situated in two or more counties or in two judicial districts of the same county, then the trustee or any successor in said trust shall have full power, in case he is directed to foreclose under this instrument, to select in which county or judicial district the sale of all of the above property shall be made, and his selection shall be binding upon the grantors and the beneficiary and all persons claiming through or under them, whether by contract or by law. The trustee or any successor in said trust shall have full power to fix the day, time, terms, and place of sale, and shall also have full power to conduct any sale hereunder through an agent duly appointed by him for that purpose, but said appointment of agent need not be recorded.

Eleventh. The grantors waive the provisions of Section 888 of the Code of Mississippi of 1942, and laws amendatory thereof, if any, as far as said Section restricts the right of the trustee to offer at sale more than one hundred and sixty acres at a time, and the trustee may offer the property herein conveyed as a whole, regardless of the manner in which it may be described. The grantors also waive the provisions of Section 892 of the Mississippi Code of 1942.

Twelfth. In case of the sale of the said property hereunder, the beneficiary or beneficiary's assigns shall have the same right to purchase at such sale as if a stranger to this instrument.

Thirteenth. The attorney's fees provided for in the above described notes and the trustee's fee provided for in this deed of trust are hereby made liens on the above described property, and the grantors hereby promises to pay the same should they become due under the terms of the said notes and this deed of trust.

However, this conveyance is in trust. Should the grantors pay said indebtedness and interest owing thereon at maturity, and any renewal thereof, and also all further and future advances to them by the beneficiary, as well as any other indebtedness due or which may become due the beneficiary, or beneficiary's assigns by the grantors, and comply with all the terms, agreements and conditions of this instrument, then this conveyance shall be void, otherwise, at the request of said beneficiary, or any legal holder of said indebtedness, or any part thereof, the trustee herein named, or any succeeding trustee, shall sell said property, or a sufficiency thereof to satisfy the indebtedness of every kind, hereby secured then unpaid, after having published notice of the time, place and terms of sale in the manner required by law, but the trustee may sell at such time and such place as may be designated in the notice of such sale, being vested with discretion as to the time and place of sale, and not being required to make sale, or sales, at the time and place prescribed by the statute for sales under execution.

The trustee's authority to sell shall not be exhausted upon making one sale, but he may make as many sales under this deed of trust as may be deemed advisable by the trustee herein named, or any succeeding trustee. Out of the proceeds arising from such sale or sales, the cost and expense of executing this trust, including a ten per cent trustee's fee, which is hereby agreed to be a reasonable trustee's fee, a reasonable attorney's fee, shall first be paid, next the amount of said indebtedness secured thereby then remaining unpaid, including the indebtedness herein described, and any further advance or advances and any amount expended on said property by the beneficiary or beneficiary's assigns, under the terms of this deed of trust, and all interest and attorney's fees, and lastly, any balance of said proceeds remaining shall be paid to the grantors.

The beneficiary, or any subsequent holder of said indebtedness, or any part thereof is hereby authorized to appoint another trustee in the place and stead of and as successor to the trustee herein named, or his successor or successors; such power of appointment may be exercised as often as the beneficiary or holder of said indebtedness may desire, and shall continue as long as any part of the indebtedness hereby secured remains unpaid and such appointee shall have the same authority, title and powers as the trustee herein named, and his acts shall have all the validity of the acts of the original trustee.

It is further agreed that when any payment shall be made on the indebtedness hereby secured, the beneficiary, or the legal holder of said note, or notes, shall have the exclusive right to make application of the said payments to any part of the indebtedness hereby secured, whether the indebtedness to which said payment may be applied be specifically mentioned in this deed of trust or not, and in the event any payment is made by the grantors, the beneficiary, or the holder of the said indebtedness may, if the beneficiary or said holder so desires, apply said payment on an unsecured debt, instead of applying the same on the indebtedness hereby secured.

WITNESS the SIGNATURE of the undersigned this the 15th day of May, 19 69.

NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE (A.A.L.)

BY: Willie Finch
President

Mrs Lucendia Young
Secretary

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI,
County of ~~BOLIVAR~~ }

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned authority, duly authorized by law to take acknowledgments in and for said County and State, the within named _____,

to me personally known, who acknowledged that ~~they~~ signed and delivered the foregoing instrument on the day and year therein mentioned, and for the purposes therein set forth.

GIVEN UNDER MY HAND AND OFFICIAL SEAL, this _____ day of _____, 19____

SEAL

Notary Public

My Commission Expires:

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

COUNTY OF BOLIVAR

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned authority duly authorized by law to take acknowledgments in and for said County and State, the within named _____

~~and~~ Willie Finch, President, and Lucendia Young, Secretary, who acknowledged to me that they are President and Secretary, respectively, of NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE (A.A.L.), a corporation, and that for and on behalf of said corporation and as its act and deed, they signed, sealed and delivered the above and foregoing instrument of writing on the day and in the year therein mentioned, they being first duly authorized so to do by said corporation.

Given under my hand and official seal this, the 16th day of May, 19 69.

Frances A. Hood
Notary Public

My Commission Expires: 1/25/71

1543

LAND
DEED OF TRUST

FROM

North Bolivar County
Farm Cooperative (AAL)

TO

Southern Regional Council
Inc.

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI, Bolivar

I certify that this deed of trust was filed for record in my office at 4:32 o'clock P M. on the 16 day of MAY, 1969, and was duly recorded the _____ day of _____, 19____, in Book M 143 at page 149 in my office.

Witness my hand and seal of office this _____

day of _____, 19____.

H B Boyd Ben
Chancery Clerk.

Mary C Frey
D. C.

Chg. ret:
BUTLER, SNOW O,MARA, STEVENS & CANNADA
Attorneys and Counselors at Law
P. O. Box 22567
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

4:32 P.M.

DEED OF TRUST

WHEREAS, the undersigned grantor, NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE (A.A.L.), a farm cooperative organized under the Laws of the State of Mississippi, of Mound Bayou, Mississippi;

owes SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

hereinafter called the beneficiary, the sum of One Hundred Sixty One Thousand One Hundred Seventy-Five and No/100----------($161,175.00)---------- DOLLARS,

evidenced by promissory note of even date herewith, XXXX

It is understood and agreed that this conveyance is made subject to and that the parties hereto have agreed on and are bound by and will observe and fulfill the following covenants, stipulations, and conditions as obligatory upon the respective parties:

First: In addition to the aforesaid indebtedness, any and all extensions or renewals of the same or any part thereof, and any and all further or future advances, loans and extensions of credit by the beneficiary herein, or the holder or holders of the indebtedness above described, to the grantors or any of them are intended to be secured and are secured by this instrument.

Second. The grantors bind and obligate themselves to insure the buildings situated on the above described property in the sum of not less than $_____against loss by fire and windstorm, in some reputable fire and tornado insurance company, to be approved by the beneficiary, for the entire term of the above loan, and to keep the same so insured for the said term, with standard mortgagee clause in favor of said beneficiary attached to the said policies, and further agree to deliver said policies and renewals thereof to said beneficiary, with receipt on said policies showing full payment of the premium thereon, or separate receipts delivered showing payment of said premiums for the term thereof. If said grantors shall obtain more, either of fire or tornado insurance, than the above amounts, then all of said insurance shall be made payable by standard mortgagee clause to the beneficiary herein.

Third. The grantors shall pay all taxes within the time required by law as they shall fall due and at once forward the original tax receipts to said beneficiary, and also shall pay promptly all liens and judgments which may become liens on said above described property.

Fourth. In case the grantors, their heirs or assigns, or either of them, or their vendees of the property herein conveyed, immediate or remote, should become insolvent, or apply to a bankruptcy court to be adjudicated a voluntary bankrupt, or proceedings be instituted to put them in involuntary bankruptcy, or should any proceedings be taken against the grantors, or their said vendees, immediate or remote, or either of them, looking to the appointment of a receiver, assignee, or trustee, then, and in either or any such case, all rents becoming due thereafter on the property herein conveyed shall be due and payable to the beneficiary herein, to be applied on the indebtedness secured hereby, and the wholse indebtedness hereby secured, may, at the option of the said beneficiary or beneficiary's assigns, be declared due and payable.

Fifth. The undersigned further represents unto the said beneficiary for the purpose of obtaining the loan or of obtaining deferred payment on the debt, as the case may be, secured by this instrument, that there are no liens, leases, or encumbrances of any sort against the property conveyed herein, except, if any, as shown by the records of said county.

Sixth. The grantors further bind themselves not to sell the property hereinbefore conveyed without the written consent of the beneficiary, and further agree not to abandon said property, and a breach of either of these agreements and conditions shall cause the entire indebtedness secured hereby to become due and payable at the option of the said beneficiary or beneficiary's assigns.

Seventh. That should the grantors fail to pay, as hereinabove stipulated, all taxes, assessments, liens, or judgments, or to insure the property and pay the premiums therefor, then the said beneficiary, or beneficiary's successors and assigns, may at their option pay any such unpaid taxes, assessments, liens, or judgments, and insure said improvements, pay the premiums therefor, and, without notice, at their option, declare the whole debt secured by this trust deed to be due and payable and proceed to foreclose same at once. All taxes, assessments, liens, judgments, and insurance premiums paid by the said beneficiary, and all necessary expenses incurred by said beneficiary in connection therewith, including any expense incurred in defending the title of the grantor to this real estate, where necessary for the protection of the said beneficiary's interests, or in defending his trust deed as a valid first lien on the real estate described or intended to be described herein, where necessary, or in seeking to have the trust deed reformed by judicial proceedings, where necessary because of mistake in this act, shall constitute a part of the debt secured by this mortgage and become immediately due and payable to the said beneficiary. The grantors agree to pay all necessary and usual charges incident to the consummation of this loan, and likewise the usual and necessary costs incident to the cancellation upon the record or records of this trust deed after the loan has been repaid in full.

Eighth. It is further agreed that grantors will commit no waste on the property conveyed herein, and that, in event the undersigned grantors fail to keep in as good state of repair as they now are the buildings and appurtenances hereinabove conveyed, the beneficiary herein shall have the right at beneficiary's option to make any needed repairs, betterments, or improvements, and that any expenditure for such purpose will be a legitimate indebtedness against the undersigned and against the property embraced in this trust deed, and the cost of any such repairs, betterments, or improvements will become a part of the debt secured by this instrument.

Ninth. It is distinctly understood and agreed that a failure by the grantors to pay any one of the above notes or installments of principal, or the interest as it shall become due, or to do or perform any of the above agreements, shall cause the entire indebtedness to fall due and payable at the option of said beneficiary, or beneficiary's assigns, and shall fully empower the said beneficiary or beneficiary's assigns to have the trustee, or any successor in said trust herein, to execute his trust, and said beneficiary or beneficiary's assigns shall not be required to declare such acceleration in writing, or give notice of it.

Tenth. If the property conveyed herein should be situated in two or more counties or in two judicial districts of the same county, then the trustee or any successor in said trust shall have full power, in case he is directed to foreclose under this instrument, to select in which county or judicial district the sale of all of the above property shall be made, and his selection shall be binding upon the grantors and the beneficiary and all persons claiming through or under them, whether by contract or by law. The trustee or any successor in said trust shall have full power to fix the day, time, terms, and place of sale, and shall also have full power to conduct any sale hereunder through an agent duly appointed by him for that purpose, but said appointment of agent need not be recorded.

Eleventh. The grantors waive the provisions of Section 888 of the Code of Mississippi of 1942, and laws amendatory thereof, if any, as far as said Section restricts the right of the trustee to offer at sale more than one hundred and sixty acres at a time, and the trustee may offer the property herein conveyed as a whole, regardless of the manner in which it may be described. The grantors also waive the provisions of Section 892 of the Mississippi Code of 1942.

Twelfth. In case of the sale of the said property hereunder, the beneficiary or beneficiary's assigns shall have the same right to purchase at such sale as if a stranger to this instrument.

Thirteenth. The attorney's fees provided for in the above described notes and the trustee's fee provided for in this deed of trust are hereby made liens on the above described property, and the grantors hereby promises to pay the same should they become due under the terms of the said notes and this deed of trust.

However, this conveyance is in trust. Should the grantors pay said indebtedness and interest owing thereon at maturity, and any renewal thereof, and also all further and future advances to them by the beneficiary, as well as any other indebtedness due or which may become due the beneficiary, or beneficiary's assigns by the grantors, and comply with all the terms, agreements and conditions of this instrument, then this conveyance shall be void, otherwise, at the request of said beneficiary, or any legal holder of said indebtedness, or any part thereof, the trustee herein named, or any succeeding trustee, shall sell said property, or a sufficiency thereof to satisfy the indebtedness of every kind, hereby secured then unpaid, after having published notice of the time, place and terms of sale in the manner required by law, but the trustee may sell at such time and such place as may be designated in the notice of such sale, being vested with discretion as to the time and place of sale, and not being required to make sale, or sales, at the time and place prescribed by the statute for sales under execution.

The trustee's authority to sell shall not be exhausted upon making one sale, but he may make as many sales under this deed of trust as may be deemed advisable by the trustee herein named, or any succeeding trustee. Out of the proceeds arising from such sale or sales, the cost and expense of executing this trust, including a ten per cent trustee's fee, which is hereby agreed to be a reasonable trustee's fee, a reasonable attorney's fee, shall first be paid, next the amount of said indebtedness secured thereby then remaining unpaid, including the indebtedness herein described, and any further advance or advances and any amount expended on said property by the beneficiary or beneficiary's assigns, under the terms of this deed of trust, and all interest and attorney's fees, and lastly, any balance of said proceeds remaining shall be paid to the grantors.

The beneficiary, or any subsequent holder of said indebtedness, or any part thereof is hereby authorized to appoint another trustee in the place and stead of and as successor to the trustee herein named, or his successor or successors; such power of appointment may be exercised as often as the beneficiary or holder of said indebtedness may desire, and shall continue as long as any part of the indebtedness hereby secured remains unpaid and such appointee shall have the same authority, title and powers as the trustee herein named, and his acts shall have all the validity of the acts of the original trustee.

It is further agreed that when any payment shall be made on the indebtedness hereby secured, the beneficiary, or the legal holder of said note, or notes, shall have the exclusive right to make application of the said payments to any part of the indebtedness hereby secured, whether the indebtedness to which said payment may be applied be specifically mentioned in this deed of trust or not, and in the event any payment is made by the grantors, the beneficiary, or the holder of the said indebtedness may, if the beneficiary or said holder so desires, apply said payment on an unsecured debt, instead of applying the same on the indebtedness hereby secured.

WITNESS the SIGNATURE of the undersigned this the 15th day of May, 19 69.

NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE (A.A.L.)

BY: _____

President

Secretary

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI,
County of ~~BOLIVAR~~

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned authority, duly authorized by law to take acknowledgments in and for said County and State, the within named _____,

to me personally known, who acknowledged that ~~they~~ signed and delivered the foregoing instrument on the day and year therein mentioned, and for the purposes therein set forth.

GIVEN UNDER MY HAND AND OFFICIAL SEAL, this _____ day of _____, 19____.

SEAL

_____
Notary Public

My Commission Expires:

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

COUNTY OF BOLIVAR

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned authority duly authorized by law to take acknowledgments in and for said County and State, the within named _____

and _____, who acknowledged to me that they are President and Secretary, respectively, of NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE (A.A.L.), a corporation, and that for and on behalf of said corporation and as its act and deed, they signed, sealed and delivered the above and foregoing instrument of writing on the day and in the year therein mentioned, they being first duly authorized so to do by said corporation.

Given under my hand and official seal this, the _____ day of May, 19 69.

_____
Notary Public

My Commission Expires:

LAND
DEED OF TRUST
FROM

_____

_____

TO

_____

_____

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI,

I certify that this deed of trust was filed for record in my office at_____o'clock_____M. on the _____day of_____, 19____, and was duly recorded the_____day of _____, 19____, in Book_____ at page_____in my office.

Witness my hand and seal of office this_____

day of_____, 19____.

_____
Chancery Clerk.

_____
D. C.

BUTLER, SNOW O,MARA, STEVENS & CANNADA
Attorneys and Counselors at Law
P. O. Box 22567
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

11.9

WISE, CARTER AND CHILD
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
925 ELECTRIC BUILDING
P. O. BOX 651 [redacted] TEL. 354-2385
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39205

SHERWOOD W. WISE
WILLIAM O. CARTER, JR.
JAMES K. CHILD, JR.
M. CURTISS McKEE
ROBERT C. TRAVIS
THOMAS G. LILLY
RICHARD B. WILSON, JR.
A. SPENCER GILBERT, III
WILLIAM EDWARD ELLINGTON

July 1, 1970

JUL 6 - REC'D

Mr. Bryant George
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York

Re: North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative - Purchase of Land with Loan from Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Dear Mr. George:

Francis Stevens has asked that I forward to you copies of documents from the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative file supporting and documenting the disbursement of the funds furnished by the Southern Regional Council for the purchase of certain farm property in Bolivar County.

I am attaching hereto copies of the Warranty Deed, the Deed of Trust, and the loan closing statement. If you need copies of any additional documents that might be in this file, please let me know.

Very truly yours,

A. Spencer Gilbert III

A. Spencer Gilbert III

ASG:lcf
Encl.
cc: Francis B. Stevens, Esquire

WARRANTY DEED

FOR AND IN CONSIDERATION of the sum of TEN DOLLARS ($10.00) cash in hand paid, and other good and valuable considerations, the receipt of all of which is hereby acknowledged, we, ISAAC DANIEL and ABBIE DANIEL, husband and wife, do hereby sell, convey and warrant unto NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE (A.A.L.), a farm cooperative organized under the Laws of the State of Mississippi, the following property lying and situate in the Second Judicial District of Bolivar County, Mississippi, to-wit:

> A parcel of land in the South Half of Section Three (3), Township 23 North, Range 5 West, Bolivar County, Mississippi, more particularly described as follows: Beginning 132 feet due North of the southwest corner of said Section 3, and run North 89 degrees 33 minutes East 1800 feet; thence North 89 degrees 59 minutes East 2500 feet; thence South 89 degrees 59 minutes East 980 feet to a point 149 feet north of the southeast corner of said Section 3; run thence due North 2530 feet to the northeast corner of the South Half of said Section 3; thence run due West 5280 feet to the northwest corner of said South Half of Section 3; thence run due South 2508 feet to the point of beginning, containing 305 acres, more or less, and being the property conveyed to Jacob S. Borodofsky by the heirs of S. D. Robbins by deed dated September 25, 1919 as recorded in Book J-9 at page 234 in the records in the office of the Clerk of the Chancery Court of Bolivar County in Cleveland, Mississippi, hereby expressly excluding the South 19 acres of said Section 3; and being a part of the property conveyed to Isaac Daniel and wife, Abbie Daniel, by the heir of Jacob S. Borodofsky by deed dated December 15, 1964 of record in Deed Book M-77 at page 447 in the records in the office of the Clerk of the Chancery Court of Bolivar County in Cleveland, Mississippi; but subject to all existing easements for roads, drainage canals and public utilities and to the reservation to the heir of Jacob S. Borodofsky of one-half of all oil, gas and minerals in, on and under the aforesaid property with the right to make exploration thereon for same.

The taxes and assessments on said property for the year 1969 are to be prorated between the Grantors and Grantee herein. The taxes and assessments on said property for the year 1970 and all years subsequent thereto are to be paid by the grantee herein.

WITNESS the signatures of the undersigned, this the 15th day of ~~March~~ May, 1969.

Isaac Daniel
Isaac Daniel

Abbie Daniel
Abbie Daniel

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI :

COUNTY OF BOLIVAR :

This day personally appeared before me, the undersigned authority in and for the jurisdiction aforesaid, Isaac Daniel and Abbie Daniel, husband and wife, who acknowledged to me that they signed, executed and delivered the above and foregoing Warranty Deed on the day and year therein mentioned as their voluntary act and deed.

Given under my hand and seal of office, this the 16th day of ~~March~~ MAY, 1969.

Frances D. Hood
Notary Public

My commission expires: 1/28/71

1542

Isaac Daniel
Albie Daniel
Deed

North Bolivar County
Farm Cooperative (AAL)

IND'X	COMP'D	ABST'D	CANC'LD	KIND

THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI } CHANCERY CLERK
BOLIVAR COUNTY } SECOND DISTRICT

I, H. B. BOYKIN, CLERK OF THE CHANCERY COURT, HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THIS INSTRUMENT WAS FILED FOR RECORD IN MY OFFICE ON THE 16 DAY OF May 1969 AT 4:30 O'CLOCK P.M., AND WAS DULY RECORDED ON THE 19 DAY OF May 1969 IN BOOK 154 PAGES 59

H. B. BOYKIN, CLERK

Mary C Tracy D. C.

Chas & Lit. Butler, Snow & Steele
Clarksdale, Miss.

DEED OF TRUST

WHEREAS, the undersigned grantor, NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE (A.A.L.), a farm cooperative organized under the Laws of the State of Mississippi, of Mound Bayou, Mississippi;

owes SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

hereinafter called the beneficiary, the sum of One Hundred Sixty One Thousand One Hundred Seventy-Five and No/100----------($161,175.00)---------- DOLLARS,

evidenced by promissory note of even date herewith, xxxxxxxxxxxxx

xxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxxxxx, as follows, to-wit:

Payable On Demand after date, with no interest.

And, whereas, the undersigned is anxious to secure the payment of said indebtedness at the maturity thereof and renewals thereof in whole, or in part, and also any further and future advances to be made to grantor or grantors, or either of them, by the beneficiary or the assigns of the beneficiary as well as any other indebtedness which may be due or become due to the beneficiary or the assigns of the beneficiary by the grantor or grantors in this deed of trust, or either of them; therefore, in consideration of $5.00 to it paid by Francis B. Stevens, trustee, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, the undersigned grantor do es hereby convey and warrant unto Francis B. Stevens, trustee, the following described real estate, together with any buildings, structures, machinery, fixtures, equipment, and improvements thereon, or that may hereafter be erected thereon, whether the same be permanent or temporary, and whether now or hereafter attached to or used in connection with said premises, and the hereditaments and appurtenances and all other rights thereunto belonging or in anywise now or hereafter appertaining (if being the intention of the grantors to describe all of the property belonging to the grantors of the kinds and classes described herein located in the county stated herein, and also any property of said classes which may be hereafter acquired by the grantors), which real estate, with the improvements thereon, is situated in the County of Bolivar, Second Judicial District, State of Mississippi, and is described as follows, to-wit:

A parcel of land in the South Half of Section Three (3), Township 23 North, Range 5 West, Bolivar County, Mississippi, more particularly described as follows:
Beginning 132 feet due North of the southwest corner of said Section 3, and run North 89 degrees 33 minutes East 1800 feet; thence North 89 degrees 59 minutes East 2500 feet; thence South 89 degrees 59 minutes East 980 feet to a point 149 feet north of the southeast corner of said Section 3; run thence due North 2530 feet to the northeast corner of the South Half of said Section 3; thence run due West 5280 feet to the northwest corner of said South Half of Section 3; thence run due South 2508 feet to the point of beginning, containing 305 acres, more or less, and being the property conveyed to Jacob S. Borodofsky by the heirs of S. D. Robbins by deed dated September 25, 1919 as recorded in Book J-9 at Page 234 in the records in the office of the Clerk of the Chancery Court of Bolivar County in Cleveland, Mississippi, hereby expressly excluding the South 19 acres of said Section 3; and being a part of the property conveyed to Isaac Daniel and wife, Abbie Daniel, by the heir of Jacob S. Borodofsky by deed dated December 15, 1964 of record in Deed Book M-77 at page 447 in the records in the office of the Clerk of the Chancery Court of Bolivar County, in Cleveland, Mississippi.
This conveyance is subject to all of the reservations and conditions contained and set forth in that certain Warranty Deed from Isaac Daniel and Abbie Daniel to the Grantor herein, of even date herewith, which deed has been recorded in the office of the Chancery Clerk of Bolivar County, Mississippi, and reference to which deed is hereby made.

THIS IS A PURCHASE MONEY DEED OF TRUST

It is understood and agreed that this conveyance is made subject to and that the parties hereto have agreed on and are bound by and will observe and fulfill the following covenants, stipulations, and conditions as obligatory upon the respective parties:

First: In addition to the aforesaid indebtedness, any and all extensions or renewals of the same or any part thereof, and any and all further or future advances, loans and extensions of credit by the beneficiary herein, or the holder or holders of the indebtedness above described, to the grantors or any of them are intended to be secured and are secured by this instrument.

Second. The grantors bind and obligate themselves to insure the buildings situated on the above described property in the sum of not less than $_____against loss by fire and windstorm, in some reputable fire and tornado insurance company, to be approved by the beneficiary, for the entire term of the above loan, and to keep the same so insured for the said term, with standard mortgagee clause in favor of said beneficiary attached to the said policies, and further agree to deliver said policies and renewals thereof to said beneficiary, with receipt on said policies showing full payment of the premium thereon, or separate receipts delivered showing payment of said premiums for the term thereof. If said grantors shall obtain more, either of fire or tornado insurance, than the above amounts, then all of said insurance shall be made payable by standard mortgagee clause to the beneficiary herein.

Third. The grantors shall pay all taxes within the time required by law as they shall fall due and at once forward the original tax receipts to said beneficiary, and also shall pay promptly all liens and judgments which may become liens on said above described property.

Fourth. In case the grantors, their heirs or assigns, or either of them, or their vendees of the property herein conveyed, immediate or remote, should become insolvent, or apply to a bankruptcy court to be adjudicated a voluntary bankrupt, or proceedings be instituted to put them in involuntary bankruptcy, or should any proceedings be taken against the grantors, or their said vendees, immediate or remote, or either of them, looking to the appointment of a receiver, assignee, or trustee, then, and in either or any such case, all rents becoming due thereafter on the property herein conveyed shall be due and payable to the beneficiary herein, to be applied on the indebtedness secured hereby, and the wholse indebtedness hereby secured, may, at the option of the said beneficiary or beneficiary's assigns, be declared due and payable.

Fifth. The undersigned further represents unto the said beneficiary for the purpose of obtaining the loan or of obtaining deferred payment on the debt, as the case may be, secured by this instrument, that there are no liens, leases, or encumbrances of any sort against the property conveyed herein, except, if any, as shown by the records of said county.

Sixth. The grantors further bind themselves not to sell the property hereinbefore conveyed without the written consent of the beneficiary, and further agree not to abandon said property, and a breach of either of these agreements and conditions shall cause the entire indebtedness secured hereby to become due and payable at the option of the said beneficiary or beneficiary's assigns.

Seventh. That should the grantors fail to pay, as hereinabove stipulated, all taxes, assessments, liens, or judgments, or to insure the property and pay the premiums therefor, then the said beneficiary, or beneficiary's successors and assigns, may at their option pay any such unpaid taxes, assessments, liens, or judgments, and insure said improvements, pay the premiums therefor, and, without notice, at their option, declare the whole debt secured by this trust deed to be due and payable and proceed to foreclose same at once. All taxes, assessments, liens, judgments, and insurance premiums paid by the said beneficiary, and all necessary expenses incurred by said beneficiary in connection therewith, including any expense incurred in defending the title of the grantor to this real estate, where necessary for the protection of the said beneficiary's interests, or in defending his trust deed as a valid first lien on the real estate described or intended to be described herein, where necessary, or in seeking to have the trust deed reformed by judicial proceedings, where necessary because of mistake in this act, shall constitute a part of the debt secured by this mortgage and become immediately due and payable to the said beneficiary. The grantors agree to pay all necessary and usual charges incident to the consummation of this loan, and likewise the usual and necessary costs incident to the cancellation upon the record or records of this trust deed after the loan has been repaid in full.

Eighth. It is further agreed that grantors will commit no waste on the property conveyed herein, and that, in event the undersigned grantors fail to keep in as good state of repair as they now are the buildings and appurtenances hereinabove conveyed, the beneficiary herein shall have the right at beneficiary's option to make any needed repairs, betterments, or improvements, and that any expenditure for such purpose will be a legitimate indebtedness against the undersigned and against the property embraced in this trust deed, and the cost of any such repairs, betterments, or improvements will become a part of the debt secured by this instrument.

Ninth. It is distinctly understood and agreed that a failure by the grantors to pay any one of the above notes or installments of principal, or the interest as it shall become due, or to do or perform any of the above agreements, shall cause the entire indebtedness to fall due and payable at the option of said beneficiary, or beneficiary's assigns, and shall fully empower the said beneficiary or beneficiary's assigns to have the trustee, or any successor in said trust herein, to execute his trust, and said beneficiary or beneficiary's assigns shall not be required to declare such acceleration in writing, or give notice of it.

Tenth. If the property conveyed herein should be situated in two or more counties or in two judicial districts of the same county, then the trustee or any successor in said trust shall have full power, in case he is directed to foreclose under this instrument, to select in which county or judicial district the sale of all of the above property shall be made, and his selection shall be binding upon the grantors and the beneficiary and all persons claiming through or under them, whether by contract or by law. The trustee or any successor in said trust shall have full power to fix the day, time, terms, and place of sale, and shall also have full power to conduct any sale hereunder through an agent duly appointed by him for that purpose, but said appointment of agent need not be recorded.

Eleventh. The grantors waive the provisions of Section 888 of the Code of Mississippi of 1942, and laws amendatory thereof, if any, as far as said Section restricts the right of the trustee to offer at sale more than one hundred and sixty acres at a time, and the trustee may offer the property herein conveyed as a whole, regardless of the manner in which it may be described. The grantors also waive the provisions of Section 892 of the Mississippi Code of 1942.

Twelfth. In case of the sale of the said property hereunder, the beneficiary or beneficiary's assigns shall have the same right to purchase at such sale as if a stranger to this instrument.

Thirteenth. The attorney's fees provided for in the above described notes and the trustee's fee provided for in this deed of trust are hereby made liens on the above described property, and the grantors hereby promises to pay the same should they become due under the terms of the said notes and this deed of trust.

However, this conveyance is in trust. Should the grantors pay said indebtedness and interest owing thereon at maturity, and any renewal thereof, and also all further and future advances to them by the beneficiary, as well as any other indebtedness due or which may become due the beneficiary, or beneficiary's assigns by the grantors, and comply with all the terms, agreements and conditions of this instrument, then this conveyance shall be void, otherwise, at the request of said beneficiary, or any legal holder of said indebtedness, or any part thereof, the trustee herein named, or any succeeding trustee, shall sell said property, or a sufficiency thereof to satisfy the indebtedness of every kind, hereby secured then unpaid, after having published notice of the time, place and terms of sale in the manner required by law, but the trustee may sell at such time and such place as may be designated in the notice of such sale, being vested with discretion as to the time and place of sale, and not being required to make sale, or sales, at the time and place prescribed by the statute for sales under execution.

The trustee's authority to sell shall not be exhausted upon making one sale, but he may make as many sales under this deed of trust as may be deemed advisable by the trustee herein named, or any succeeding trustee. Out of the proceeds arising from such sale or sales, the cost and expense of executing this trust, including a ten per cent trustee's fee, which is hereby agreed to be a reasonable trustee's fee, a reasonable attorney's fee, shall first be paid, next the amount of said indebtedness secured thereby then remaining unpaid, including the indebtedness herein described, and any further advance or advances and any amount expended on said property by the beneficiary or beneficiary's assigns, under the terms of this deed of trust, and all interest and attorney's fees, and lastly, any balance of said proceeds remaining shall be paid to the grantors.

The beneficiary, or any subsequent holder of said indebtedness, or any part thereof is hereby authorized to appoint another trustee in the place and stead of and as successor to the trustee herein named, or his successor or successors; such power of appointment may be exercised as often as the beneficiary or holder of said indebtedness may desire, and shall continue as long as any part of the indebtedness hereby secured remains unpaid and such appointee shall have the same authority, title and powers as the trustee herein named, and his acts shall have all the validity of the acts of the original trustee.

It is further agreed that when any payment shall be made on the indebtedness hereby secured, the beneficiary, or the legal holder of said note, or notes, shall have the exclusive right to make application of the said payments to any part of the indebtedness hereby secured, whether the indebtedness to which said payment may be applied be specifically mentioned in this deed of trust or not, and in the event any payment is made by the grantors, the beneficiary, or the holder of the said indebtedness may, if the beneficiary or said holder so desires, apply said payment on an unsecured debt, instead of applying the same on the indebtedness hereby secured.

WITNESS the SIGNATURE of the undersigned this the 15th day of May, 19 69

NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE (A.A.L.)

BY: Willie Finch
President

Mrs Lucendia Young
Secretary

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI,
County of ~~BOLIVAR~~ }

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned authority, duly authorized by law to take acknowledgments in and for said County and State, the within named _____

_____,

to me personally known, who acknowledged that ~~they~~ signed and delivered the foregoing instrument on the day and year therein mentioned, and for the purposes therein set forth.

GIVEN UNDER MY HAND AND OFFICIAL SEAL, this _____ day of _____, 19____.

SEAL

_____
Notary Public

My Commission Expires:

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

COUNTY OF BOLIVAR

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned authority duly authorized by law to take acknowledgments in and for said County and State, the within named _____

and Willie Finch, President, and Lucendia Young, Secretary, who acknowledged to me that they are President and Secretary, respectively, of NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE (A.A.L.), a corporation, and that for and on behalf of said corporation and as its act and deed, they signed, sealed and delivered the above and foregoing instrument of writing on the day and in the year therein mentioned, they being first duly authorized so to do by said corporation.

Given under my hand and official seal this, the 16th day of May, 19 69.

Frances R. Wood
Notary Public

My Commission Expires: 1/28/71

1543

LAND
DEED OF TRUST

FROM

North Bolivar County
Farm Corporation (AAL)

TO

Southern Regional Council
Inc.

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI, Bolivar

I certify that this deed of trust was filed for record in my office at 4:32 o'clock P M. on the 16 day of MAY, 1969, and was duly recorded the _____ day of _____, 19____, in Book M 143 at page 149 in my office.

Witness my hand and seal of office this _____

day of _____, 19____

H B Boyd Clerk
Chancery Clerk.

Mary C Frey
D. C.

Chg + ret:
BUTLER, SNOW O,MARA, STEVENS & CANNADA
Attorneys and Counselors at Law
P. O. Box 22567
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

4:32 P.M.

ISAAC DANIEL, ET UX, SALE OF PROPERTY TO
NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE (A.A.L.) AND
LOAN SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. 5-15-69

Purchase Price			$161,175.00
Less:			
Earnest Money Paid....	$8,000.00		
Pro Rata Taxes as of 4/1/69	182.04		
			8,182.04
Balance Due Sellers ----------			$152,992.96

- -

Loan Southern Regional Council, Inc.			$161,175.00
Less:			
Earnest Money Advanced			8,000.00
Balance ----------			$153,175.00
To Be Disbursed:			
To Sellers balance of purchase price	$152,992.96		
To Mississippi Valley Title Insurance Company for title binder and title policies		479.90	
To Chancery Clerk, Bolivar County, recording fees:			
Warranty Deed .. $1.50			
Deed of Trust .. 5.25			
		6.75	
			153,479.61
		(-)	$ 304.61

11.9

JUL 15 1970

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

July 10, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I transmit herewith a letter dated July 1st from attorneys representing Francis Stevens who represented all of us at the closing on the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative property purchase of land with loan from SRC. I think these are the papers you will need to indicate that you have paid over the money to the proper parties -- and can close it out on your books.

Very best wishes.

Yours very truly,

Bryant George

BG*mh
enclosure

11.9

July 20, 1970

Mr. Bryant George
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, N. Y. 10017

Dear Bryant:

Thank you for the material on the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

11.19

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DEC 22 1970

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

December 18, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

We are still carrying a loan of $161,000 to the North Bolivar Cooperative on our books as a grant/loan to the Southern Regional Council. I have been working with the North Bolivar group directly, and know that they are not ready to make use of the land yet. Therefore, I want to get the grant extended. The only person that can legally do that is you. I wonder if you would be kind enough to write me a letter requesting the extension of this until January 1, 1972 -- that should give them enough time to do whatever they are going to do with that money and make it possible for us to keep the thing open without having to effect a foreclosure. Just a regular, simple letter, requesting the extension will be adequate. The date of the grant is May 12, 1969, the amount is: $161,175, the # is: 690-0431.

Thank you very much.

Yours very truly,

Bryant George

BG*mh
P.S. Please send the letter directly to me.

11.9

December 21, 1970

Mr. Bryant George
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, N. Y. 10017

Dear Mr. George:

In May of 1969, the Foundation was good enough to provide us with a recoverable grant of $161,175.00 for the purpose of allowing the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative to purchase 307 acres of land in Bolivar County, Mississippi.

As you know that land was purchased by the group, but it has not yet been developed. We still feel the potential for this development exist, and that during 1971 further effort should be made to develop that potential. This is to request of the Foundation an extension of this grant through 1971, unless we should determine mutually before that time that the project should be discontinued.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

11.9

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

February 2, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

690-0431
Grant Number

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am pleased to advise you that The Ford Foundation has approved a modification in the terms of its recoverable grant of $161,175 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. for a loan to purchase 307 acres for a black agricultural cooperative. The modification extends the period of the recoverable grant to December 31, 1971 to permit the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative to develop the land it purchased.

This action is being taken in response to your letter of December 21, 1970 addressed to Mr. Bryant George of the Foundation staff. All other terms and conditions of this grant remain as set forth in Mr. Howard R. Dressner's letter of May 12, 1969 notifying you of the grant.

On behalf of the Foundation, may I extend every good wish for the continued success of this project.

Sincerely yours,

W. H. Nims

William H. Nims
Assistant Secretary

Rel to CIV

11.9

PRELIMINARY EVALUATION OF THE NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE PROPOSAL FOR A SOYBEAN PROCESSING VENTURE

Prepared by

Checchi and Company
Washington, D.C.
under OEO Contract No. B00-5119

September 13, 1971

Preliminary Evaluation of the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative Proposal for a Soybean Processing Venture

I. Introduction

The North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative (NBCFC) is seeking a means to improve the livelihood of its members and stimulate the depressed economy of Bolivar County, Mississippi. In cooperation with this effort, Checchi and Company has been providing technical assistance to the cooperative vegetable farm. In addition, Checchi has been asked to evaluate the feasibility and profitability of various other business ventures being considered by NBCFC.

A. Background

In general, the Cooperative is faced with a classic problem. The membership of NBCFC is seeking a good product which could be linked to a processing facility which the farmers themselves could own. The objective is to find the most profitable use for the farmers' land. In order to achieve this, it is proposed that the production of the crop be linked to processing to enable the farmers to share in the processing dollar by ownership of the processing facilities.

B. The Proposal

It is proposed that the farmers raise soybeans. NBCFC would set up a processing plant to process the soybeans. The "start-up" product and major revenue earner would be corn soya milk, which would be sold to the United States Department of Agriculture for the Food for Peace Program. The plant would also produce other low cost, high protein food for sale in commercial markets, particularly the institutional market. A special nutrition education program would be sponsored by the new business to develop a market for high protein products among low income people who need a low-cost source of protein.

C. The Problem

The Cooperative has asked Checchi and Company to answer the following question: "Is it feasible to set up a soybean processing facility based on production of Corn Soya Milk (CSM) and full fat soy flour as its primary products?"

II. The Products Proposed: Corn Soya Milk and Full Fat Soy Flour

An important insight into the economics of this proposal can be gained by a careful examination of the ingredients and process required to produce corn soya milk (CSM) and full fat soy flour (FFSF).

A. Corn Soya Milk

During the early sixties the American Corn Millers' Federation demonstrated the feasibility of producing a high protein, low cost food product from a blend of gelatinized corn meal, soy flour, nonfat dry milk, and vitamin supplements. In November, 1966 the amended Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act (PL 480) was signed into law. It was this law which enabled the Commodity Credit Corporation of the USDA to begin purchasing large quantities of this new high protein food product which became known as CSM. Since the passage of the law, about 1.5 billion pounds of CSM has been donated to developing nations.

The current specifications require the following formulation of regular CSM.

Table I: Formulation of Regular CSM

Ingredient	Formula
Gelatinized corn meal	63.8%
Defatted soy flour (toasted)	24.2%
Nonfat dry milk solids	5.0%
Minerals and vitamins	2.0%
Soy oil	5.0%

Source: "Instant CSM Food Blends for World-Wide Feeding," Cereal Science Today, January 1971.

There exists some flexibility in the requirements for the processing or precooking of the corn meal and in the method of attaining the six percent fat content required. The corn meal can be processed by heated rolls, extrusion-cooking, or other methods as long as the required consistency characteristics are obtained. The six percent fat requirement can be met from any of a variety of sources - refined soy oil, full-fat soy flour, or limited amounts of corn germ fraction used singly or in suitable combinations to supply the fat. Recent research has resulted in the development of an instant CSM which can be prepared for eating without cooking. This instant form of CSM may be formulated with full fat soy flour, as indicated in Table II.

Table II: Formulation of Instant CSM

Ingredient	Formula
Corn endosperm fraction	54%
Full fat soy flour	24%
Nonfat dry milk	4%
Sugar	15%
Vitamins and minerals	3%
	100%

Source: Same as for Table I

These formulae reveal that CSM is a blend of preprocessed corn and soy products. The principal ingredient of CSM is processed corn meal, fortified by soy flour and vitamins to enhance its nutritional value. The producer of CSM is faced with the decision of what ingredients to purchase and what ingredients to process himself. Current producers of CSM for PL 480 sales are corn millers. They are in the advantageous position of already producing the principal ingredient of CSM, i.e. corn meal. To date, all CSM has been

produced by just two corn millers, i.e. Kraus Milling Company, Milwaukee, Wisconsin and Lauhoff Grain Company, Danville, Illinois.

The entire process of producing CSM from whole corn and soybeans would involve several steps and several pieces of costly equipment. Illustration I on the next page is a simplified presentation of the main steps which would be involved. This illustration assumes that the processor plans to start with whole corn and soybeans and that all the fat will be left in the soybeans. Actually, the majority of CSM produced to date has been like that formulated in Table I. Defatted soy flour is used and a small portion of soy oil added to meet the six percent fat requirement.

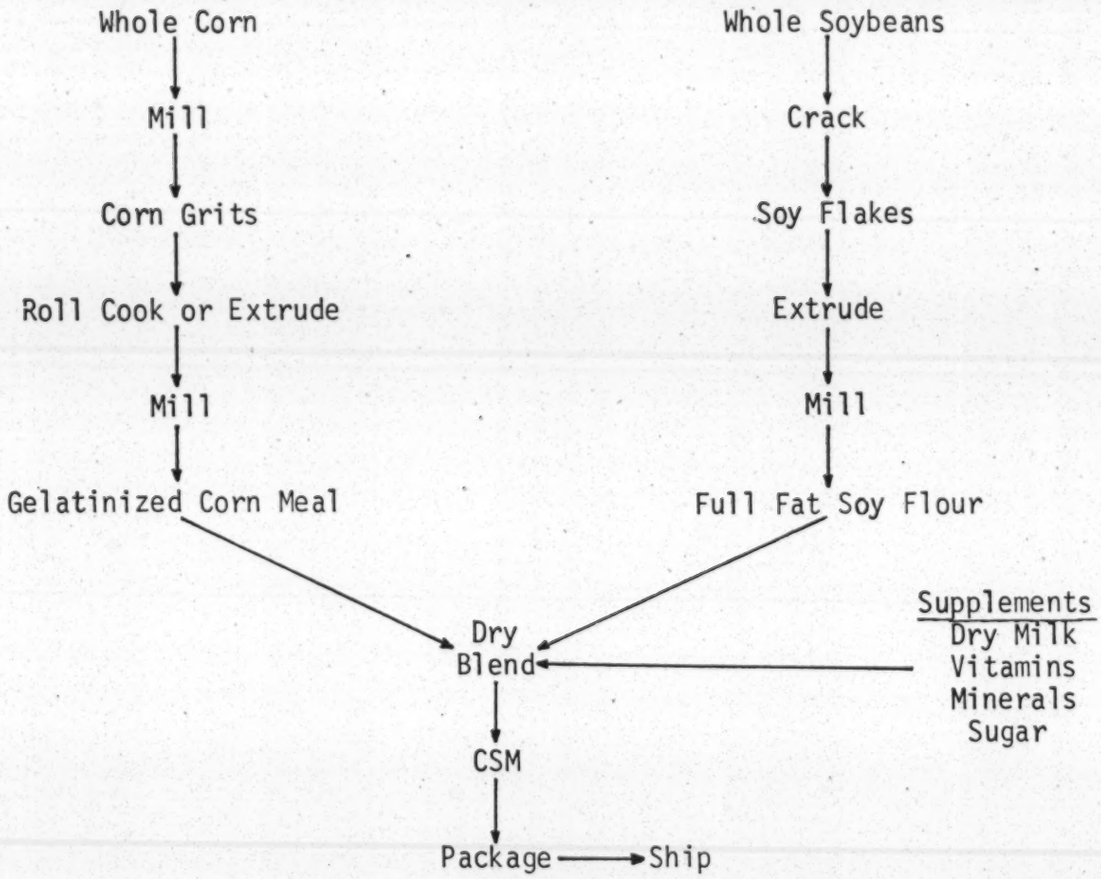
The principal equipment decision involved in CSM production today is the choice between roll-cooking and extrusion-cooking of the corn. Originally, the USDA required roll-cooking. However, recent developments have led to the approval of the extrusion method. This is significant for a producer contemplating the production of CSM from whole corn and soy. An extruder can be used to produce the full fat soy flour (FFSF) as well as the gelatinized corn meal required by the CSM blend.

B. Full Fat Soy Flour

The venture being considered by North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative contemplates producing FFSF as its second major project. With a production facility designed to produce CSM, the NBCFC would have not technical problems with the production of FFSF. Since FFSF would be an ingredient of the CSM produced by the Cooperative, it would only be necessary to produce more FFSF than that required for CSM production. This additional FFSF would then

ILLUSTRATION I

PRODUCTION OF FULL FAT CSM
FROM WHOLE CORN AND SOYBEANS



Source: Checchi & Company

be available for direct sale. Currently, there is only one producer of FFSF. This is the Archer Daniels Midland Company of Decatur, Illinois.

III. The Feasibility of the Venture

The feasibility of this venture rests on two main issues. They are:

A. Can NBCFC produce CSM at a price which will be competitive with that of the current major producers?

Current producers of CSM are well established corn millers who are purchasing defatted soy flour from soybean oil producers. Therefore, by undertaking to produce both CSM ingredients, i.e., soy flour from whole soybeans and corn meal from whole corn, the Cooperative will be faced with two problems. First, the corn meal will have to be produced at or near the price for which the giant millers produce it - about 4.5 cents/pound. Second, the FFSF will have to be produced at a price competitive with the defatted soy flour. The principal dealers in FFSF quote the price at 9 to 10 cents/pound. Defatted flour sells for about 7 cents/pound. In producing FFSF, NBCFC will be leaving all the oil from the soybeans in the flour. But USDA specification only requires a six percent fat content in the CSM. Since FFSF is about 20 percent fat, using it to produce CSM involves wasting some of the value of soybean oil. The Cooperative could, of course, purchase the corn meal or the defatted flour, or both. But this would seem to frustrate the initial purpose of the processing facility, that is providing a direct market for the crops raised by NBCFC members.

B. If NBCFC could produce CSM and FFSF competitively, could it capture a viable place in the market?

As has been pointed out earlier, there is currently only one producer of FFSF and two producers of CSM, the products which NBCFC has under consideration. Unfortunately, this situation seems to be more an indication of very limited demand for these products than underproduction of them. The market for CSM is currently limited to purchases for the Food for Peace program. With respect to the market for FFSF, there is very little data available. The indications are (as detailed below) that there are currently very few proven commercial uses for FFSF.

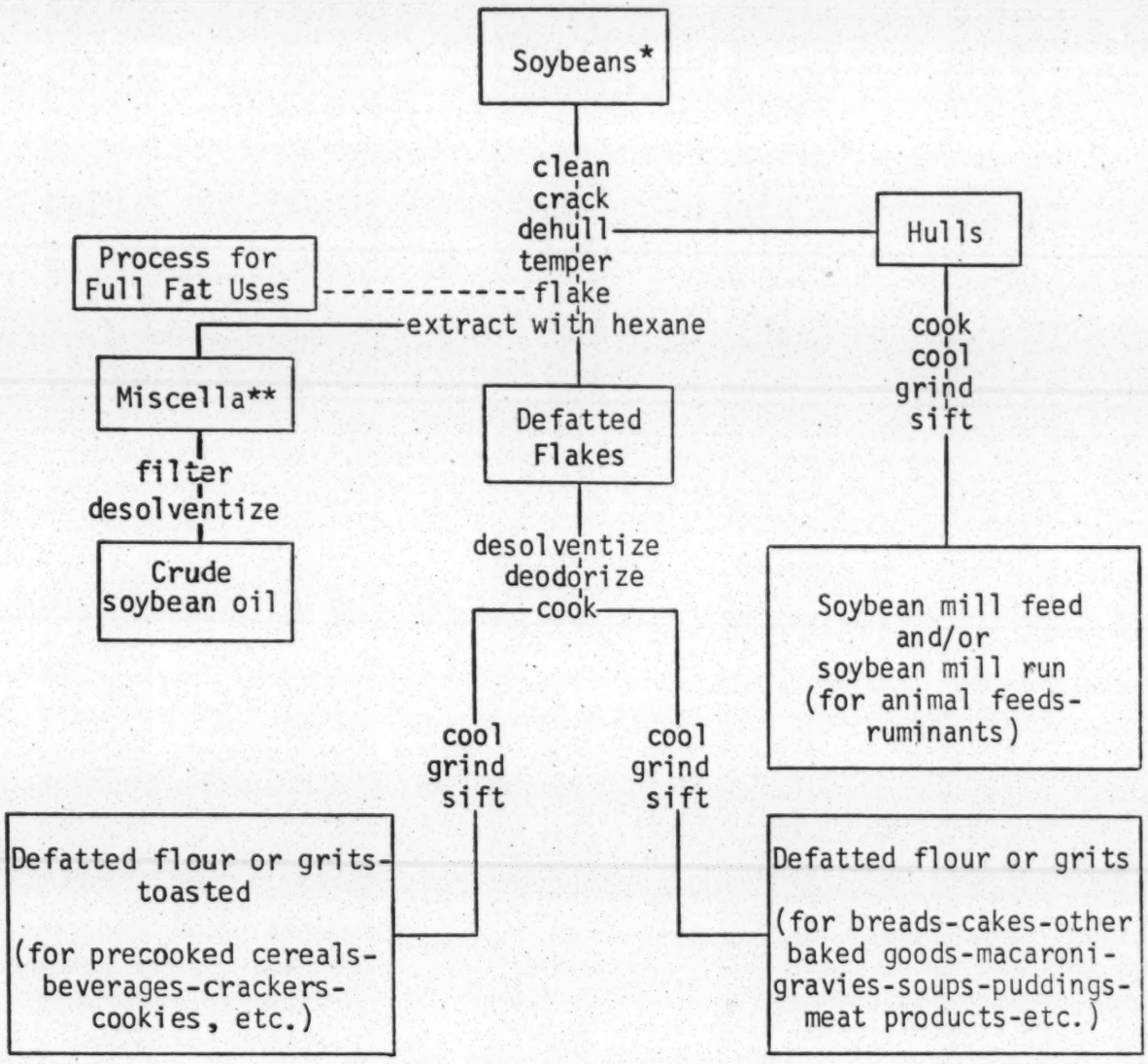
IV. The Economics of the Production of FFSF and CSM

In order to fully appreciate the competitive arena into which NBCFC would be plunging, it is necessary to get an overview of the whole soybean processing industry. The processing of soybeans yields two basic products - soybean oil and soybean meal (defatted). This is shown in Illustration II on the following page.

The primary produce of the approximately 130 soybean processing plants in the United States is soybean oil. These processors have a crushing capacity of about 825 million bushels of beans each year. The second largest concentration of crushing facilities in the U.S. is found in and around Memphis, Tennessee. (Decatur, Illinois is first.) It is estimated by the National Soybean Processors Association that about eight million pounds of soybean oil and 18 million tons of soybean meal are produced each year in the United States. The vast majority (about 99 percent) of this soy meal is marketed as animal feed.

ILLUSTRATION II

PRODUCTION OF DEFATTED, DEHULLED SOYA PRODUCTS--FLOUR OR GRITS--FOR EDIBLE USES



* The soybeans used for processing are selected, sould, clean beans that have been properly stored.

** Mixture of crude soybean oil and hexane.

Source: The American Soybean Association, *Soybean Digest*, August 1961.

The soybean industry therefore is basically an oil and animal feed producing industry. However, the high protein content of soy meal has stimulated vast amounts of research in the utilization of soy protein for human consumption. The objective of the research has been to develop an attractive, marketable form of soy protein product from defatted soy meal. The most obvious way to market soy flour is in the form of flour and grits. However, unmarketable functional and taste characteristics of soy flour and grits limit its acceptance. In order to overcome these problems, soy processors have developed soy concentrates and soy isolates which are the basis for the widely publicized meat analogues and other "imitation foods" made from soy meal. "Soy protein concentrate, which is approximately 70 percent protein, is made by extracting part of the non-protein fraction from soybean flakes using diluted acid or alcohol. Soy protein isolate is made the same way as concentrate, but in a multi-step process. Soy isolate is above 90 percent protein and is available in powdered, extruded, or spun form."[1]

Illustration II outlines the processing path from whole soybeans to oil and defatted flour or grits. The whole bean must first be cleaned, cracked (to break the hull), dehulled, tempered for flaking, and flaked. At this stage the soy flakes can either be cooked and processed for full fat uses or fed into the extractor where the oil is removed by a chemical process using hexane. So few beans are directed into full fat uses that no statistics are available on this use. The extraction process yields miscella, i.e. unrefined oil with hexane, and defatted flakes. The miscella is sent to the refining process and the defatted flakes are desolventized, deodorized, and cooked. As mentioned above, most

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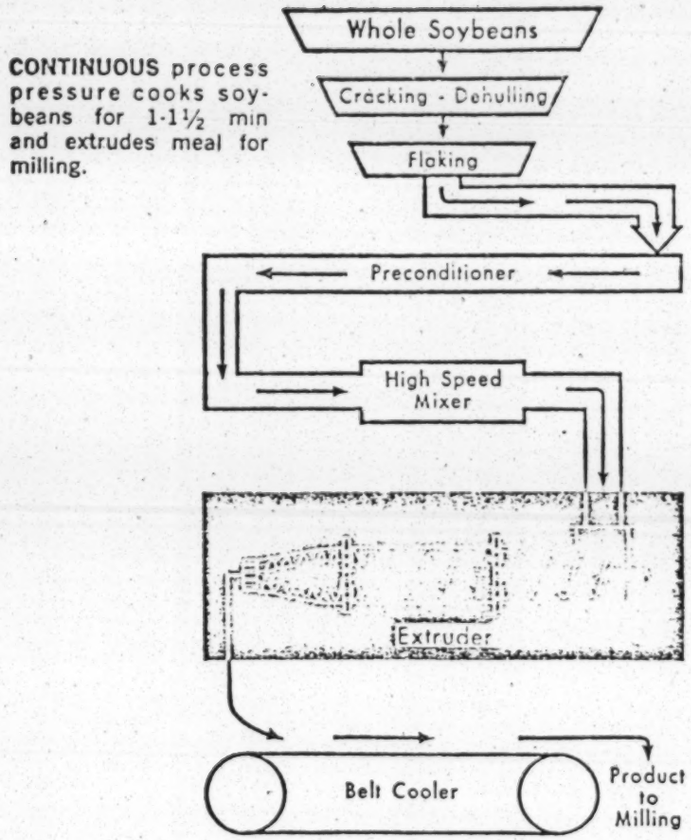
[1] Eley, Cleveland P., "Food Uses of Soy Protein", reprint from The Marketing and Transportation Situation, August 1968, p. 27.

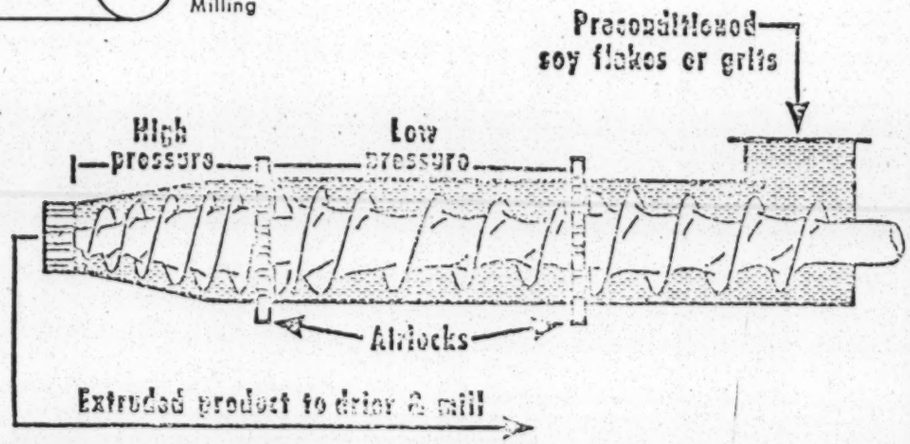
soy meal today is marketed as animal feed. The small part that is not is ground into flour as shown in Illustration II, or channeled into specialized processing channels to produce protein concentrates, isolates, or other special use products.

It would seem logical that if NBCFC is to process its soybeans it should first extract the oil, as do all major processors. Unfortunately, the cost of an efficient size solvent extractor is approximately two million dollars. Such an extractor would require a volume of 400 tons of soybeans per day to be kept operating at an economically efficient pace. The management of NBCFC has wisely recognized the impracticality of undertaking such an enormous venture. On the other hand, this decision limits their use of soybeans to full fat products. Full fat products can be processed from whole soybeans. There are various processes, but the most common is to cook the beans, dry the resulting meal, and grind it into full fat soy flour. Test results at the USDA laboratory in Peoria, Illinois indicate that an extrusion process may now be the most efficient for producing FFSF. An extruder is a sort of mechanical pressure cooker which cooks and pelletizes the soybeans in a single operation. Illustration III is a simplified presentation of the extrusion processing of soybeans. If the extrusion method were used to produce CSM, the processor would require: 1) milling equipment for preparation of the corn and final grinding of the FFSF; 2) an extruder for extrusion-cooking of the corn grits and soy flakes; 3) equipment for pre-conditioning the whole corn and soybeans before beginning processing; 4) blending equipment for the final mix; and 5) bagging or other packaging equipment for shipping. More than one extruder might be indicated by a large volume process. This could be true because both the corn and the soybeans must be extruded and an operation based on a single extruder could result in a

ILLUSTRATION III

Typical Extrusion Process





CLOSEUP of extruder shows low- and high-pressure sections separated by airlocks.

Source: Reprint article, "Simplified Full-Fat Soy Flour Process," by G. Mustakas and D. Mayberry in Food Engineering, October 1964.

bottleneck. Extruding equipment is available with varying capacities, beginning at about 15 tons per day. With the cost of a 100-ton per day extruder estimated at less than $200,000, it would seem that such a facility could be financed with the resources available to NBCFC. This would give the Cooperative the technical capability to produce both CSM and FFSF. However, it is doubtful that these products can be produced competitively.

The economics of the soybean industry seem to force this conclusion. The most valuable part of the soybean is the oil. The soybean crop yields its greatest returns when the oil can be sold and the meal utilized in some other marketable product which creates additional revenues from the same bean. If a processor markets a full fat soy product, it must generate a margin over costs equal to or greater than the marginal revenues received from the oil and other by-products combined. Current producers of CSM are corn millers who purchase the defatted soy flour as an ingredient. If it is assumed that NBCFC can win preferential treatment in selling CSM to USDA, this competition for the government market would be neutralized for as long as this preference was granted. Our attention must therefore be shifted to FFSF. The Cooperative proposes that FFSF be its principal product for the commercial market. The feasibility of this proposal rests primarily on an ability to market this product.

V. The Market for CSM and FFSF

The current market for CSM can be identified succinctly - the Food for Peace program. On the assumption that NBCFC can get a piece of this market, CSM could be a very profitable product, contributing to the feasibility of the proposed venture. However, since the Food for Peace purchases of CSM depend on continued approval of

Congress, Checchi and Company analysts would not recommend proceeding with the venture on the strength of the Food for Peace market alone. There must be a market for FFSF, or it would seem that the investment in an extruder would be an unsound risk of NBCFC resources.

Specific data on the current consumption of FFSF could not be found in any of the sources reviewed by Checchi and Company. However, a key document obtained from Cornell University contained valuable data from which some tentative conclusions can be drawn. The document is entitled, "Utilization of Protein Ingredients in the U.S. Food Industry." It was prepared by Professors Hammonds and Call of the Department of Agricultural Economics at Cornell. The purpose of the study was to estimate the kinds and quantity of various protein ingredients being added to foods by various food processors. Soy protein ingredients play a large role in this study.

Table III below is an extract from the Cornell study. It gives the estimated utilization of various soy ingredients in U.S. food for 1969. It will be noted that utilization of FFSF is not specifically identified.

Table III: Food Utilization of Selected Protein Ingredients in the U.S. Food Industry, 1969

Use	Pounds of Ingredient (millions)
Soy Flour and Grits	
Bakery	57.9
Processed Meats	34.9
Beverages	11.7
Breakfast Cereals	7.0
Macaroni/Pasta	0.2
All Other Uses	9.3
Total	121.0
Soy Concentrates	
All Uses	33.0
Soy Isolates	
All Uses	38.0

Source: Hammonds and Call, Utilization of Protein Ingredients in the U.S. Food Industry, Department of Agricultural Economics, Cornell University, A.E. Res. 320, July 1970, vol. I, p. 20.

In discussions with Hammonds and Call, both indicated that only a very small percentage of the soy flour and grits used could have been the full fat type. Soy concentrates and isolates are made from defatted flour or flakes and therefore do not represent a potential market for FFSF.

Speaking generally about protein ingredients, Hammonds and Call make the following observations:

> ...a wide variety of products which are quite familiar to the American housewife are making use of protein ingredients. Many of these products utilize protein for functional rather than for nutritional purposes. A particular protein source is selected for the physical characteristics which it imparts to the final product. For example: Baked goods may employ soy protein to improve freshness through its water retentive capacity, dairy products may employ protein ingredients as stabilizers for whipped products, and processed meats may employ protein ingredients to retain the natural juices of the product and to bind ground particles together. Any protein source supplying the necessary economy, freedom from objectionable taste, and functional properties may be used.[1]

They also say:

> It is interesting to note that the very name protein suggests nutrition. This has been the traditional role of protein and the focus of most work has been on the development of new protein sources. The problem of developing functional properties is often not appreciated during the early phases of this research. It is only after careful examination of domestic utilization that the substantial importance of functionality becomes clear.[2]

Thus, the functions of the various kinds of soy protein ingredients provide the key to estimating where FFSF might be being used. It also suggests potential areas of future utilization.

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[1] Ibid., p. 14.
[2] Ibid.

With reference to Table III above, we can eliminate meat processing as a significant use of FFSF since one of the functions of the soy flour or grits in meats is to absorb fats. FFSF does not meet this functional requirement. Beverage users of soy flour, however, favor the full fat product. The current use of soy protein by bakeries is for its water absorption and bleaching characteristics. These requirements do not favor the use of FFSF. The current uses of FFSF in baking are likely to represent only a very small proportion of the total soy protein in baked goods, even though this is one product which favors the nutritional qualities of soy protein. It is known that certain manufacturers of breakfast cereals, baby foods, and macaroni and pasta products rely on the nutritional value of FFSF as well as on its functional properties. Unfortunately, these producers are small operators serving a limited health food market.

This sort of functional analysis is far from precise, but it does lead to the conclusion that current uses of FFSF are extremely limited. It is likely that the current producer is adequately meeting the demand for this product. Any new producer of FFSF will have to expect very rigorous competition from Archer Daniels Midland, a giant in the soybean industry with a fully integrated production and marketing organization.

The Cornell study does show, however, a vast potential market for various protein ingredients in the food industry. In aggregate terms, the study concludes that there is an untapped market for "approximately 4.5 to 5.0 billion pounds"[1] of protein ingredients. Clearly, this represents an opportunity for some penetration by FFSF.

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[1] Ibid., vol. II, p. 34.

However, by its very nature an "untapped" market requires vigorous and costly marketing efforts. Most importantly, tapping that market will require a marketing team with intimate knowledge of the food protein industry.

VI. The Market for Other Full Fat Products

In undertaking this analysis, Checchi and Company did not, in fact, limit its investigation to CSM and FFSF. We attempted to inventory all the uses of soybeans which would not require oil extraction.[1] While the feasibility of producing any of these products cannot be determined without in depth market analysis, the ideas should nevertheless be listed here. They are:

1) Whole canned soybeans;
2) Hypoalergenic products;
3) Snack foods, especially a fermented and roasted soy product called "tempe";
4) A new full fat beverage base developed by USDA with possible Food for Peace outlets;
5) Instant CSM; and
6) Pet food ingredients.

VII. Conclusions and Recommendations

In the preliminary evaluation of the proposed venture, we have focused on the problem of marketing the planned products. The

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[1] In the course of the investigation, we contacted the following experts in the field of soybean processing and utilization: Dr. R.J. Dimler, Director, Northern Utilization Research Laboratory, USDA, Peoria, Illinois; Gus C. Mustakas, Dwight Miller, and Roy Anderson, also of the Peoria Lab; Dr. Dale Johnson, soybean consultant and formerly with Central Soya; Dr. Steinkraus and Dr. Call of Cornell University; Dr. Timothy M. Hammonds of Oregon State University; Mr. Larry Kreuger of the American Soybean Association; and Mr. Schubbe of Central Soya.

technological and, to a lesser extent, the economic problems of producing any of these products appear surmountable. However, the principal weakness of the proposed venture seems to be the absence of a penetrable market, given the resources at the disposal of NBCFC. In this regard, we have come to the following conclusions:

1) The government purchases of CSM are subject to termination at any time. Therefore, this market does not justify the required investment.

2) The commercial market for FFSF is extremely limited and largely experimental. Potential commercial sales of FFSF and CSM cannot be projected to a level for profitable operation of the proposed business.

3) The marketing effort required to exploit untapped markets for FFSF would be too costly and would draw NBCFC into rigorous competition with the present producer who is already well established in the industry.

Checchi and Company therefore recommends that NBCFC not pursue the proposed venture.

VIII. A Non-Commercial Alternative

In the course of analyzing the NBCFC proposal, Checchi and Company analysts have become impressed by the potential market for high protein soy food products. The new surge in acceptance of health foods can be expected to greatly buoy the market for high protein foods and food protein ingredients such as FFSF. However, in spite of this potential, our recommendation on the NBCFC proposal still had to remain negative. Although the potential seems great, there is no current market which NBCFC could profitably penetrate on a purely commercial basis. The costs and time involved in developing

this "potential market are so great that they do not offer NBCFC a real business opportunity in the usual sense of the term.

The NBCFC may, however, be in a position to pursue this venture on a non-commercial basis for the first few years if it could obtain funds from its many benefactors. These funds would have to be adequate to enable the hiring of permanent food technologists, mounting a sustained market development campaign, and covering deficits in production costs during the first three to five years of operation of the new venture. Checchi and Company believes that if grants can be obtained to sustain the product and market development activities of the first five years, a solid business venture could be developed to sustain the operation in subsequent years.

With adequate funding available from non-commercial sources, Checchi and Company would recommend that the venture be developed in two stages. During the first stage, NBCFC would focus on the development of products requiring a minimum of expenditure on marketing - that is, products for which a market already exists or can most easily be secured. From the above analysis, the first products that NBCFC should consider during this first phase are:

1) Crude soybean oil;
2) CSM for Food for Peace; and
3) New soy beverage base developed by USDA.

These products are recommended here as an alternative to the products suggested by NBCFC because of advantages in both marketing <u>and</u> production. Savings in the production of CSM and a readily marketable crude soy oil could be obtained by employing a mechanical extractor to extract about ten percent of the oil from the whole beans. The current preference among oil processors for the chemical extraction

method has rendered most mechanical extractors obsolete. NBCFC could buy a used mechanical extractor relatively cheaply. Since NBCFC would use the meal in CSM, the oil left in the meal by the mechanical extractor would contribute to the fat requirement in the CSM specifications.

Compared to the original proposal, the cost and complexity of the production facility would not be greatly increased by introducing these three products as initial production items. In addition to the mechanical extractor, this proposal would require a versatile extruder capable of all production processes implied by both the initial products and future experimental products. Current extruder manufacturers could adapt regular production equipment to meet these requirements.

The second stage in promoting this alternative venture would be a new markets development stage. Because of the risk of government termination of the purchases of CSM, it would be urgent under this alternative proposal to develop new markets. It is suggested that these new markets be developed around the following experimental products:

1) A commercial variation of the new USDA beverage base for publicly sponsored nutrition programs;
2) Full fat soy flour; and
3) Extruded snack items.

The USDA Research Laboratory in Peoria, Illinois has developed a new beverage base which utilizes the extrusion process. The beverage is a spray-dried preparation of extruded full fat soy flour which can be instantly reconstituted with water. The milk-like product promises to attract much attention in the Food for Peace Program, but it also could be promoted among public institutions as a high protein product for infant nutrition programs. The introduction of this product into this alternative proposal would require the

addition of spray drying equipment to the production equipment already mentioned.

The other two "experimental group" products, i.e. FFSF and extruded snacks, have potential markets which were discussed in previous sections of this study. These, of course, would require intensive marketing efforts before they could become regular production items earning significant revenues. For this reason, special, non-commercial sources of funds would be needed.

The amont of funding required to undertake this two-staged development plan is difficult to estimate. Checchi and Company will assist the NBCFC management to obtain reliable capital costs estimates and operating costs projections if the preliminary decision is in favor of pursuing this proposal. However, as a preliminary estimate, it can be safely said that the plant and equipment required to produce the contemplated products would cost between $250 and $350 thousand. Regular annual operating expenses during the first five years would average around $100 thousand at a minimum.

A major problem facing all present soybean processors is a reliable source of supply of soybeans. If NBCFC starts a processing venture, it too will have to deal with this problem. Assume that NBCFC builds a facility to process 50 tons of soybeans per day. This is still a very small facility in terms of maximum efficiency. (400 tons per day is common.) If we assume an average yield of 25 bushels of beans per acre, the Cooperative would have to acquire the production of 13,400 acres of soybeans to keep their facility running just 200 days per year. Even if the NBCFC facility processed only 15 tons per day, it would require 4,000 acres of soybean production.

Summary

Although it is clear that there is potential for a successful business in specialized areas of soybean processing, it is equally clear that the investment required to exploit that potential is extremely large. The NBCFC management must carefully evaluate its resources to determine whether it is in a position to undertake a venture of this scale. If it seems unlikely that the amount of resources required can be found, then the best decision at this point would be to dismiss the proposal entirely and not invest any additional resources in further investigation of its feasibility.

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11.9

Boston Sunday Globe November 14, 1971

Troubled farm co-op pins future on noodle machine

By Herbert Black
Globe Staff

MOUND BAYOU, Miss. — A noodle machine that traveled from Hong Kong to Boston to here became a symbol of hope this weekend for a farm cooperative, run by black people, which is faced with losing Federal support.

The noodle machine was sent from Asia by Hong Kong's famed "noodle priest," Msgr. John Romaniello who fed high-protein noodles to thousands of refugees from China for 14 years.

Fr. Romaniello bustled into Mound Bayou last week to put the noodle machine back into operation and he stirred up more interest and activity than is usually experienced in a year.

The monsignor served as a catalyst to draw together people from the Far East, New York, Boston, Washington and elsewhere to locate a noodle machine in this tiny, dusty town in the Mississippi Delta.

The story begins with the Delta Health Center, established here by Tufts University School of Medicine five years ago. The doctors soon found they were prescribing food as medicine for black children of the area.

This led to establishment of a farm cooperative for blacks, run by blacks and supported by the US Office of Economic Opportunity. The Ford Foundation helped provide land for growing vegetables. Tufts sponsored the cooperative and served as grant agent. The foundation holds title to 305 or 345 acres the farm uses.

Fr. Romaniello's work in Hong Kong was coming to

THE NOODLE PRIEST — Msgr. Romaniello (left) and Eric Taylor, director of farm cooperative, examine noodles made on machine shipped from Hong Kong.

chine, while it won't make money for the project, might stimulate aid from outside.

Already, for example, F. Robert Melina, special projects director of the Lauhoff Grain Co. of Danville, Ill., has promised to donate the high-protein concentrate CSM for at least six months of noodle production. CSM is a mixture of cornmeal, soybeans, nonfat dry milk powder, vitamins and minerals to be added to the noodle flour.

Melina also is asking the Millers National Federation and other flour-producers sources for donations of flour.

Others are volunteering, too Hubert A. Davis, business manager of Tufts Medical School, is trying to find funds for use after the OEO grant runs out. He has run the business side of the co-op under the grant.

G. Brenton Creelman, a Boston accountant who has been auditor for the program, came to Mound Bayou for the dedication of the noodle machine and to see what he could do to help.

Fr. Romaniello is asking his superiors at the Catholic Relief Services to let him make periodic visits to help keep the machine going. He already raised $2100 from Boston donors to buy flour.

Miss Patricia Bennett, a consultant for OEO, said she would report on the machine and the enthusiasm it has generated to Washington officials.

Despite all these offers, the 647 Mound Bayou families who belong to the co-op feel they are being abandoned.

The don't understand how the government can let them develop a farm helping to feed 3235 people and then cut off the funds. The OEO explanation is that its Emergency Fund and Medical Program is ending nationally.

Fr. Romaniello, who got free flour and CSM to feed refugees from China, has tried to get these supplies from the Federal government for Mound Bayou. He is concerned that the government doesn't appear to allot food for a project in this country.

Because the high-protein noodles would first be provided primarily to children, there is some hope that a project might be funded to study their effects on the health of children who ordinarily lack protein in their diet.

Protein deficiency is a serious problem in the Delta, despite the rich soil. Most of the land is devoted to cotton. The farm co-op's fresh vegetables are an effort to overcome this deficiency.

The noodle machine, it was emphasized by all connected with it, won't compete with local stores.

At least in the beginning, the noodles would be distributed to needy families with many children. Fr. Romaniello believes protein deficiency is related to slow mental development in small children.

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This led to establishment of a farm cooperative for blacks, run by blacks and supported by the US Office of Economic Opportunity. The Ford Foundation helped provide land for growing vegetables. Tufts sponsored the cooperative and served as grant agent. The foundation holds title to 305 or 345 acres the farm uses.

Fr. Romaniello's work in Hong Kong was coming to an end when he learned of the farm cooperative from a friend, Davis Taylor, publisher of The Boston Globe. Taylor suggested protein-fortified noodles might help solve nutritional problems in the United States and recommended Mound Bayou as a place to start.

Fr. Romaniello, who works for the Catholic Relief Service in New York, sent a reconditioned noodle-making machine to Boston. It was shipped 18 months ago to Mound Bayou.

Even though the machine measures only six feet by two feet, considerable space is needed to store flour and other ingredients and to dry the noodles.

With help of the OEO a $20,000 noodle plant building was built of brick and metal. The machine was set up in the building last week and a test run was successful.

Now the OEO is phasing out the cooperative's Federal funds as of Dec. 31, after three years of helping to get it going.

Eric Taylor, director of the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative, doesn't see how the program can continue without Federal support. He says capital is needed for another year or two until the co-op can become self-sustaining.

The noodle machine has become a symbol of hope for continuing the farm program. Fr. Romaniello's presence in the Delta has stirred up a lot of interest in the farm project.

There is hope the machine, while it won't make money for the project, might stimulate aid from outside.

THE NOODLE PRIEST — Msgr. Romaniello (left) and Eric Taylor, director of farm cooperative, examine noodles made on machine shipped from Hong Kong.

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11.9

December 1, 1971

Mr. Eric Taylor
North Bolivar County Farm Co-op
P.O. Box 134
Mound Bayou, Mississippi 38762

Dear Mr. Taylor:

This is to confirm our meeting on Saturday, December 11 at 52 Fairlie Street N.W. in the offices of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, Georgia. The meeting will begin at 11:45 AM and last for two hours without lunch. Mr. James Wood will be our contact there and I would appreciate it if you would let Mr. Wood know that you are coming.

This, very likely, is a preliminary meeting. I would appreciate it, however, if you would bring a written statement of what you would propose to do with the land. In the future, we have got to make a resolution of this issue and I am sure that we will not be able to make it at this meeting but I would like to make it as soon as possible.

Yours very truly,

Bryant George

Ret To JW

11.9

FACT SHEET FOR 12/11/71 MEETING
WITH FORD FOUNDATION

North Bolivar County Farm Coop

Subject: Alternative Uses of Land Received from Ford Foundation Under a Recoverable Grant

Date: December 11, 1971

Place: Southern Regional Council Offices, Altanta, Georgia

1. Location of Land - 307 acres of land located in Bolivar County Mississippi near the town of Mound Bayou.

2. Date of Transaction - May 15, 1969, promissory note and deed of trust signed by President and Secretary of North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative in favor of Southern Regional Council, Inc. Amount of note - $161,175.00.

3. Activities to Date - 1969-1970 land developed and crops planted with Technical Assistance provided by Mississippi State University. A plan for crop planting, harvesting and marketing was developed for 1971 and projection of sales and operating expenses prepared with the assistance of Checchi and Company. 286 net acres of the Ford land were farmed during 1971 yielding 330 tons of vegetables which were sold for $26,678. 1972 projections indicate that 286 acres of the Ford land could be farmed and if marketed on the same basis as 1971, $69,030 in sales would result.

See P. 4

4. Feasibility studies conducted for alternative uses of Ford land

   1. Cannery studies

   During the period of August 1969-September 1970, three independent studies were conducted by consultants to determine the feasibility of the North Bolivar County Farm Cooperative entering into the canning or processing business as an extension of its farming program.

Final reports from Mississippi State University, Allied-Continential, and Rutherfood Associates, indicated that a cannery or processing plant would be feasible if there was sufficient volume of raw products and if there was capable management and marketing personnel to staff such a plant.

The fact that two small plants in the vicinity had closed during the period that the above feasibility studies were being conducted further substantiated the findings that a small operation probably could not survive. The availability of the Delta Processing Co., Moorehead, Miss., which had closed, was investigated and recommended as a possibility but was rejected because of the unrealistic sales volume that would be required to make the operation profitable and the caliber of management personnel that would be difficult to find. The NBCFC did not want to chance failure with such a project.

2. Corn-Soya Milk Production

A study of corn-soya-milk production conducted by Dr. Furbay of Kings College, New York was introduced to the community of Mound Bayou as a possible vehicle for relating the production of local crops to a new industry of marketing corn-soya-milk and other by-products. Checchi and Company of Washington, D.C. was asked by NBCFC to study the feasibility of establishing a plant in Bolivar County and the use of the Ford Land as a base for producing the crops necessary for the CSM compound. It was determined that the investment required to explore the market possibilities for corn-soya-milk would be extremely large. It was decided unless substantial research money is forthcoming, it would not be feasible to pursue financing for such a project.

Housing

For the last two years the membership of the NBCFC has requested that housing be provided. Eric Taylor, the present Director of the Coop, was given a fellowship by the Foundation for Cooperative Housing to attend the Housing Specialist course in Washington, D. C. The Office of Economic Opportunity, Central Office provided technical assistance by Checchi and Company to develop a housing program for the Coop. Extensive housing surveys were conducted in 11 communities of Bolivar County and profiles of the Coop membership were developed to provide statistics needed for determining the type of housing program most suitable.

After a series of meetings with local and federal officials the following approach to solving the NBCFC memberhsip housing needs is under consideration:

1. A Housing Development Corporation (North Bolivar County Development Corporation) was formed to develop housing in Bolivar County commencing with a 200 unit project for NBCFC members and offering housing counseling and repair services to residents of the county.

2. A request for administrative funds has been directed to OEO, Atlanta region, to provide staff and equipment for the Development Corporation. (See proposal).

3. Land has been identified for the first project and an architect is preparing a site plan.

4. Evans Cantrell, Housing Consultant, is preparing the application for sponsorship of the housing project to be submitted to the Jackson, Mississippi Office of Housing and Urban Development.

5. Because income levels of large families are not sufficient for them to qualify for a 1 percent interest subsidy program, rent supplement and housing authority programs are to be requested and incorporated with the 1 percent interest subsidy.

6. Farm projections indicate a net income of approximately $25,000 per year provided all of the land including the Ford tract is farmed. This will guarantee an income to those coop members that will qualify them for their housing units. A distribution of net income from farming could further subsidize the income of coop members to assist them in qualifying for their units. A system of such a distribution is now being developed.

Proposed Use of Ford Land

647 Families

During 1971 the coop proved that with adequate management and marketing, it could surpass its projections of sales and resulting income. It also is obvious that it requires about $65,000 ? of investment each year to produce net income of $25,000. It is, therefore, proposed that during the next three years the coop solidify its farm production and solve some of its labor and transportation problems by constructing decent housing in the vicinity of the farm.

It is requested that Ford Foundation consider the following requests:

1. That the 307 acres of land referred to as the Ford tract be deeded to the NBCFC so that it can be used as collateral to acquire the land selected for its initial housing project.

2. That, if the remaining equity in the 307 acres of land is not sufficient to obtain capital required for land development and other farm investments ($65,000) and technical assistance needs for the farm and housing programs ($25,000), a letter of credit from Ford Foundation be given to NBCFC's bank to guarantee annual farm loans to be repaid from sales.

Pet to JW

11.9

NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE

1971 CASH FLOW

	Actual							Projected				
SOURCES	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Cash - Beginning of Month	$31,549	$23,310	$58,097	$49,223	$23,617	$13,878	$15,244	$14,684[3]	$39,352	$29,803	$22,513	$36,613
Sales	2,099	3	-	6	-	4,976	7,641	5,319	6,312	9,700	13,408	13,408
OEO Grant	-	40,000	-	-	-	26,000	-	30,000	-	-	24,605	-
Loans	-	10,000[1]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	20	1,004	422	20	-	130	8,097[2]	-	-	-	-	-
Total Sources	$33,668	$74,317	$58,519	$49,249	$23,617	$44,984	$30,982	$50,003	$45,664	$39,503	$60,526	$50,021
USES												
Farm Staff Costs	$ 1,604	$ 1,403	$ 1,552	$ 2,978	$ 1,792	$ 2,849	$ 3,356	$ 3,007	$ 4,564	$ 2,957	$ 2,487	$ 3,825
Farm Operating Expenses	1,927	1,931	1,958	3,428	3,572	13,206	8,353	3,097	5,982	7,246	7,042	11,919
Non-farm Adm. Expenses	2,550	2,418	2,426	3,642	2,434	2,434	2,434	1,597	2,395	1,112	1,112	1,668
Loan and Investment - SCDF	-	8,000	500	9,550	106	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Land Development, Lime	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	920	900	8,347	3,220
Packing Shed, Equipment	-	-	-	-	-	10,109	-	950	-	2,775	2,925	2,940
Other Non-farm Expenses	2,158	2,468	2,860	2,727	1,835	1,142	2,155	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
Total Uses	$ 8,239	$16,220	$ 9,296	$25,632	$ 9,739	$29,740	$16,298	$10,651	$15,861	$16,990	$23,913	$25,572
Cash - End of Month	$23,310	$58,097	$49,223	$23,617	$13,878	$15,244	$14,684	$39,352	$29,803	$22,513	$36,613	$24,449

[1] Loan from Boston group.
[2] Includes cotton acreage allotment of $8,020.
[3] Actual cash position August 1: $13,999.

NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE

CASH FLOW PROJECTIONS FOR 1972

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
SOURCES													
Cash - Beginning of Month	$24,449	$18,136	$12,846	$(1,024)	$(17,200)	$(29,573)	$(16,007)	$ 822	$ 1,367	$ 3,552	$14,767	$23,086	-
Sales	-	-	-	-	1,670	26,480	26,480	8,100	15,810	21,210	21,045	12,765	$133,086
Total Sources	$24,449	$18,136	$12,846	$(1,024)	$(15,530)	$(3,093)	$ 10,473	$ 8,922	$17,177	$24,762	$35,812	$35,851	-
USES													
Farm Staff and Labor	$ 2,657	$ 2,472	$ 3,007	$ 3,825	$ 2,842	$ 3,107	$ 3,825	$ 3,007	$ 4,564	$ 2,957	$ 2,487	$ 3,825	$ 38,570
Crop Production	1,012	1,098	4,089	3,992	9,444	7,773	3,259	2,775	6,420	5,070	7,517	4,221	56,670
Non-farm Adm. Expenses	1,112	1,112	1,112	1,668	1,112	1,112	1,668	1,112	1,668	1,112	1,112	1,668	15,568
Equipment Purchase	-	-	5,000	5,900	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10,900
Taxes and Travel	1,055	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	2,705
Utilities and Telephone	100	100	100	100	100	150	200	100	200	200	100	100	1,550
Audit and Consultant	-	-	-	-	-	200	-	-	-	100	1,000	-	1,300
Fringe Benefits	377	358	412	541	395	422	549	411	623	406	360	549	5,403
Total Uses	$ 6,313	$ 5,290	$13,870	$16,176	$14,043	$12,914	$ 9,651	$ 7,555	$13,625	$ 9,995	$12,726	$10,513	
Cash - End of Month	$18,136	$12,846	$(1,024)	$(17,200)	$(29,573)	$(16,007)	$ 822	$ 1,367	$ 3,552	$14,767	$23,086	$25,338	

Other Non-Farm Operating Expenses include the following:

1. Operation of the food locker (until June 1971)
2. Travel
3. Payroll taxes
4. Consultants (Dr. Hammett)
5. Legal fees (land purchase)
6. Postage
7. Telephone
8. Gas and Light
9. Office supplies
10. Bad checks
11. Miscellaneous

NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOP

Annual Farm Staff and Labor Costs

Position	Annual Costs
Director of Co-op (one-third of time & salary)	$ 2,566.64
Farm Manager	6,634.40
Bookkeeper-Secretary	9,053.76
Four Field Personnnel and Truck Driving	15,650.60
Mechanic and Truck Driving	4,670.00
	$38,575.40
Fringe Benefits @ ten percent	3,857.54
TOTAL -	$42,432.94

Annual Non-Farm Administrative Costs

Position	Annual Costs
Director of Co-op (two-thirds of time & salary)	$ 5,866.67
Typist	5,600.00
Typist	4,102.00
	$15,568.67
Fringe Benefits @ ten percent	1,556.86
TOTAL	$17,125.53

NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOP

Sales Projections, August - December 1971
(Dollars)

	August	September	October	November	December
Sale of cucumbers (spring and fall)	$4,319	$2,700	$2,700		
Sale of squash (43 acres)		3,612	7,000 1/		
Sale of sweet potatoes (8 acres)				- 2/	
Sale of cotton (110 acres)				$9,196	$9,196
Sale of soybeans (117 acres)				4,212	4,212
Sale of bell peppers (33 acres)	1,000				
TOTAL	$5,319	$6,312	$9,700	$13,408	$13,408

1/ Estimate subject to considerable error due to uncertain weather factors at time of harvest (early October).

2/ No return is expected from this crop.

NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOP

PROJECTED FARM PERFORMANCE 1972

Crop	Season	Acres	Yield Tons/Ac.	Price $/Ton	Gross Returns $/Ac.	Gross Returns $	Adjusted Gross Returns*	Production Cost $/Ac.	Production Cost $	Net Returns [redacted]
Cucumbers	Spring	80	5.0	60	300.00	24,000	21,600	183.87	14,709	6,891
	Fall	30	5.0	60	300.00	9,000	8,100	183.87	5,516	2,684
Squash	Spring	80	7.0	70	490.00	39,200	31,360	261.55	20,924	10,435
	Fall	60	7.0	70	490.00	29,400	23,520	261.55	15,693	7,827
Sweet Potatoes	Summer	10	8.0	40	320.00	3,200	2,880	227.03	2,270	610
Cotton	Summer	114	0.38	484	183.90	20,970	18,870	145.87	16,629	2,241
Soybeans	Summer	88	0.90	93	84.10	7,400	6,660	73.98	6,510	150
Bell Pepper	Summer	20	4.5	100	450.00	9,000	8,100	208.72	4,174	3,926
Nutrition	Spring	20	4.5	-	-	-	-	124.14	2,483	(-2,483)
	Fall	10	4.5	-	-	-	-	124.14	1,242	(-1,242)
Turnip Roots	Fall	20	20.0	30	600.0	12,000	10,800	267.86	5,357	5,443
Wheat	Winter	23	1.2	67	80.40	1,850	1,670	45.75	1,052	618
TOTALS							$133,560		$96,559	$37,100

Twenty percent deducted for squash and turnip root crops, and ten percent for other crops to cover losses due to weather, harvesting and handling.

PROJECTED CROP PRODUCTION COSTS FOR 1972
($/Acre)

Crops	Supplies				Operating Cost					Total, Farm Op. Cost
	Seeds	Herb.	Insect	Total	Labor	Equip.	Total	Harvest	Hauling	
Cucumbers	18.00	8.10	3.08	29.18	84.23	24.45	108.68	40.00	6.00	183.87
Squash	14.80	8.10	4.62	27.52	93.99	25.71	119.70	70.00	44.33	261.55
Sweet Potatoes	60.00	7.80	0.72	68.52	81.84	26.67	108.51	30.00	20.00	227.03
Cotton	3.60	3.42	8.40	15.42	51.80	24.65	76.45	45.00	9.00	145.87
Soybeans	3.60	3.20	-	6.80	38.19	16.98	55.18	10.00	2.00	73.98
Bell Pepper	54.80	5.50	1.92	62.22	76.84	26.66	103.50	25.00	18.00	208.72
Nutrition	15.00	5.50	4.62	25.12	81.24	17.78	99.02			124.14
Turnip Roots	0.80	10.40	3.60	14.80	83.60	26.66	110.26	80.00	62.80	267.86
Wheat	3.70	-	-	3.70	24.45	11.60	36.05	4.00	2.00	45.75

(Fertilizer and lime needs for 1972 have been budgeted and planned for application in late fall of 1971.)

11.9

WARRANTY DEED

FOR AND IN CONSIDERATION of the sum of TEN DOLLARS ($10.00) cash in hand paid, and other good and valuable considerations, the receipt of all of which is hereby acknowledged, we, ISAAC DANIEL and ABBIE DANIEL, husband and wife, do hereby sell, convey and warrant unto NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY FARM COOPERATIVE (A.A.L.), a farm cooperative organized under the Laws of the State of Mississippi, the following property lying and situate in the Second Judicial District of Bolivar County, Mississippi, to-wit:

> A parcel of land in the South Half of Section Three (3), Township 23 North, Range 5 West, Bolivar County, Mississippi, more particularly described as follows: Beginning 132 feet due North of the southwest corner of said Section 3, and run North 89 degrees 33 minutes East 1800 feet; thence North 89 degrees 59 minutes East 2500 feet; thence South 89 degrees 59 minutes East 980 feet to a point 149 feet north of the southeast corner of said Section 3; run thence due North 2530 feet to the northeast corner of the South Half of said Section 3; thence run due West 5280 feet to the northwest corner of said South Half of Section 3; thence run due South 2508 feet to the point of beginning, containing 305 acres, more or less, and being the property conveyed to Jacob S. Borodofsky by the heirs of S. D. Robbins by deed dated September 25, 1919 as recorded in Book J-9 at page 234 in the records in the office of the Clerk of the Chancery Court of Bolivar County in Cleveland, Mississippi, hereby expressly excluding the South 19 acres of said Section 3; and being a part of the property conveyed to Isaac Daniel and wife, Abbie Daniel, by the heir of Jacob S. Borodofsky by deed dated December 15, 1964 of record in Deed Book M-77 at page 447 in the records in the office of the Clerk of the Chancery Court of Bolivar County in Cleveland, Mississippi; but subject to all existing easements for roads, drainage canals and public utilities and to the reservation to the heir of Jacob S. Borodofsky of one-half of all oil, gas and minerals in, on and under the aforesaid property with the right to make exploration thereon for same.

The taxes and assessments on said property for the year 1969 are to be prorated between the Grantors and Grantee herein. The taxes and assessments on said property for the year 1970 and all years subsequent thereto are to be paid by the grantee herein.

WITNESS the signatures of the undersigned, this the 15th day of MAY, 1969.

_____
Isaac Daniel

_____
Abbie Daniel

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI :

COUNTY OF BOLIVAR :

This day personally appeared before me, the undersigned authority in and for the jurisdiction aforesaid, Isaac Daniel and Abbie Daniel, husband and wife, who acknowledged to me that they signed, executed and delivered the above and foregoing Warranty Deed on the day and year therein mentioned as their voluntary act and deed.

Given under my hand and seal of office, this the _____ day of March, 1969.

_____
Notary Public

My commission expires:_____

12 at to BW

11.9

NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY
DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION
Post Office Box 134
Mound Bayou, Mississippi 38762

Regional Office
Office of Economic Opportunity
730 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Attn: Mr. James Timmons

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is our proposal to you for an administrative grant totaling $72,980 to cover personnel and equipment costs in connection with this corporation's sponsoring and developing of low-cost, low-income housing in Bolivar County, and supplying housing services and counseling.

Housing has been a priority second only to economic development in Bolivar County and, although there have been some housing units developed for low-income families, 80 percent of the families of Bolivar County reside in substandard housing. Other than a limited number of public housing units, their housing needs, including new construction and rehabilitation of existing units, emergency repairs, and credit counseling, have not been dealt with effectively.

It is our contention that an organization, properly staffed with adequate technical assistance and coordinated with other agency resources, can make a serious impact in relieving poor families of their housing problems.

I will be available at your request to review the provisions of this proposal. Our telephone number is (601) 741-2574.

Very truly yours,

Eric Taylor
Director

Ret to CW

11.9

NORTH BOLIVAR COUNTY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION
PROPOSAL TO OEO ATLANTA REGIONAL OFFICE
FOR FUNDING OF A
RURAL HOUSING DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

Format Used: CAP Form 7

I. Purpose

a. What problems will you deal with in the program account?

(1) Lack of safe, sanitary housing for poor in Bolivar County.

(2) Lack of job opportunities for poor in Bolivar County.

(3) Lack of full utilization of and coordination of federal and state programs and legislation.

(4) Lack of consumer-credit information and counseling services for poor.

(5) Lack of adequate management of subsidized housing for low-income families.

b. What are the objectives and what benefits should result from its operation?

(1) To provide a minimum of 100 and a maximum of 500 new housing units for poor families, in three years.

(2) To repair or stimulate the repairs to 250 homes in three years. (This would include emergency repairs for poor families who otherwise would not have money to pay for such services.)

(3) To provide jobs or part time work for 25 persons.

(4) To provide credit counseling and/or home maintenance, and budgeting courses for 700 families.

(5) To develop housing resource center for Delta area, accredited in management and credit counseling.

The benefits to be derived from obtaining better housing include better health and better social and educational attitudes. Obtaining

credit counseling and job opportunities will obviously bring about a higher standard of living and more self-sufficiency. (These benefits have been demonstrated in evaluations of other rural housing projects.)

Background of Project

The North Bolivar County Farm Co-op came into existence in 1967. From its initial concern of obviating the nutritional problems of families in the community, it has grown into a self-sufficient business with a marketing and sales production of over $100,000.

The housing needs of its 949 members has also been of historic concern to the co-op (see attached letter from Mrs. Dorsey, co-op director until August 1971). It prompted the co-op board to authorize the extensive housing development training of Eric Taylor (now co-op director) to undertake an extensive survey of housing needs of co-op members and of the community at large in 11 towns in the north Bolivar region. The North Bolivar County Farm Co-op has been instrumental in the formation and incorporation on August 3, 1971 of a housing development corporation, the North Bolivar County Development Corporation. Copy of bylaws and board membership are attached.

Current Development

Sixty acres of land adjacent to the city of Mound Bayou (seat of the farm co-op) are being optioned by the HDC and an architect, Kip Moore, from North Little Rock, Arkansas, is designing the units. Utilities and local building codes are being investigated. The

collateral needed to option the land will be derived from the land and proceeds of the farm co-op. As the project will be submitted to FHA for feasibility in Jackson, Mississippi, in December of 1971, it is hoped that construction will begin in the following summer and that families will be placed during the fall.

The families' low-income level necessitates that housing authority allocations or rent supplements be obtained for subsidizing some of the 200 units. The board members of the HDC as well as Co-op members will assume as many operating and maintenance functions as possible, in order to keep the costs of the housing down. Modular systems are being investigated in order to find the least expensive method of producing the housing. It is intended to develop the project under Section 236, initially as a rental project, then as the families are able, to qualify them to buy the individual units, under Section 235.

Rational of Proposal

The assumption underlining this proposal is that only by the provision of administrative support will the HDC develop and maintain a viable multi-housing project for the low-income Co-op members. In this case administrative support is defined as staff which can screen and qualify applicants through credit counseling procedures, develop a management plan, help owners who can't qualify for new projects secure rural repair loans through FMHA, and to develop a delivery repair system utilizing NYC or other trainees, coordinate their housing development with that of urban renewal, public housing, etc.

The need for this function to assure viability is discussed at length in the ten volume report on housing management recently completed by the National Corporation for Housing Partnerships, which was funded jointly by HUD and OEO to address itself to the relationship between defaulted projects and current management concepts and economics. Its recommendations include expanding management in order to cover the planning stages of projects, to having the resources and flexibility to relate to the needs of the tenants rather than to the economics of producing the units. In order to balance the needs of residents with the requirements of owners, it proposes the development of housing management entities, organized as independent professional bodies. Behind this organization will be the Center for Housing Management, jointly funded by HUD, OEO and other federal agencies. Its three main responsibilities will be (1) training resident managers and housing management coordinators, (2) developing accreditation standards and eventual accrediting of local entities, and (3) providing financial support for the development and expansion of existing and new neighborhood oriented management entities. Technical assistance will be provided to especially small management entities.

An OEO task force report suggests its support on a demonstration basis of activities not allowed by existing management fee schedules in subsidized projects, such as pre-entry counseling, to determine whether the families' interests and needs lay in the direction of rental or ownership housing; post-occupancy counseling, completely orienting residents to all building services, management policies, the nature and purpose of the resident and advisory group, etc.;

referral to other agencies for employment, recreation, etc.; day-care, tutorial services, services related to the dependents of double-wage earners would be dealt with and building social activities.

Another study emphasizing the need for this staff support is that of the Non-Profit Housing Center, reporting on OEO Funded Housing Programs. It recommends, however, the separation of housing activities into two systems--the HDC, which performs purely developmental tasks of the sponsor, called the HSSC (housing services and sponsoring corporations) which has the resources to undertake the credit counseling, qualifying of applicants, management plan development, social services, etc. However, in rural areas, it is questionable if there are enough viable, interested "neighborhood" based groups to sponsor their own projects. As the HDC continues developing projects in the county, moving away from the co-op, and perhaps developing in other counties, it may become feasible and necessary to split into two entitites; the umbrella developer working with sponsors of housing projects and the sponsors themselves, representing counties, or CAP agency constituencies. Accreditation in management or credit counseling or both may separate these functions, as well.

Perhaps most important in the support for the funding of this staff is the mention of the site and project criteria established by FHA which include credit counseling and management.

The HDC staff activities will relate to the aforementioned guidelines and concepts in the following way. The director will pursue all negotiations with FHA and other federal agencies in order

to become conversant with their criteria and resources and will make decisions as to what programs the HDC should and can do. At this time, meetings have been held with local FHA and FmHA officials as well as those in Washington.

The FmHA director of housing in Cleveland, Mississippi, is inexperienced with any project over 5 units, although he appeared to be positive about working with single dwelling units. It should be, therefore, possible to obtain 502 and 514 loans if the credit applications can be completed to his satisfaction, as well as that of the loan committee. Rural repair loans should also be obtainable, especially if a delivery system is developed with two staff persons analyzing the homes, estimating the extent of repairs needed, training the NYC students and the homeowners in the construction techniques, and purchasing the supplies. The credit counseling staff will help the homeowners complete the loan applications.

It is intended, however, that the possibility of a multi-family development insured by FmHA will continue to be investigated. In terms of FHA, initial discussion indicates that eligibility to obtain insurance is dependent upon convincing FHA that the sponsor contains in its membership the experience, longevity and continuity needed to operate a project for forty years, the time length of the loan. The Development Corporation has selected board members who have the housing and community experience to satisfy FHA's concerns.

There is also the feeling with FHA that there is a surfeit of subsidized housing in Cleveland, in comparison with the rest of the state of Mississippi, but that there is a great need for public housing

in Mound Bayou. During the week of December 1, 50 units of Section 23 were allotted to the Mound Bayou housing authority, where there is a need for 500 units. FHA feels there should be more public housing, if any subsidized housing is allocated, rather than a 236 with rent supplement. (The sponsor desires a full, or 100 percent rent supplement, but there will be no more funds for this until next July). It was suggested that the closer the relationship of the HDC is to the public housing project, the greater the chance is of increasing the amount of units allocated to the Mound Bayou area.

There has also been submitted by the city of Mound Bayou an urban renewal project which has not been approved by HUD. It is thought that one reason it has not been approved is because of the lack of units available for relocation of tenants to be moved from the site area and the lack of local credits (like non-federal share--generally in the form of property.)

The best relationships and programs to pursue in order to help both the HDC and the urban renewal project, are being investigated; such as a grant from a foundation to enable the HDC to build 5 units which would be turned over to the city of Mound Bayou, comprising credits, so that it then can obtain units which the HDC can sponsor, build and/or manage. The 50 units of leased public housing which have just been promised could possibly be built and/or managed by the HDC to strengthen the position of both entities in obtaining housing allocations in the future.

The Ford Foundation, through its conduit, the Southern Regional Council, provided the funds for the farm land to be purchased, on a repayable note. Now it has to be made known to the Ford Foundation

what the plans for the use of this land and the entire farm co-op project area. It is hoped that an outright grant of the land to the co-op can be made by Ford and also, that financial support for the housing project can be obtained. The continuation of the farm co-op is vital to the housing because the income the farmers derive from working on the co-op allows them to qualify for subsidized housing.

Property Management

The farm co-op director is investigating property management firms in Mississippi, in order to hire a firm which will begin the management plan for any and all subsidized units that the HDC handles. This component will entail development of all performance standards for the resident manager, all forms and application procedures required by FHA for managing projects, training of the HDC board and formation of proper committees to assure the existence of flexible relationships with the tenants in the projects. The funds for this section will be paid for partially out of the administrative funds from this grant and also out of the mortgage. The resident manager, who will work on a day-to-day basis on an individual project will be covered by the mortgage. This is an extremely important part of the grant, requiring careful investigation to find the firm or individual who will be trusted by FHA as well as able to employ new management concepts discovered by current research in this field nationally. A close relationship will be formed with the Center for Housing Management, requesting training for resident managers employed or sponsored by the HDC. If a large management capacity appears feasible, accreditation will be pursued from the Center.

The credit counselors initially will be trained in application procedures for qualifying tenants to participate in subsidized programs. They will learn credit counseling techniques and budget management in order to help families who have the resources to qualify but who have not mastered the habits necessary to achieve solvency. The credit counseling staff will work closely with the management staff in order to develop courses and workshops to help families assume the maintenance and budget responsibilities related to living in the actual unit. It is intended that the section be expanded to a formal credit counseling center which will be accredited by FHA and will work in all areas of credit counseling for families in the Delta area.

Repair and Rehab

It is intended to develop a rural repair system, to help those homeowners who can't qualify for new units, or who don't desire to move but who are living in dilapidated, but repairable housing units. It is also hoped to employ many NYC trainees on this project in order to give them work experience as well as to create more services for the community. It is felt that the FmHA 504 loan will be available; provision for the $500 grant for social security recipients (a joint state and federal grant) is not at this time operative - any work to develop this provision will be attempted by the project through a more liberal state government.

The need for this is evidenced by the services provided by the Delta Medical Center, which has done up to $100 worth of repairs on some houses, considered to be grossly inadequate. It also has built three houses under $10,000 to serve as the catalyst for a major housing project, but this has not occurred. However, the use of NYC

trainees on the Delta project demonstrates that this is a good resource for the above repair project.

It was suggested by the FHA insuring office in Jackson, Mississippi, that the HDC apply for rehab funds, which are available. In that this is generally considered to be a risky and uneconomical project for a new sponsor with very dilapidated housing, it will not be pursued in lieu of the other mentioned programs, but will be investigated as a last resort.

In summary, the goals are:

First Year	To provide 200 units for Co-op members;
	To obtain rural repair loans from FmHA and Social Security;
	To develop a delivery system for repairs;
	To develop credit counseling capacity;
	To develop a property management system for the first housing project; and
	To develop Section 502 FmHA subsidized financing programs.
Second Year	To develop the second project (tentatively to be a senior citizen project in Rosedale);
	To begin to deliver credit counseling and rural repair services throughout the county;
	To seek accreditation in credit counseling from HUD; and
	To develop relationships with other counties.
Third Year	To begin third project development in Bolivar County; and
	To establish multi-county relationships to establish the project as an information, technical assistance, and training center in the Delta region.

Mobilization of Resources: In mortgage and loan money alone, at least five million dollars can be added to the economy of the area.

c. Why do you believe these results can be accomplished?

(1) The need for and interest in improved housing has been researched.

(2) The land for development is available.

(3) Discussion with federal officials indicates that mortgages and loans can be obtained.

(4) The Farm Co-op director has received extensive training in housing development.

(5) The HDC board is comprised of experienced individuals who have gained this experience as a result of running the Farm Co-op.

(6) The high priority of housing and management nationally indicates that technical assistance and training are available for on-going projects.

(7) Other CAPs in the South and Midwest are successfully administering similar projects which the staff can emulate.

(8) NYC trainees helped to build one of the Delta Medical Center model homes in Mound Bayou.

II. Participants

a. How many people are eligible to take part?

Bolivar County has a population of 54,000 people. At least 20,000 meet OEO income eligibility standards. Of the 949 Co-op members, 80 percent earn less than $3,000 a year and over 50 percent have six or more in the family. Therefore, the housing that is to be developed must have at least three or four bedrooms and must cost between $10,000 and $12,000, so that the families can reduce the mortgage with payments not exceeding 25 percent of their rent. A three bedroom modular unit can be purchased at $8,000 which, when added to land and utility costs, should enable the housing to be provided at this range. Surveys have also been completed on 11 communities in northern Bolivar County to determine need and income. These surveys indicate that 50 percent of the families have one to four members per household and that their income is under $3,000. At least 90 percent of all families interviewed indicate interest in obtaining better housing.

b. What percentage will participate?

During the first year, the housing needs of the Co-op members -- 949 families -- will be given first priority. 200 new housing units will be developed. The rural repair staff person will visit similar projects to learn how to develop a delivery system; it appears that two supervised men can do $500 worth of repairs (roofing, siding, and wiring) on one house in one month. By summer he should have an idea of how many NYC workers he can supervise, how many homeowners can do their own repairs, and how many will need some assistance. Thus he can have a specific delivery plan to be submitted to OEO.

It is hoped that 300 familites (or 30 percent) will benefit from housing services, either by direct placement in new units, by referral to other existing units, or by obtaining repairs or credit counseling.

At the end of the calendar year, the specific number of participants for the following year will be determined, based on resources available, delivery systems developed, and need.

c. <u>What are the selection criteria?</u>

Initially, Co-op membership, OEO income guidelines, need, and ability to participate in loan programs in terms of income and credit will determine selection.

III. Purpose

a. What activities will be carried out?

Covered in I, b.

b. What major steps will be taken to carry out the work program?

January 1972 - Hire staff, set up books

February - June 1972 - Director will finalize first multi-family project, working closely with architect, lawyers, FHA officials, and contractors

Tenant selection and rural repair staff will work during this period with co-op members to determine eligibility for new units or home improvement.

Above staff will travel to other programs to observe mechanics of credit counseling and repair projects. Consultants will be imported to help them design best program for their needs and resources, training them in application procedures.

Property management specialist will familiarize himself with HUD guidelines, performance standards, operational techniques, and will begin development of local plan. It will be his responsibility to train board as to their responsibilities in operating the project, as opposed to that of the tenants. Travel to Washington (NAHRO), as well as to similar projects in South or Midwest for observation will be undertaken at this time.

June 1972 - Rural repair project will begin.

September 1972 - Formal credit counseling procedures with individuals will continue.

December 1972 - Construction will begin. Rent-up period will commence. Resident manager will be hired. Project will be fully occupied.

January 1973 - Director will begin development of second project in Bolivar County.

Credit counseling will be open to county participants as well as to second project potential tenants.

Courses in home management and consumer buying protection will be given.

Grants will be sought to expand staff of rural repair operation.

Management entity will be finalized; accreditation and funds for expansion will be sought.

Review of tenants for second project will be undertaken.

Structural relationships with other CAPs and counties will be investigated.

January 1974 - Expansion into other counties will be initiated.

Accreditation as a 237 counseling center will be sought from HUD.

Third project will be initiated in Bolivar County.

c. What are strengths and weaknesses of your current program?

NA

d. What changes are you proposing in this work program as compared with your current program?

NA

e. How will participants in one activity be referred to other activities or programs?

Staff and Board advisory committees will refer them.

f. What follow-up activities will assist participants upon completion of the program?

Tenants' rights organizations will be formed which will meet with the HDC board.

g. How will other members of the participant's family be involved in the program account or other programs?

Home maintenance courses, credit counseling will be available.

h. What facilities are needed for the operation of the program and where are they located?

Farm Co-op buildings will be used.

i. What transportation is required and how will it be provided?

Approximately 200 miles of local travel per staff member per month will be required. Most staff will have cars. Air travel to Jackson, Atlanta, and other projects will be included.

j. What new equipment is needed?

One new desk, one calculator, file cabinets, and xerox machine.

k. What problems do you foresee in carrying out this program?

Problems in delivery related to obtaining housing insurance from FHA and FmHA. Problems finding housing solutions for families with no income or bad credit. Problems finding grant monies to expand rural repair program or credit counseling program in order to make an impact. Problems arising from conflicts of utilizing local contractors and builders versus bringing in new systems builders, which would be faster and less costly. Problems related to competition for allocations or sponsoring of housing projects. Problems finding and retaining competent staff.

l. How would you change the program under an expanded or reduced budget?

Expanding it would enlarge credit counseling and repair program. Reduction would mean loss of rural repair loans and credit counseling.

IV. Resident Participation

a. What are the functions and responsibilities of policy advisory groups set up for program?

Standing board committees will be an executive committee and and advisory board committee. Advisory committees will be formed to research specific problems or analyze data submitted to them in order to make recommendations to the board for its final decision. Areas of concern will be tenant selection for new units, site selection, and management. Individual apartment projects will have their own advisory groups with responsibilities related to maintenace, financing, and social activities.

b. How are members of policy advisory groups selected?

Upon recommendation of the nominating committee to the board.

c. What ideas of the poor and target area residents have been included in the work program?

The Farm Co-op members who organized the project are poor. The HDC board will be comprised primarily of poor persons, representing the poor in the county who have demanded better housing since the inception of OEO institutions in the area.

d. How will the poor and target area residents influence the program while it is being carried out?

By membership on advisory groups, the board, tenants' rights councils, all of which will be given formal evaluation functions.

e. What assistance will target area groups and neighborhood-based organizations have to help them express their needs and interests related to the program and to administer programs directly?

A goal of the program is to develop jobs and experience for poor people in areas of management, building construction, and credit counseling.

V. Administration

a. If all or portions of the program account are delegated, why did you decide to delegate?

The HDC structure is needed for housing development and property acquisition.

b. How will you advertise for, recruit, and select staff?

Advertising through the news media, in CAP offices, hospitals, etc. will be done. Persons having worked on the Farm Co-op will be given priority because of the history of the project.

c. What functions once performed by professionals will be assigned to non-professional employees as a result of reassessment of professional job requirements?

In all areas of housing, non-professionals will develop programmatic skills.

d. How will non-professional employees be helped to advance to higher level positions within the program?

When positions become vacant or new positions are created, employees will be given first opportunity to be placed in these positions.

e. How will non-professional employees be helped to gain employment with agencies other than the CAA?

If the private sector and public institutions (such as urban renewal, housing authorities) develop similar projects, this trained staff can obtain jobs.

f. What volunteer services are required in the program?

Those of architects, engineers, realtors, building contractors, attorneys, bankers, administrators of related programs, carpenters, electricians, plumbers, secretaries can be utilized.

g. How will volunteers be recruited?

Staff and board members will solicit them.

h. What consultant or technical assistance will be needed?

Consultant help will be needed in all areas, but especially in areas of application, processing of tenants, and developing the management plan.

i. What staff training will be provided?

Covered above.

VI. Coordination

a. Checkpoint procedures?

Letters of endorsement from other local entities, such as the local CAP, urban renewal, the local L.H.A., the Farm Coop, and the Delta Medical Center will be submitted upon request.

b. What other agencies in the community are dealing with problems related to the program account?

FHA, FmHA, local banks, housing authorities, local developers are dealing with these problems.

c. What arrangements do you have with these agencies to coordinate their programs with the activities of the program account?

Most of these agencies are on the HDC board, or will be on advisory committees. Several HDC board members are on their boards. Meetings among agency staff occur regularly to assure coordination.

d. How have you encouraged other agencies to provide or help finance activities of the program account?

Covered above.

e. What changes in approaches to poverty problems do you foresee as a result of the operation of the program?

(1) Encouragement of FmHA to insure large multi-family projects in Mississippi.

(2) Raising of welfare grants to enable tenants to have better housing.

(3) Activation of federal-state legislation providing housing grants for repair projects (Soc. Sec. 1119 in particular).

(4) Coordination of training monies in anti-poverty programs to produce jobs and housing services.

(5) Greater desire in private sector to produce subsidized housing as a result of housing services with potential tenants provided by centers like HDC.

VI. Evaluation

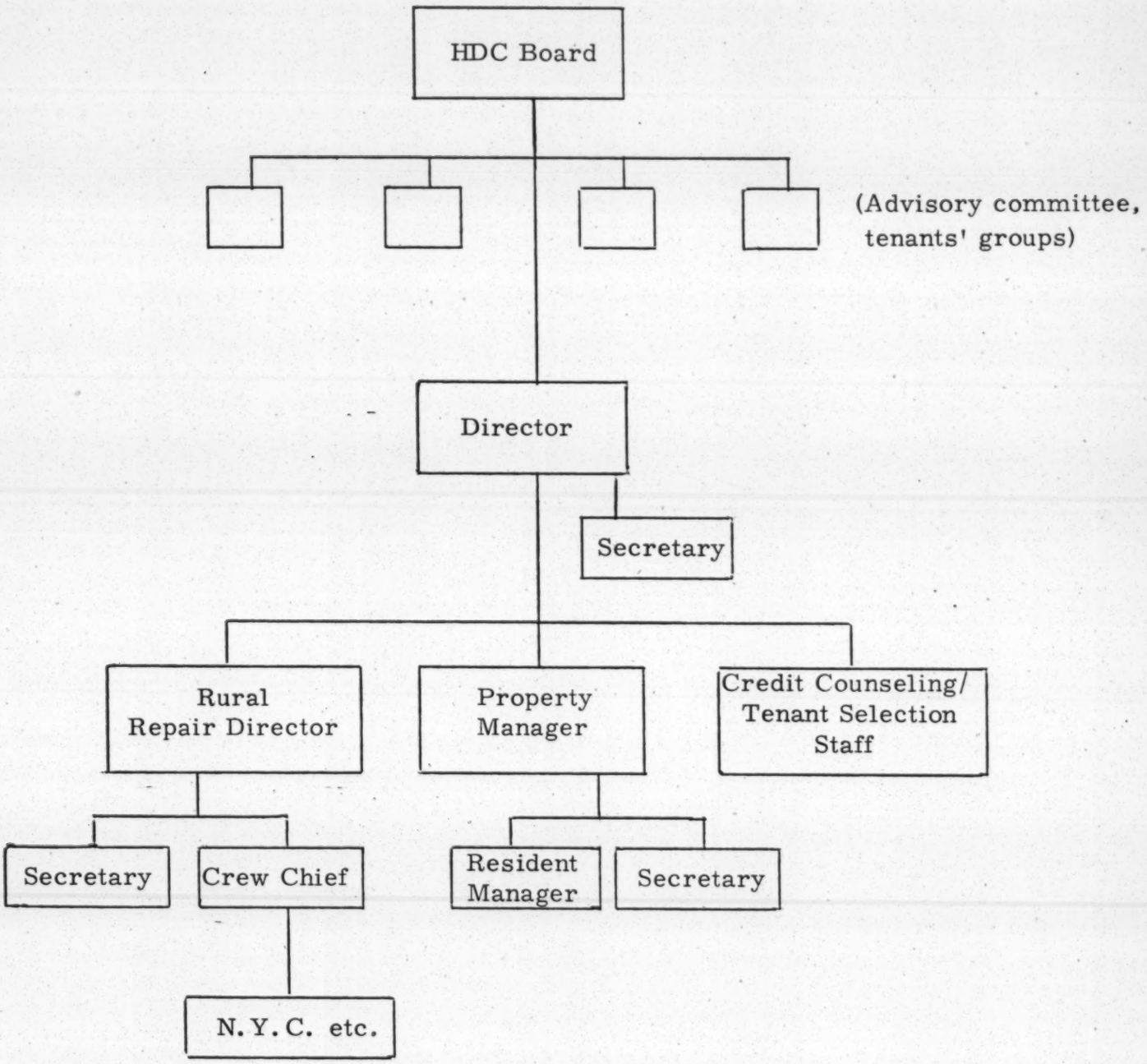
a. How will effectiveness of the program be evaluated?

By monthly reports on progress in meeting goals. Formal evaluations by HUD, OEO, and CAP officials will also be requested.

b. How will recommendations for improvement be put into effect?

Administration and board will periodically go over all evaluation studies and progress reports and will meet to discuss recommendations.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART



JOB DESCRIPTION - DIRECTOR

The director will be responsible for overall housing services, administration and supervision of the staff, working with the various components of the initial 200 unit project, developing the second multi-family project and other housing services, and maintaining relationships with other entities in the county responsible for housing production or involved in planning activities, such as urban renewal, public housing, the Delta Medical Center (which has evidenced an interest in housing in that they have built two low-cost models and are currently obtaining financing for potential tenants). He will also investigate and pursue the possibility of reassessment of welfare grants to enable potential tenants of new projects to afford to participate. He must be knowledgeable about guidelines and legislation (current and pending) in order to support other local and state projects.

Qualifications

(1) Administrative experience

(2) Housing development experience and training

(3) OEO project experience

(4) Urban renewal experience (may be substituted for above)

(5) Real estate experience

JOB DESCRIPTION - RURAL REPAIR DIRECTOR

The rural repair director will learn application procedures relative to obtaining repair loans and grants. Will work with prospective applicants in determining extent of repair needed, and resources needed to complete repair. He will develop delivery system, obraining NYC or other trainee slots. He will hire and supervise all staff on the project, and will visit similar projects at other CAPs.

Qualifications

(1) Supervisory experience

(2) Construction experience

JOB DESCRIPTION - CREW CHIEF

The crew chief will supervise groups and/or individuals repairing homes.

Qualifications

(1) Construction experience

JOB DESCRIPTION - CREDIT COUNSELING STAFF

The credit counseling staff will learn and apply application and credit clearance procedures relative to screening and qualifying applicants. It will develop expanded credit counseling program leading towards accreditation.

Qualifications

(1) OEO project experience
(2) Data survey experience
(3) Familiarity with community and other OEO programs
(4) Familiarity with filling out eligibility documents
(5) Experience in keeping records
(6) Experience in working with people

JOB DESCRIPTION - PROPERTY MANAGER

The property manager will develop management systems for HDC sponsored projects. He will hire and supervise resident manager and will be responsible for indoctrinating board and tenants as to their role and responsibilities. He will relate directly to FHA in meeting project guidelines. He will work with new Center for Housing Management, obtaining accreditation.

Qualifications

(1) Previous experience in actual management
(2) Real estate experience
(3) Project development experience

BUDGET

Salaries:			
Director	$ 9,000		
Bookkeeper	6,500		
Secretary	5,000		
Management Staff	5,000[1]		
Tenant Counselors (2)	11,000		
Repair Director	8,500		
Repair Crew Chief	4,000[2]		
Total Salaries		$ 49,000	
12 percent Fringe		5,980	
Consulting Services		5,000	
Total Personnel Costs			$ 59,980
Equipment and Other Services:			
Desk	200		
Calculator	600		
Travel	7,000		
Audit	1,000		
Xerox	600		
Office Supplies	600		
Construction Supplies	3,000		
Total Equipment and Other Services			13,000
Total			$ 72,980

[1] First six months. Second will be in mortgage.
[2] June through December.

file

North Bolivar County Farm Co-op
Post Office Box 134
Mound Bayou, Mississippi 38762
August 6, 1971

Mr. Peter Von Christierson
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 - 19th Street
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Christierson:

In recent meetings, we have been pressured by members to help provide decent housing, in keeping with promises made in 1968, when we bought the first forty (40) acres.

We request permission to sponsor 150 units of cooperative housing for our members.

We further request permission be granted to Checchi and Company to allow Mr. Evans Cantrell time to work with us in procuring these units.

We estimate twenty (20) man days are needed to prepare the project application and supporting data. Another ten (10) days are needed to perfect the architectural designs, five (5) days are needed for submissions and documentations. Or a total of thirty-five (35) days that Mr. Evans Cantrell of Checchi and Company, under your present contract could be free to work exclusively on our housing package.

Because of the November 30th termination date of our grant, we hope you will give this a priority rating. We are trying to utilize the experts in a manner that will insure our self-sufficiency, after the termination date. If possible, please respond to this request within days.

Sincerely,

L. C. Dorsey

L. C. Dorsey (Mrs.)
Project Director

Willie Finch

Mr. Willie Finch
Chairman of Board

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Greensboro, North Carolina

TENTATIVE STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For the Year Ended December 31, 1967

Receipts:	
Southern Regional Council, Inc.	$ 13,800.00
Membership dues	4,805.00
Contributions by individuals	550.25
Contributions by organizations	1,272.40
Annual meeting	502.00
Housing & Urban Renewal Conference	2,235.00
Dillard Community Grant	500.00
Est. local council receipts	2,400.00[1]
Total Receipts	$ 26,064.65
Disbursements:	
Salaries:	
Executive Director	$ 9,600.00
Clerical	4,623.78
Total	$ 14,223.78
Other Disbursements	14,287.55
Total Disbursements	28,511.33
Bank Balance 12-31-67	$ 3,599.93

[1]State Office has no control over these funds.

Exhibit C

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Greensboro, North Carolina

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS ✓

For the Year Ended December 31, 1966

Receipts:			
Southern Regional Council, Inc.:			
Expanded grant-in-aid	$ 8,000.00		
Other grant-in-aid	4,800.00	$ 12,800.00	
Membership dues		4,875.00	
Contributions by individuals		509.50	
Contributions by organizations		2,200.00	
Annual meeting		808.00	
Special contributions		150.00	
Dual justice seminar		97.40	
Refund of prior year's taxes		57.18	
Total receipts			$ 21,497.08
Disbursements:			
Salaries:			
Executive director	4,500.00		
Clerical	4,436.45	8,936.45	
Other disbursements (Schedule 1)		6,211.74	
Total disbursements			15,148.19
Excess of receipts over disbursements			6,348.89
Add: Accrued items December 31, 1966		646.42	
Bank balance January 1, 1966		1,661.03	2,307.45
			8,656.34
Deduct: Accrued items December 31, 1965		113.96	
Cash on hand December 31, 1966		365.77	479.73
Bank balance December 31, 1966			$ 8,176.61

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL on HUMAN RELATIONS
Charlotte, North Carolina

Statement of
RECEIPTS and DISBURSEMENTS
January 1, 1965 - December 31, 1965

RECEIPTS

Cash on Hand, January 1, 1965 (per Previous Audit Report)			11,305.71
Receipts During Year			
Memberships		2,762.00	
Contributions			
Individuals	3,096.07		
Organizations	1,500.00	4,596.07	
Annual Meeting		1,121.00	
Project Head Start		771.92	
Refunds		80.68	
Payment on Pledge		50.00	
Other		25.00	
		9,406.67	
Grant-In-Aid Southern Regional Council		4,800.00	14,206.67
Total Cash Available During Year			25,512.38

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries			
Executive Director	7,333.28		
Office Manager	3,008.17		
Field Director	2,499.96		
Clerical Help	375.21	13,216.62	
Office Expense			
Rent	600.00		
Telephone	1,165.82		
Supplies	359.27		
Postage	827.28		
Printing	1,318.01		
Papers	2.58		
Machinery Upkeep	12.36		
New Equipment	259.30		
Freight	2.50		
Returned checks	25.00		
Extra Help	68.00	4,640.12	
Travel			
Executive Director	731.44		
Field Director	448.95		
Office Manager	101.40		
Others	30.06	1,311.85	
Annual Meeting			
Meals	807.00		
Programs	504.60		
Other Printing & Awards	298.54		
Hotel	32.47	1,642.61	
Totals Forwarded		20,811.20	25,512.38

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL on HUMAN RELATIONS
Charlotte, North Carolina

Statement of
RECEIPTS and DISBURSEMENTS
January 1, 1965 - December 31, 1965

Totals Brought Forward		20,811.20	25,512.38
Projects			
YMCA Tutorial	300.00		
Intergroup Relation	150.00		
Youth Corp Proposal	100.00		
Head Start	500.00	1,050.00	
Subscriptions - NEW SOUTH		58.00	
Surety and Taxes			
Social Security	542.96		
Hospitalization	232.50	775.46	
Other Expenses			
Audit	100.00		
Moving Executive Secretary	620.73		
Luncheons	93.88	814.61	
1964 Taxes Payable			
Social Security	59.80		
Federal Withholding	209.80		
State Withholding	159.66	429.26	
Total Expenditures for Year		23,938.53	
Less - 1965 Taxes Payable			
Social Security	14.19		
Federal Withholding	46.90		
State Withholding	26.09	87.18	
Actual Disbursements By Checks			23,851.35
CASH on HAND, December 31, 1965			1,661.03

BANK RECONCILIATION

Balance per bank statement			
Mechanics and Farmers Bank			
Charlotte, North Carolina			1,723.29
Add: Deposit in transit			75.00
			1,798.29
Less - Outstanding checks	#3825	131.20	
	3826	6.06	137.26
CASH on HAND, December 31, 1965			1,661.03

File
N.C. Council

March 5, 1968

Mr. Will C. Allred
Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
233½ North Greene Street
Greensboro, North Carolina 27401

Dear Will:

This is in repsonse to your inquiry as to whether or not the North Carolina Council is a viable or non-viable organization.

Please understand this is not an official response from SRC as to the status of the North Carolina Council, since it is premature to make that determination, and the final determination will have to be made later in the year by the Executive Committee. However, I do think it is reasonable for you to seek some indication of our thinking and to begin planning accordingly.

I would hope our Executive Committee would establish several criteria for determining what is "viable." The most obvious of these would have to be both a Council's fund-raising performance and an assessment of its potential fund-raising performance. Also, I think some assessment would have to be included of staff ability and the participation and interest of the policy-making leadership.

At the moment, the most important consideration with the North Carolina Council seems to me to be financial. Namely, does the North Carolina Council have resources either from within the state and from its membership or elsewhere to continue operation in that regard. I note from your 1966 Audit that the income of the North Carolina Council was about $10,000 from sources other than SRC support. Quite obviously, this is not sufficient to maintain a minimum operation. On the other hand, this is a considerable improvement over past years with the North Carolina Council.

It would seem to me, therefore, if your fund-raising potential remains the same or is less this year, then the North Carolina Council obviously is not viable. On the other hand, should the North Carolina Council's income from any source continue to improve, it seems to me you are not that far from financial viability. I think, therefore, the real answer to your inquiry has to come within the next few months on the basis of whether or not this good performance in local support can continue and improve. Part of the answer, also, obviously would come from the results of the other fund-raising explorations the state council directors are now undertaking.

I have gone into some length in this letter to try again to say that whether or not the North Carolina Council is viable depends not on an arbitrary decision by us here, at this moment, but rather on the response of the North Carolina Council.

I think you are wise to begin at this relatively early date to consider the future. But, I think the emphasis of consideration now and most of the energy ought to be placed on one final and thorough exploration of what support can reasonably be found for the North Carolina Council.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

233½ NORTH GREENE STREET, ROOM 4
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA 27401
275-6589 (919)

OFFICERS:

John R. Taylor,
Chairman—Greensboro

Moses C. Burt, Jr.,
Vice Chairman—Durham

Heslip M. Lee,
Vice Chairman—Raleigh

Mrs. Elizabeth Koonce,
Secretary—Salisbury

Emery L. Rann,
Treasurer—Charlotte

Mrs. Chase H. Benson,
Assistant Secretary-Treasurer
Greensboro

Will C. Allred, Jr.,
Executive Director—Greensboro

February 26, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

In keeping with the discussion of Friday afternoon, February 23, the North Carolina Council would like to begin to initiate formal negotiations with the Southern Regional Council in reference to the basis on which the Southern Regional Council intends to offer assistance to us after January 1, 1969.

We feel that the position statement adopted by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council is in rather clear need of clarification well in advance of this summer.

Specifically, we would like for the Southern Regional Council to inform us whether or not we are, according to the criteria you have set, a viable or a non-viable council. It seems that this basic determination should be made now so that the North Carolina Council can determine what type proposal to submit to you.

Sincerely yours,

Will

William C. Allred, Jr.
Executive Director

WCA/ct
cc: J. Edwin Stanfield
Raymond M. Wheeler
NCCHR Officers

"To strive to improve the economic, civic, social and cultural conditions of all the people of North Carolina without regard to race, religion and national origin, through research, education, communication and dissemination of pertinent information."

file
N.C. Carolina
Council

June 27, 1968

Mr. Will C. Allred
Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human
Relations
233½ North Greene Street, Room 4
Greensboro, North Carolina 27401

Dear Will:

Regrettably, we simply do not have the funds for the program you request in your letter of June 18th. I, particularly, regret this because the program outlined seems to me the kind of thing we need more of and the kind of thing in which human relations councils certainly ought to be involed.

Incidentally, the Council never wishes for public credit for funds given and, generally, as a matter of policy, hopes that such a consideration would not be a part of any grant we were able to make.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

233½ NORTH GREENE STREET, ROOM 4
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA 27401
275-6589 (919)

OFFICERS:

John R. Taylor,
Chairman—Greensboro

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Vice Chairman—Durham

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Mrs. Elizabeth Koonce,
Secretary—Salisbury

Emery L. Rann,
Treasurer—Charlotte

Mrs. Chase H. Benson,
Assistant Secretary-Treasurer
Greensboro

Will C. Allred, Jr.,
Executive Director—Greensboro

June 18, 1968

Dr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a proposal I drafted for the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce and the University of North Carolina at Greensboro Psychology Department. Oron South of Vanderbilt and Thomas Van Der Vort of Middle Tennessee help me formulate the approach.

It is a three-day leadership training workshop on a completely local level. I sold this to the local Chamber of Commerce with the stipulation that the North Carolina Council agrees to do the planning but would not insist on public credits prior to workshop.

A NCCHR board member will do the coordinating of the project with the Chamber, UNC-Greensboro Psychology Department, and Guilford College. Due to my work with poor groups here this office will be responsible for "outreach" to the poor community.

Would the Southern Regional Council have any funds source under the general leadership development category to furnish us $300 for scholarships for fifteen black and white poor. I also need about $200 for our share of the coordinator's salary--or a total of $500.

If SRC is interested I feel certain we can get public credits for you, particularly since McNeill Smith is on the Board of the Chamber. We are also working with some rather influential business folks in the Chamber and the college community who might be pleasantly impressed to see SRC functioning this astutely at the local level.

"To strive to improve the economic, civic, social and cultural conditions of all the people of North Carolina without regard to race, religion and national origin, through research, education, communication and dissemination of pertinent information."

Give it a thought! Appreciate anything you are inclined to do!

Regards,

Will

Will C. Allred, Jr.
Executive Director

WCA/ch

Enclosures

GREENSBORO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
POST OFFICE BOX 3246
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA 27402

Confidential until July 14, 1968

Attached is a description of the three-day leadership workshop on communications and human relations, planned for July 11-14, in Greensboro. The workshop, co-sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce and the University of North Carolina at Greensboro in cooperation with Guilford College, will be conducted on the Guilford College campus.

The workshop, which might be described as a discussion cell in-residence, has been planned by a sub-committee of the Chamber Forums Committee, with the assistance of Dr. Francis Dunham, a psychologist on the faculty of UNC-G.

and NCCHR. We are left out of information release due to our somewhat "controversial image" in Greensboro. NCCHR Board Member is coordinating this project!

WCA

THREE-DAY LEADERSHIP WORKSHOP ON

COMMUNICATIONS AND HUMAN RELATIONS

The Need

Several community organizations, including The Greensboro Chamber of Commerce, have seen the need for a greater degree of interchange between representatives of different segments of the Greensboro community on issues of total community concern, including human relations and communication. Various groups in the city have been working on human relations problems from a variety of viewpoints and backgrounds; the city is not complacent. Yet, inevitably, there is more to be done. Even with the best of intentions, it is often difficult for one group to understand the viewpoint of another. Indeed, it is often difficult simply to find a common meeting place so that communication between groups can occur. Consider the conflicts in approach which are frequently found between professionals and volunteers, between racial groups, between public and private enterprise.

The Plan

A weekend workshop in human relations is being planned, to be jointly sponsored by the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce. The workshop will bring together approximately forty Greensboro citizens who are active in the politics of the city, in poor people's organizations, in professional and voluntary work for social service agencies, in the social and civic life of the city, in the legal professions, in civil rights organizations, and in the business-industrial community.

The three-day session will be held at a local college or university. The participants will be housed at the institution for the duration of the workshop (Thursday evening until Sunday afternoon).

The staff will be headed by Frances Dunham, Ph. D., Psychologist at UNC-G. The basic format will be a laboratory in which the topic to be studied is interpersonal relations; most of the "raw material" for laboratory work will come from the interaction of the participants themselves. Like any other laboratory experience, the participants will do a great deal of the work themselves; however, the staff will plan suitable laboratory exercises and make additional contributions during the ongoing activities.

The Program

The schedule will be a very busy one, with most of the waking hours filled. Although the schedule is not yet actually planned, it is probable that there will be the following types of activities:

1. Occasional formal presentations or lectures on topics such as the formation and development of groups.

2. Semi-structured small and large groups in which participants are given explicit roles in hypothetical community situations and then allowed to act them out with their best ingenuity; participants and staff would then discuss together the nature of and reasons for whatever action occurred.

3. Some daily free time; late evening recreational periods; etc.

4. By far the largest amount of time would be spent in unstructured small groups.

The unstructured small group is an experience in social creativity. Approximately ten people face the task, within a relatively short but concentrated period of time, of creating, developing, and maintaining a small social organization--a miniature society--under unusual conditions. This emerging social organization faces real, hard-headed problems of social formation, individual relationships, and work achievement.

This experience provides a learning experience difficult to secure elsewhere. Seldom in life is one in on the creation of a segment of society. Only rarely are social assumptions tested and radically changed. Few people have the opportunity to be tossed, figuratively, from the sky and to face the necessity of hacking their way collaboratively out of a social jungle. If they did, they would gain new insights into the dynamics of social organization. They would come to understand at cognitive, feeling, and operational levels the great need for both order and change and the delicate relationship and balance that must lie between them. If in the process they had individually to re-win position through present accomplishments rather than previously secured status symbols, they would also increase in ability to be socially innovative and creative in other social organizations, ineffective and archaic models might no longer perpetuate themselves.

This then, is the aim of the laboratory: a group formed for individual learning purposes where the data are created and analyzed by group task entered into jointly, where the staff does not deny the group the experience of creating and maintaining their own community even though this experience will be difficult and may produce anxiety. Out of this experience are realized the two major goals of the laboratory--learning how to learn and learning how to become more effective in giving and receiving help.

A Workshop on Community Awareness

By W. C. Allred as submitted to → Chamber of Commerce → University of North Carolina and Guilford College

The Need:

Several community organizations have seen the need for a greater level of interchange between representatives of different segments of the Greensboro community on issues of general community concern and on issues of specific racial concern. Several community groups--a college faculty psychology professor, business representatives, a human relations organization, and professional social workers, have formulated a plan to sponsor a three-day training experience in community leadership for approximately fifty Greensboro citizens who are active in the politics of the city, in voluntary and professional work for welfare agencies, in the social and civic life of the city, in poor people's organizations, in the legal professions, in civil rights organizations, and in the general business community.

The three day session will be held at a local college. The participants will be housed at the college for the duration of the conference (Thursday evening until Sunday afternoon).

The professional planning for the conference will be handled by trained psychologists. The plan of the three day laboratory will be patterned after similar sessions developed by The National Training Laboratories conducted since 1947. The participants in the Greensboro Laboratory will be divided into groups for the course of the session. These groups will develope their own analysis and approach to Greensboro problems under the general guidelines developed for T-Group Sensitivity training.

Why Greensboro?

Why design such a laboratory for Greensboro? First, Greensboro is a microcosm of the nation. Greensboro shares with many communities problems, opportunities and needs of the nation. There is wide concern over such obstacles as:

(1) The breakdown in communication within groups and between groups.

(2) Inadequate use and development of available human resources.

(3) Poor linkages between professionals and volunteers, between public, private enterprise in the community, between racial and cultural interests groups in the community.

(4) Inadequate goal setting; limited or ineffective involvement in decision making about significant problems; obstruction of plans for cummunity improvement.

(5) The imposses of demands for change meeting with resistance to change.

Greensboro has the capabilities to reduce areas of tension and to make progress toward fullfilling needs. There is great need for improvement in the five listed areas.

Second, those who have the idea and drive to organize such an effort live in Greensboro and have valuable "outreach". Third, teaching psychologists and private practitioners have expressed an interest in assisting the effort. Fourth, the City has a vigorous and open business leadership. Innovative approaches receive serious consideration.

Above all these, however, the human relations laboratory approach is designed to help each individual realize his own potential for growth more fully and to increase his ability to effectively work with

others in a variety of personal and community situations. By learning how to develop effective teamwork in the laboratory situation, individuals can join forces to bring about organizational and community change and improvement. Such a workshop experience, carefully planned and executed, may serve as an appropriate and continuing vehicle to (1) increase the participants understanding of the nature of our community and the forces effecting our community (2) increase the understanding of the changing dimensions of community life and their impact on individuals, groups, and organizations, (3) increased understanding of the relevance of the behavioral science to community action (4) increased understanding and skill in the small group as an effective work unit even in urban communities, and (5) increase understanding and skill as a change agent in the community.

What is the T-Group approach?

The T-Group is an experience in social creativity. From ten to fifteen individuals face the task, within a relatively short but concentrated period of time, of creating, developing, and maintaining a small social organization-a miniature society-under unusual conditions. This emerging social organization faces real, hard-headed problems of social formation, individual relationships, and work achievement.

The T-Group experience provides a learning experience difficult to secure elsewhere. Seldom in life is one in on the creation of a segment of society. Individuals are born into families where structures and organization are present. They learn to become part of an on-going organization, even though their entrance adds further dimensions to the organization. They enter a school, go to a church, become part of a community. In each instance they accept (or resist) rules, custome,

laws set down for them. Even marriage, where a new family group is created, has relatively established role expectations and cultural traditions. If one is a founding member of a new organization, the pattern of organization is largely set through precedent and tradition.

Only rarely, and socially assumptions teated and radically changed. Few people have the opportunity to be tossed, figuratively, from the sky and to face the necessity of hacking their way collaboratively out of a social jungle. If they did, they would gain new insights into the dynamics of social organization. They would come to understand cognitive, feeling, and operational levels the great need for both order and change and the delicate relationship and balance that must lie between them. If in the process they had individually to re-win position through present accomplishments rather than previously secured status symbols, they would also increase in ability to be socially innovative and creative in other social situations. And if they learned habitually to test assumptions about social organizations, ineffective and archaic models might no longer perpetuate themselves.

As the T-Group struggles with problems of formation, of goal clarification, of individual difficulties in working out patterns of membership adequate for both the individual and the group, the learning emphasis could be focused on the development of cultural norms in the group, on the process of social organization, on the dynamics of group behavior; on interpersonal relationships, on individual perceptual and motivational systems; or on individual and group value systems. Essentially data about all these aspects of human behavior-far more than can be utilized-are generated in the T-Group. What data to

utilize should be determined by the learning needs and priorities of its members. However, because the T-Group is a very social organization, to attempt to focus on any one aspect of human behavior—whether individual awareness of self, sensitivity to others, or understanding of group forces without, at the same time, understanding one's own relationships in the group.

This, then, is the T-Group: A group formed for individual learning purposes where the data are created and analyzed by group task entered into jointly, where the trainer does not deny the group the experience of creating and maintaining their own group even though this experience will be difficult and may produce anxiety. Out of this experience are realized the two major goals of the T-Group--learning how to learn and learning how to become more effective in giving and receiving help. The processes of developing the learning group and of acquiring membership skills provide the raw data from which to achieve these goals.

It is felt by the initiators and planners of the Greensboro group that the community itself has much to gain by launching such an experimental effort.

B U D G E T

Room and Board (Thursday Dinner-Sunday Lunch, 50 people @ $20)	$ 1,000.00
Trainers (3 Consultants, 3 days)	900.00
Coordinator	500.00
Supervisor Agency (Secretarial Services)	300.00
Total	$ 2,700.00

UNC-G - Stanford
Title I funds UNC G
NCCHR
in kind

NCCHR

15 x $20 = $300

file
N.C. Council

file

July 1, 1968

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
Charlotte Medical Clinic
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina 28207

Dear Ray:

Ray, I am preparing my memorandum on viable state councilsguidelines. I will, hopefully, prepare also a memorandum on guidelines for a viable Southern Regional Council. This, however, will be completed at a somewhat later date.

Regards,

NCA

Will E. Allred, Jr.
Executive Director

WEA/ch

P.S. Crucial, however, to the sub-committees deliberations will be what SRC central staff feels is a viable state council. Paul, Vernon, and Ed ought to draw up a memorandum, too.

cc: Paul Anthony
Ed Stanfield
Vernon Jordan

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

233½ NORTH GREENE STREET, ROOM 4
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA 27401
275-6589 (919)

OFFICERS:

John R. Taylor,
Chairman—Greensboro

Moses C. Burt, Jr.,
Vice Chairman—Durham

Heslip M. Lee,
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Emery L. Rann,
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Mrs. Chase H. Benson,
Assistant Secretary-Treasurer
Greensboro

Will C. Allred, Jr.,
Executive Director—Greensboro

File

July 2, 1968

Dr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for yours of June 27, 1968. I certainly understand.

I can appreciate the basic altruism involved in the policy of the Southern Regional Council. I practice the same policy with NCCHR. We are doing a lot of the work to set-up this session with a beforehand pledge to do it without credit. You can imagine the difficulty in requesting money from folks when you can't reveal good work you're doing.

Ah me! Such is the life of the human relations council director.

Sincerely yours,

Will C. Allred, Jr.

Will C. Allred, Jr.
Executive Director

WCA/ch

"To strive to improve the economic, civic, social and cultural conditions of all the people of North Carolina without regard to race, religion and national origin, through research, education, communication and dissemination of pertinent information."

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Assistant Secretary-Treasurer
Greensboro

Will C. Allred, Jr.,
Executive Director—Greensboro

August 27, 1968

Dr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

This is just a reminder that NCCHR will need written notification of the (1) nature of the action to be recommended to the Southern Regional Council Executive Committee in regard to the viability and future funding of NCCHR and (2) the criteria or basis used to arrive at this action.

Sincerely yours,

Will

Will C. Allred, Jr.
Executive Director

WCA/ch

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August 27, 1968

Mr. Will C. Allred
Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
233½ North Greene Street
Greensboro, North Carolina 27401

Dear Will:

This will be an attempt to summarize our telephone conversation of yesterday.

As you know, the Special Committee made up of three state council directors and three members of the SRC Executive Committee met recently to determine which councils were sufficiently strong to receive project support from SRC during 1969. Needless to say, this Committee made recommendations only and any action will not be official until our Executive Committee meets next month. However, I believe the recommendations will be adopted by our Committee.

The Special Committee established several criteria by which they could weigh each state council. These included staff and Board strength, and particularly the involvement of policy leadership in a council operation. The need for a council relative to other programs in a given state, the in-state financial resources of a council, and the history of each council's operation are also included.

The Committee recommended that for the year 1969 North Carolina not be considered a viable council. I think their reasons were essentially as follows: (1) Concern that the Council was largely a staff operation and that the Board had minimal involvement. (2) The discouraging record of some 15 years of the North Carolina Council. (3) The extreme difficulty which the North Carolina Council has experienced in finding financial support including support from its membership.(although the slow but steady increase in membership support was noted and commended).

In taking this action the Committee stressed that it felt that this was a recommendation for one year only and it hoped that you and your Board would take this action as an opportunity to reaccess whether or not you wish to continue and whether or not citizens of North Carolina wanted and would support an operation such as yours. Implicit in this expression was the hope that the response would be affirmative and that there would continue to be a North Carolina Council. Further, toward this end the Committee suggested that John McCown and I be available, should you or your Board feel it desirable, to come to North Carolina and discuss these matters with the North Carolina Council. The clear indication here was a desire to maintain a continuing relationship of the closest order between SRC and the North Carolina Council, and a continuing association with North Carolina among the other state councils.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

cc: Kenneth Dean
John McCown
Elijah Coleman

FORD NYK

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A GSA097 DL PD GREENSBORO NCAR 16 1021A EDT
BASIL WHITING
THE FORD FOUNDATION 477 MADISON AVE NYK

RECEIVED
SEP 16 12 17 PM '68
THE FORD FOUNDATION
COMMUNICATIONS OFFICE

THE NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS HAS BEEN NOTIFIED BY TELEPHONE TODAY THAT THE SOUTHERN REGINAL COUNCIL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TOOK ACTION ON 9-14-68 WHICH MEANS THAT THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL DOES NOT, REPEAT NOT, CURRENTLY REPRESENT THE NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS IN THEIR PROPOSAL BEFORE YOU. SEE FOR REFERENCE THE SECTION ON STATE HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCILS. FORD FOUNDATION WILL RECALL NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL WAS PRESENT AT THE ATLANTA JANUARY 1968 REVIEW.

THE ACTION BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL OBLIGES THE NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL TO APPEAL DIRECTLY, BY FORMAL PROPOSAL, TO THE FORD FOUNDATION FOR CONTINUED SUPPORT. YOU CAN APPRECIATE THE IMPACT OF THIS LATE ACTION BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ON THE NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL.

WE RESPECTFULLY REQUEST AN INTERVIEW IN NEW YORK AT YOUR OFFICE PRIOR TO OCTOBER 15, 1968 FOR THE PRESENTATION OF A PROPOSAL FOR CONTINUED AND EXPANDED WORK OF THE NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL. GRANT REQUEST NOT TO EXCEED THIRTY THOUSAND FOR THREE YEAR PERIOD.

WE REGRET ACTION BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL NECESSITATES THIS ABRUPT ACTION BY THE NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL BUT YOU WILL APPRECIATE THE NEED FOR RAPID AND REASONABL ACTION BY ALL PARTIES INVOLVED.SINCERELY YOURS

MC BURT JR CHAIRMAN (DURHAM NCAR)WC ALLRED JR EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR (GREENSBORO NCAR)
(1033).

September 23, 1968

Mr. Will C. Allred, Jr.
Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
233½ North Greene Street, Room 4
Greensboro, North Carolina 27401

Dear Will:

I am very sorry you were unable to make your decision on appeal before our Executive Committee met on September 14th. As I indicated to you earlier, I am sure it would have been happy to have in writing anything you wished to present, or to talk with you and Moses. Unless a special committee meeting is called, there will only be a two-hour meeting prior to our Annual Meetingon November 13th and then a regularly scheduled meeting in January.

I believe the alternatives would be to have you submit your appeal by writing to each member of the Executive Committee, or plan to appeal before them in January. The writing proposition seems to me best. And, if you choose this procedure, I will send you the names and addresses

of the Committee members. As a starter, however, you wr Moses might want to talk with Raymond.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
Mr. Moses Burt

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

233½ NORTH GREENE STREET, ROOM 4
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA 27401
275-6589 (919)

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Mrs. Chase H. Benson,
Assistant Secretary-Treasurer
Greensboro

Will C. Allred, Jr.,
Executive Director—Greensboro

September 19, 1968

Dr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

The North Carolina Council wishes to give notice of appeal from the decision of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council on September 14, 1968.

I would appreciate your telling us when Mr. Burt and I may appear to offer our rebuttal.

Sincerest personal regards,

Will

Will C. Allred, Jr.
Executive Director

WCA/ch

cc: Mr. Moses C. Burt, Jr.

"To strive to improve the economic, civic, social and cultural conditions of all the people of North Carolina without regard to race, religion and national origin, through research, education, communication and dissemination of pertinent information."

file
N.C. Council

October 2, 1968

Mr. McNeill Smith
700 Jefferson Standard Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mac:

Will Allred has been written concerning a meeting with the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Council as enclosed.

Concerning your inquiry, no effort was made on the part of the special committee, which made recommendations to the SRC Executive Committee, to reach any of the board of the North Carolina Council. One member of the special committee did have several telephone conversations with Will prior to the meeting. The most recent of these was a very long conversation with Will on the night before the special committee met. It was only causually mentioned by one of the directors at the special committee meeting that several members of the North Carolina Board had complained about their lack of involvement in, or knowledge of, the activities of the North Carolina Council. This was mentioned again, and as I recall rather incidentally, when the report was made to our Executive Committee.

Should you find it convenient to attend the North Carolina meeting on October 19th, Ken Dean, Director of the Mississippi Council, can be present also. It was Ken who took the major responsibility of getting information from Will and of reporting that information to the special committee. His report, in turn, largely was the basis of the recommendations made. Therefore, should the two of you discuss this matter with the North Carolina board, I believe you should rely on Ken to give his accounting of the reasons the committee took the actions it did.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file

SMITH, MOORE, SMITH, SCHELL & HUNTER
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
SEVENTH FLOOR JEFFERSON STANDARD BUILDING
MAIL: P. O. DRAWER G
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA 27402

JULIUS C. SMITH (1889-1968)

BEVERLY C. MOORE
MCNEILL SMITH
JULIUS C. SMITH, III
BYNUM M. HUNTER
BRAXTON SCHELL
STEPHEN P. MILLIKIN
JOHN J. DORTCH
RICHMOND G. BERNHARDT, JR.
CHARLES E. MELVIN, JR.
RICHARD J. TUGGLE
HERBERT O. DAVIS
JACK W. FLOYD
JAMES R. TURNER
NORMAN B. SMITH
DORIS R. BRAY
LARRY B. SITTON
MARTIN N. ERWIN

TELEPHONE 273-8264
AREA CODE 919

September 26, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is Will Allred's letter to me of September 24, which follows a telephone conversation in which he stated that he expected there would be an appeal. He did not say to whom the appeal would be directed. He said he would probably also go direct to Ford or some of the foundations. I told him, which was my understanding at the meeting of the Executive Committee in Atlanta on September 14, that an investigation or inquiry had been made on the various criteria of viability, and that this inquiry included contacts with members of the Board of Directors of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations.

He seemed to think that this had not been done and that there has been no invitation to go to Atlanta or anywhere else to present any material or viewpoints.

Would you help me clear up the misunderstanding.

Best regards.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:gt
Enclosure

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

233½ NORTH GREENE STREET, ROOM 4
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA 27401
275-6589 (919)

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Mrs. Chase H. Benson,
Assistant Secretary-Treasurer
Greensboro

Will C. Allred, Jr.,
Executive Director—Greensboro

September 24, 1968

Mr. McNeill Smith
Smith, Moore, Smith, Schell & Hunter
P. O. Box G
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mac:

At the Executive Committee meeting of the North Carolina Council on September 22, 1968 we discussed the action by the Southern Regional Council Executive Committee on September 14, 1968.

Since you mentioned in a telephone conversation with me on September 18 that the action of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council was based upon an investigation which involved some North Carolina policy people, I asked the officers and at-large members of our Executive Committee whether or not any representative of the Southern Regional Council had contacted them in reference to the action. None of the ten members of the Executive Committee had been contacted in reference to this investigation referred to in our conversation.

I write this (1) so that a permanent record will be available in the North Carolina Council file and (2) to begin clarification of the matter of due process.

We will ask the North Carolina Council Board further about this matter at our October 19, Board Meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Will

W. C. Allred, Jr.
Executive Director

WCA/ch

"To strive to improve the economic, civic, social and cultural conditions of all the people of North Carolina without regard to race, religion and national origin, through research, education, communication and dissemination of pertinent information."

file
N.C.C.H.R.

October 2, 1968

Mr. Will C. Allred
Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human
Relations
233½ North Greene Street
Greensboro, North Carolina 27401

Dear Will:

The delay in answering your letter of September 24th has been due to the fact that I have another commitment on October 19, and have attempted to work out some other representation for a meeting with you and your Executive Committee.

Unfortunately, Raymond Wheeler also is unable to meet with you on the 19th. Of the other North Carolina members of our Executive Committee, M ONeill Smith was present at our meeting when the action on North Carolina was taken. I also think it highly desirable to have at least one of the state directors who served on the special committee present whenever this matter is discussed with your policy leadership. I have talked with Ken Dean and he is aggeeable to a trip to North Carolina.

It seems to me we have two alternatives: (1) to re-schedule a meeting when I, Raymond Wheeler, and one or more of the state directors can meet with your Executive Committee; (2) to have McNeill Smith, if he is available, and Ken Dean, who can be present, meet with your group on the 19th. Since time is short, let me know which of the two alternatives you want as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Moses Burt

bc: Dr. Raymond Wheeler
Mr. Kenneth Dean
Mr. McNeill Smith

file

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

233½ North Greene Street, Room 4
Greensboro, North Carolina 27401
275-6589 (919)

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Mrs. Chase H. Benson,
Assistant Secretary-Treasurer
Greensboro

Will C. Allred, Jr.,
Executive Director—Greensboro

September 24, 1968

Dr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

The Executive Committee of the North Carolina Council met on Sunday, September 22 and discussed the letter of September 17 notifying us of your action of September 14.

The Executive Committee felt that it would be helpful if you would meet with us at 11:00 a.m. in Durham, North Carolina on October 19, 1968.

Mr. M. C. Burt, Jr., Chairman, will outline by letter to you as soon as possible items which the North Carolina Council Executive Committee feels needs to be discussed further.

In general, these questions have to do with the basis in fact of reasons cited by the Southern Regional Council for the September 14, 1968 action.

Sincerely yours,

Will

Will C. Allred, Jr.
Executive Director

WCA/ch

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PA

QUARTERLY REPORT

For

July, August, September - 1968

William C. Allred, Jr.
Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations

October 3, 1968

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
233½ North Greene Street, Room #4
Greensboro, North Carolina 27401

QUARTERLY REPORT

For

July, August, September - 1968

I. General Observation on North Carolina - Political:

This is a political season. Due to the Wallace sentiment in all parts of North Carolina, both candidates for governor, Gardner, Republican, and Scott, Democrat, have ptiched their respective campaigns outside of the national party designations. Scott and Gardner both have spoken against the open-housing provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1968. Generally, both major candidates are poorly informed on national issues, preferring to gear their campaigns to the state level only. Scott has recently named John Wheeler of Durham as assistant treasurer of the Democratic Party. Apparently the state Democratic Party will seek the retention of the black vote by "going for" the Establishment Negro vote rather than the anti-black establishment vote represented by the Hawkins faction. Recently, dissident eastern Negroes around Golden Frinks, SCLC organizer, announced in support of Representative James Gardner the Republican candidate for Governor. Gardner disclaimed their support. There is, I would guess, considerable sentiment in the black vote to "sit-out" the governor's race. If the trend of the present continues, the presidential race in North Carolina, according to a recent poll, will stack up with a Nixon, Wallace, and Humphrey race, in that order.

II. General Observations - Racial: The single, most pressing racial factor currently in North Carolina from the Eastern through the Piedmont areas centers around school desegregation. HEW has moved in Raleigh and Greensboro to cut-off funds from the city school units. Durham and Winston-Salem, the former through a re-opened suit, and the latter through a new suit, brings under attack the school desegregation plans of four major city schools in North Carolina. This action appears to be sufficient to confront North Carolina public awareness with the issues involved in school desegregation--for the first time since 1956. Council staff and officers have worked closely with HEW in Raleigh and in Greensboro with investigations. Our liasion with the Legal Defense Fund has increased with the addition of Robert Valder, formerly of the

Alabama Council on Human Relations, to the staff in North Carolina.

Of particular concern has been what appears to be increasing racial incidents during athletic events in several North Carolina towns, most recently in Charlotte, North Carolina. A boycott of Negroes in Hyde County has attracted considerable press notice. Also in two areas(eastern) short-levid white boycotts of newly integrated schools have taken place.

III. Program Activity of the North Carolina Council:

A. Planning for 1969:

In late August, the primary focus of the Council turned inward due to the announcement of the sub-committee of State Human Relations Council - Southern Regional Council relations that the North Carolina Council would undergo a suspension of Southern Regional Council support for a one-year period. When this action was taken by the Southern Regional Council Executive Committee on September 14, 1968, the North Carolina Council Executive Committee, in a September 22 meeting, voted to (1) appeal the action and (2) to request of the Southern Regional Council the substantive basis for the action.

Prior to the September 14, 1968, the North Carolina Council had had assurances that the Southern Regional Council was representing the North Carolina Council's interests in the Ford Foundation proposal of January 1968. As a result of the September 14, 1968 action, the North Carolina Council is now prepared and will by October 15, present the Ford Foundation with a proposal in our own right.

In the August-September period the staff of the North Carolina Council has prepared the Ford proposal, proposals to two other foundations and to one federal government source. We should have information regarding these proposals by early 1968. The Executive Committee has approved in principle the proposals developed by the staff. Our board, at it's October 19 meeting, will discuss the proposals and commitments therein in greater detail.

B. Group Sensitivity Training Session for Greensboro, N. C. Leaders:

In conjunction with the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce, the University of North Carolina - Greensboro, and Guilford College, the Council, sponsored a three-day Human Relations Sensitivity Training Session for approximately thirty Greensboro civic, social, and professional people in mid-July. Mrs. Henrietta Franklin, a psychiatric social worker and a NCCHR Board Member, coordinated the project. This community-wide sensitivity

session was the first tried in North Carolina.

C. Training Sessions for Human Relations Directors:

The North Carolina Council has cooperated with the Institute of Government in Chapel Hill to sponsor three two-day training sessions in August and September for professional human relations staff members from the following cities; Greensboro, Asheville, Hickory, Fayetteville, Charlotte, Raleigh and the state Good Neighbor Council. These two day seminars have been on (1) local government structure,(2) school desegregation and (3) public welfare. The North Carolina Council currently has a proposal before a foundation to continue this educational program in 1969 through the use of nationally-oriented consultants on human relations affairs.

D. Confrontation Projects:

In keeping with the action agency approach, the North Carolina Council has underway, at various stages of development certain confrontation projects which are designed for high impact over a relatively brief span. They are:

(1) Investigation for a suit against segregated housing patterns in Greensboro, North Carolina.

(2) Title VI compliance procedures under Federal Housing Programs in Greensboro, High Point, Winston-Salem, Raleigh, and Durham. The most widely publicized effort has been in Greensboro, North Carolina (attached exhibits).

(3) Confrontation of churches on membership policies in Winston-Salem and Greensboro.

(4) Support, through the Durham Council on Human Relations, of the economic boycott in that city.

(5) Preparation of a law and justice statement to be released at an appropriate time.

E. Services to Human Relations Councils, Good Neighbor Councils, and Special Interest Groups:

The state office continues to work to expand it's services to the seventy-two public commissions and private voluntarily associated groups in North Carolina working on racial matters. We are particularly impressed with the expansion of freedom of residence groups recently. We are, however, unable to program effectively for these groups without additional staff. The Durham Council on Human Relations, The Charlotte Fair Housing Association, and the Asheville Human Relations Council

have shown noteworthy vigor recently.

F. General Conclusions:

Program activity, membership involvement, and public image of the NCCHR is at a two year high. The current fall money raising push is on with visible prospects good for maintenance of 1967 contributions level if all goes well--perhaps an increase. The leadership of the North Carolina Council is the most effective working group, yet available to the organization. If a major foundation break-through occurs, NCCHR will be on it's way. Basically, this state human relations council is where the Southern Regional Council was in the sping of 1954. The next few months will either make or break the NCCHR. Regardless of the outcome, the process has been spirited and healthy.

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
233½ North Greene Street, Room #4
Greensboro, North Carolina 27401

Statement of
RECEIPTS & DISBURSEMENTS

September 1, 1968 to September 30, 1968

Balance Brought Forward, September 1, 1968.	$ 990.60
RECEIPTS (Page 3)	352.46
TOTAL.	1,343.06
DISBURSEMENTS (Page 4, 5)	597.98
Bank Service Charge	.39
Balance as of September 30, 1968	$ 744.69

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

BANK RECONCILIATION

Balance per bank statement Mechanics & Farmers Bank Charlotte, North Carolina			$ 925.74
Less: Outstanding Checks:	#4410	100.00	
	4507	50.00	211.05
	4508	61.05	
			$ 714.69
Plus: Cash on Hand, September 30, 1968			30.00
Balance as of September 30, 1968			$ 744.69

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

RECORD OF RECEIPTS

_____
(Month)

	Previous Balance	Receipts for the Month	Receipts to Date
MEMBERSHIP FEES	4,474.41	120.00	4,594.41
CONTRIBUTIONS:			
Individual	195.00	--	195.00
Organizations	830.00	--	830.00
Corporate Business			
GRANTS:			
Southern Regional Council (grant-in-aid)	9,750.00	--	9,750.00
Southern Regional Council (expanded grant-in-aid)			
Foundations			
MISCELLANEOUS:			
N. C. State University	17.50	--	17.50
U. S. Treasury (Federal			
Tax Refund)	20.65	232.46	253.11
TOTALS	15,287.56	352.46	15,640.02

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

RECORD OF DISBURSEMENTS

September - 1968
(Month)

	Previous Balance	Disbursements for the Month	Disbursements to Date
OFFICE EXPENSE:			
Rent	800.00	100.00	900.00
Telephone & Telegraph	894.06	--	894.06
Office Supplies	465.88	--	465.88
Postage	493.10	--	493.10
Printing	482.61	--	482.61
Books, Pamphlets, Papers			
Dues & Subscriptions	336.75	--	336.75
PROGRAM EXPENSE:			
Consultant fees for Fair Housing	25.00	--	25.00
Welfare Assistance	225.00	--	225.00
TRAVEL & EXPENSES	1,951.29	150.00	2,101.29
HOSPITALIZATION	336.24	--	336.24
ANNUAL MEETING EXPENSE	443.54	--	443.54
ANNUITY	306.00	--	306.00
TOTAL	6,759.47	250.00	7,009.47

North Carolina Council on Human Relations
Page 2
September - 1968
(Month)

Record of Disbursements

	Previous Balance	Disbursements for the Month	Disbursements to Date
SALARIES: Net Check			
Executive Director	5,315.60	--	5,315.60
Office Secretaries	1,958.91	124.84	2,083.75
Withholding Taxes	2,507.15	213.14	2,720.29
Other Office Employees	80.31	--	80.31
MISCELLANEOUS:			
Postal Rate Chart	1.00	--	1.00
Parking Space Rental	80.00	10.00	90.00
Jack Tar Hotel	15.00	--	15.00
Repayment of Excess FICA	132.74	--	132.74
Pitney-Bowes Meter Rental	64.89	--	64.89
Annual Audit	340.00	--	340.00
Articles of Incorporation	75.00	--	75.00
Petty-Cash	10.00	--	10.00
P.A.C.E., Inc.	10.00	--	10.00
Charge for Printed Checks	6.52	--	6.52
TOTAL (Page 2)	10,597.12	347.98	10,945.10
TOTAL (From Page 1)	6,759.47	250.00	7,009.47
GRAND TOTAL	17,356.59	597.98	17,954.57

NORTH CAROLINA

COUNCIL COMMENT

VOL. 1, No. 6
William C. Allred, Jr.
Executive Director
Phone: 919-275-6589

N. C. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
233½ N. Green Street
Greensboro, N. C. 27401

SUMMER, 1968
M. C. Burt, Jr.
Chairman

ON THE SCHOOLS

The spring Hillsborough demonstrations indicate North Carolina is headed toward school desegregation problems and opportunities a'plenty. No longer is the lonely black face in the sea of white the issue. The issue now is massive desegregation of the schools and face-to-face integration.

It is only fitting the state see the departure of Superintendent of Public Instruction Charles C. Carroll. One of the blots on the school desegregation record of North Carolina is the ineffective role played by Carroll over the years since the supreme court Brown decisions. Racial liberals, black and white, have no regret at the belated retirement of this state official who has obstructed, hindered, and undercut school desegregation efforts over the years. One can only hope that the private history of this man's work, which the future will reveal, will give some indication of vision. Surely his public acts have done nothing to reassure us of any contribution on a matter that desperately sought creativity.

It is not enough to say, as the Raleigh *News and Observer* recently, that Carroll had done a great service to N. C. by keeping school desegregation "quiet." History surely will not deal gently with Charles C. Carroll's characteristics of delay, indecision, obscurantism, and caution. Nor will it deal gently with the North Carolina political and social climate that tolerates the many officials which have stood as impediments to this great social enterprise.

W.C.A.

JOIN NOW! JOIN NOW!

PAY DUES NOW

Poor People

Council folks supported the Poor People's March in North Carolina. Two segments of the March came through the state. The first, from Tennessee, was scheduled to pass through Roanoke, Virginia, but due to the collapse of local support there, came to Raleigh. NCCHR First Vice-Chairman Heslip M. Lee coordinated the arrangements.

The second contingent from South Carolina, through Charlotte, N. C., Greensboro, and Durham-Chapel Hill, was the large group which had been expected. Joining the march at the three cities in North Carolina were NCCHR Board Members Fred D. Alexander, James Chatham, Dorothy Robinson, Warren Ashby, M. C. Burt, Jr., Ben Ruffin, Mrs. William A. Mobley. NCCHR Chairman, John R. Taylor of Greensboro and Executive Director Will Allred participated in the planning and the march. Council members Howard Lee and Buie Seawell did much of the planning and coordination for the contingent which spent one night in Chapel Hill. Many Council women assisted in the preparation of food and service to the poor people in Charlotte, Greensboro and Durham-Chapel Hill.

Baxton Bryant, Executive Director of the Tennessee Council worked with the SCLC during the Washington March. He gives the following report of an interesting development in Charlottesville, Va.

> I called a Methodist minister in Charlottesville, Va. I told him that we would have 500 people coming. They were poor, would be hungry and thirsty. "Can you feed them?" He stuttered a bit and then asked if I had talked to the Episcopal minister, since he had done more of this type of work. I suggested that possibly it was his turn. After talking a while, I laid it on the line. "I don't give a damn what you think about the march, whether you endorse it or not. The only thing I want you to respond to as a brother minister is five hundred people in the park tomorrow morning at ten o'clock. Will you feed them? We need cokes, milk, fruit, cookies. We aren't asking you to go to a lot of trouble. But you have members that you can get to do it." He answered, "Well, when you put it that way, there is not much else left to do." The next morning we were met by 200 white people. The common expression was: "Thank God for giving us a chance to get involved."

M. C. BURT

Mr. M. C. Burt, Jr. (Durham) was elected chairman on the North Carolina Council at the April 20, 1968 Annual Meeting at Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C. Burt, Deputy Director of the Low Income Housing Development Corporation, is an attorney and a vigorous North Carolina civil rights leader. Mr. Burt serves also as the Chairman of the Durham Council on Human Relations, the most active privately supported council in North Carolina. Speakers at the meeting, held with approximately 100 members and guests, were Baxton Bryant, executive director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations and Dr. William H. Crook, assistant director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and director of VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America).

Black Solidarity Statement Socks Durham

"Last resort" plea to the Chamber of Commerce and Merchants Association for help in obtaining "essential" needs of Durham Negroes was made public Saturday in the form of a 15-page memorandum to the two groups from a newly formed Negro organization.

If the demands are not met, the possibilities of a boycott of white merchants, public demonstrations or "civil disobedience" are being considered, the head of the Black Solidarity Committee for Community Improvement said.

The memorandum was presented to the Chamber of Commerce and Merchants Association late Friday. It asked the organizations—described as "representatives of the power structure"—to use their influence in dealing with the local government in satisfying demands in such areas as Negro representation on governing boards, public housing and equal employment.

"Since previous appeals for positive action which have been directed to the office of the mayor of the city of Durham, its City Council, the Durham County Board of Commissioners and all other governing agencies situated within this jurisdiction have proven fruitless, frustrating, as well as futile in making tangible accomplishments," the request for aid is directed to the two business agencies, the memorandum said.

"We utilize this particular course of action since you represent yourselves as that segment of the Durham community who can join with us, without fear or favor, in aiding our city to achive its goal; that is, the provision of a better place for each and all of its inhabitants to live," the statement said.

The memorandum concluded with the statement that "until each and all of these demands are obtained, we choose to exert whatever pressure is deemed necessary so as to dramatize the urgency of your taking action at once in expediting the realization of same."

SENATOR SAM

The NCCHR state office exchanged letters with Senators Ervin and Jordan concerning the Dirksen amendment to the Civil Rights Act. Ervin's letter was interesting:

"Thank you for your recent communication regarding my stand on the Administration's civil rights bill and the Dirksen amendment which includes an open-housing provision.

As you know, since I came to the Senate, I have consistently opposed civil rights bills that I considered patently unconstitutional and unwise. With all good conscience, I opposed and voted against both the Administration's rights-protection bill and the so-called Dirksen amendment, for both proposals exceed the constitutional power of the Congress. The housing proposal passed by the Senate, in particular, would most unwisely rob Americans of the fundamental right to use and dispose of private property as they see fit.

Recently the Senate rejected my substitute rights protection bill which was unquestionably constitutional and would have protected all citizens engaged in federally-protected rights, regardless of race, creed, or color. Apparently, a constitutionally sound civil rights bill, designed to apply alike to everybody, sponsored in good faith by a Southerner, is not acceptable to those who seek political gain from pressure groups and voting blocks. Many Senators who voted against my bill confided to me privately that it was a better bill but that they could not vote for it because it was not aimed solely at Negroes and civil rights workers and thus would appear to "dilute" the protection given to them.

I regret that we disagree, but my conscience and my Senatorial oath will not permit me to vote for legislation which I consider unconstitutional however much I may recognize the existence of the underlying need giving rise to the legislation and the good intentions of its proponents. Good intentions are not, in my view, sufficient grounds for disregarding constitutional limitations intended to place certain basic rights of the people beyond the power of government. The immediate necessity and benefit of federal open housing legislation may seem compelling, but the permanent result is to subject yet another basic individual liberty to the unfettered whim of a momentary majority of the Congress."

Sam J. Ervin, Jr.

A POLL

Because many whites do not directly participate in the discrimination against or exploitation of black people, they are sustained in the belief that these do not occur. According to the Gallup Poll of July 22, 1968, only one out of 100 whites believe, or admit of believing that Negroes are treated "badly". Seventy-five percent believe that "Negroes are treated the same as whites."

Most whites believe sincerely that they do not discriminate against black people. And indeed institutionalized, anonymous racism means that many whites do not discriminate in any direct, overt way. They are rarely given the opportunity. White America employs a number of what sociologist Lee Rainwater has labeled the "dirty workers" to do the actual discriminating.

OFFICERS

Officers of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations are: Chairman, M. C. Burt, Jr.; First Vice-Chairman, Heslip M. Lee, Second Vice Chairman, James R. Hampton; Secretary, Mrs. Elizabeth D. Koontz; Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. Chase S. Benson, and Treasurer, Dr. Emery L. Rann.

Council Challenged For 21st Century

Following are excerpts from a Speech by Dr. William Crook, Director of VISTA, Office of Economic Opportunity, Executive Office of the President to the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, Greensboro Division of Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, April 20, 1968.

Dr. Crook, a senior official of the Office of Economic Opportunity, called for a "21st Century Homestead Act to bring all of the resources of the nation to bear on the War on Poverty in this country and the imminent threat of widespread famine abroad."

Dr. Crook proposed that the nation consider the use of lands now in the public domain in the War on Poverty. He said that the public land now standing idle amounts to more than 400 million acres — a total land area larger than all of Mexico.

He urged the nation to consider "whether or not the rapid advance in desalinization and irrigation techniques and other technological advances have not made the millions of acres of land now lying unused in the public domain potentially productive for the poor of this nation and the hungry abroad."

Crook said that "this nation is hung up on its cities. Today more than 70% of the people live in 1% of the space. We pile floor on floor and family on family in a futile effort to provide living room for millions in the narrow confines of our cities. Cost estimates running as high as $150 billion have been mentioned as the price tag for the rehabilitation of the nation's central cities. Nothing is done to provide the nation — and its citizens — with a valid ex-urban alternative."

He suggested that the nation consider the reclamation of that land and its sale to poor people and to new industry with nothing down and with 50-year interest free loans.

In a critical assessment of the progress of the War on Poverty to date, Crook said that "a great deal has, in fact, been accomplished for a great many people — in a very short time."

Crook told the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, however, that "we must do more. We must bring the total resources of the nation to bear on the problem of poverty in this nation today."

He pointed out that economists historically have listed capital, labor, land and technology as the principal factors of productivity but that the nation has, to date, utilized only labor and capital in the War on Poverty.

"We are fighting the War on Poverty with only two of these resources, capital and labor," he said. "The vast technological advance of recent years has been all but ignored. And we are overlooking the resources of land altogether in our single-minded concentration on urban America."

"Rapid advances in communications, in transportation, in farming techniques, in irrigation and desalinization processes and in the method and speed of freight shipping means that many millions of acres of land that were once isolated, non-arable and worthless no longer need to be written off as without utility."

"Let's take another look at those wasted acres in the light of 21st century technology, in the light of what we know about the enormous cost of creating decent homes and decent jobs for Americans in the urban khettoes and what we know about the tremendous food crisis the world will face in the next century."

Crook emphasized that he was not proposing a "grandiose virgin lands scheme. He said that he proposed a careful investigation of the decentralization of people and resources through the relocation of "all of the ingredients of a mixed economy."

"I propose that we carefully consider the widest possible utilization of the hundreds of millions of acres in the public domain. Let's not just think of new farms. Let's think of new factories and new stores, of new towns and new cities, of new communities with new needs and new productivity, generating new demand and new profits.

"Today, an enlightened America is moving to share its present plenty with its poor. But this is not enough. The poor of the nation — as well as the rest of us — are entitled to a share — an ownership share — in America's magnificent future."

GREENSBORO HOUSING QUESTIONED

On September 4, 1968, the NCCHR stated:

"I have under consideration an action to file a complaint with Secretary Weaver of HUD concerning housing patterns perpetuated by the programs of the Greensboro Redevelopment Commission, the Greensboro Housing Authority and the several other public and private agencies concerned with the developing housing market needs in Greensboro, N. C. I am also giving very close scrutiny to the development of the Model Cities program in Greensboro, N. C."

"At issue is the effect of the segregated housing pattern on all community processes and particularly the effect on the integration of the public schools. The complaint would, if it is made, point out that there are inherent discriminatory practices of the Greensboro City Board of Education which will affect the ability of the City of Greensboro to operate a Model Cities Program."

"I find it difficult to see how a Model Cities Program or even our urban renewal projects in process or contemplated in the Model Cities target area could be carried out without the City Council's adopting an affirmative action program on the report of the Greensboro Human Relations Commission in 1967."

"The failure of the City Council to act upon the report of the Human Relations Commission and its housing sub-committee, which is the minority group sub-committee of the Citizens Action Committee under the Workable Program is on its face derelection of the Council's duties and responsibility to the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the citizens of Greensboro."

Allred reported that the NCCHR staff was undertaking an investigation of the various agencies with housing concerns.

To Whom It May Concern: This Concerns You

THE FOLLOWING IS THE PARTIALLY EDITED TEXT OF A LETTER TO THE STATE OFFICE ABOUT AN EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA SCHOOL OPENING:

Since the opening of schools, many racial incidents have occurred at the two integrated schools, on the school buses, and on the way to and from school. The following is a list of incidents:

(1) On the way to school a car of white boys yelled out of the car "nigger, nigger, nigger." The Negro students continued on their way to school. The white boys continued to agitate the students which caused an exchange of words between the whites and Negroes. As the Negroes crossed the school walk the white boys parked their car and jumped out of the car telling the Negroes to "Come back, niggers."

(2) As two Negro students attempted to enter a school bus, an express bus to the High School, one of the white boys on the bus closed the door in the students' faces. The students were kept waiting for three (3) minutes before being allowed to enter the bus.

(3) The principal assigned the Negro students to different buses, taking them off of the buses they were previously on, giving them no choice of the bus they wish to ride while the white students have a choice.

(4) On one day on the bus a white student repeatedly carried on conversations such as "We just can't get rid of these niggers, we have to go to school with them, we have to eat with them; the only way we can get rid of them is to have a Klan Rally." After this statement the white students voiced their agreement by yelling "Yeah!"

As the bus passed the Negro school in the Negro community one of the white boys said "I'm sure glad we don't have to go to school with all those niggers." The bus driver did not tell the students to stop the conversation. As the bus stopped at a stop light the driver admitted a white boy to the bus. One of the white boys commented to him: "Look what we've got back there, four niggers." The Negroes were in the back of the bus because when the principal assigned them he told them to be quiet on the bus and that everything the bus driver says goes because he is responsible; therefore, the bus driver took the initiative to assign the Negroes in the bus to the back seats.

(5) On one day, a white girl, who boasted on the bus of attending a Klan Rally, repeatedly swung a baseball bat on the side of a Negro student on the bus.

(6) On one day in an English class, a white student read a composition she had written to the class which was about the Klan, stating some of the things the Klan had done, and that the Klan is going to rule the nation. The teacher did not stop the student once she learned the contents of the paper, but immediately opened her roll book and gave the student a grade.

Please

Pay

Your

Dues

Now!

North Carolina Council on Human Relations

233½ North Greene Street, Greensboro, N. C. 27401

MEMBERSHIP CATEGORIES

- ☐ Regular Member $ 5.00
- ☐ Contributing Member $10.00
- ☐ Sustaining Member $25.00
- ☐ Donor Member $ 50.00
- ☐ Sponsor Member $100.00
- ☐ Contribution (not membership) $_____

(Payments to the N. C. Council are tax deductible.)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

(Please!)

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

October 16, 1968

Mr. Will C. Allred
Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
233 1/2 North Greene Street
Greensboro, North Carolina 27401

Dear Mr. Allred:

I have had two long and detailed talks with Paul Anthony in response both to your first telegram and to your second letter (whose thoroughness I greatly appreciated).

Paul assures me that the inference which can be drawn and which you have drawn from his letter of September 17th is not the true situation. That letter's statement that ".....for 1969 North Carolina [will] not be eligible for support" was meant to imply that North Carolina would not be eligible for support as a viable council. That statement was not meant to preclude North Carolina's receiving support (provided in part by this Foundation) as a non-viable council. Such support would be subject to the SRC policies which we have both referred to before.

It is my understanding that three other state councils were not declared viable and that in all three cases detailed discussions and visitations have resulted in an amicable and hopefully productive new relationship between the state councils and SRC. Paul is anxious to meet with you and your Board for similar discussions, and I understand this meeting will be held on October 19th.

On your submitting a proposal directly to us, I think our position is clear but bears repetition: the Foundation is not prepared to entertain a direct proposal from a non-viable council. The "current situation with the Southern Regional Council" does not, as we understand it, result from

October 16, 1968

arbitrary, capricious, or malicious decisions on the part of SRC; rather, it seems to stem from misunderstanding and inadequate communication, which your forthcoming meeting should help dispel.

Sincerely yours,

Basil J. Whiting
Assistant Program Officer

bcc: Paul Anthony

Paul
For your info
Bazz

October 8, 1968

Mr. Will C. Allred, Jr.
Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
233 1/2 North Greene Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Allred:

I am sorry to have taken so long to reply to your telegram of Sept. 16th, but I was on special assignment and the telegram has only reached me today.

Unfortunately, I don't think that it would be useful for us to meet as you have suggested to discuss your request for direct support by the Foundation to the North Carolina Council. It seems desirable to us for viable State Councils to receive the bulk of their general operating support from sources within their own state. Such State Councils may approach the Southern Regional Council, or out-of-state funding sources, for support of special projects. Non-viable State Councils should, however, have a much more direct operational and funding link with the Southern Regional Council. This Foundation is providing SRC with funds for both kinds of support relationships with State Councils.

As we understand it SRC has determined the North Carolina Council to be non-viable, a decision participated in and assented to by representatives of the State Councils. This decision does not mean "that the Southern Regional Council does not, repeat not, currently represent the North Carolina Council on Human Relations" in the SRC proposal to the Foundation. On the contrary, while the Foundation may entertain proposals by viable State Councils for direct support of special projects, we prefer to support non-viable Councils through the Southern Regional Council. Hence, continued Foundation support will be available to the North Carolina Council, subject to what appears to us to be

the reasonable policies and programs of SRC for the support and development of non-viable Councils.

Sincerely yours,

Basil J. Whiting
Assistant Program Officer

BJW: mcs
name
chron
file

bcc: P. Anthony

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Mildred Johnson

North Carolina
Is complete

Missing are:

Council History
Council Problems

North Carolina Council on Human Relations
233½ North Greene Street, Room 4
Greensboro, North Carolina 27401

Officers & Board Members for 1967-1968 Council Year

Mr. John R. Taylor, Chairman (W) Builder	2410 E. Bessemer Avenue Greensboro, North Carolina 27405
Mr. Moses Burt, 1st V-Chairman (N) Attorney	213½ W. Main Street Durham, North Carolina 27701
Mr. Heslip M. Lee, 2nd V-Chairman (W) College Administrator	3326 Friar Tuck Road Raleigh, North Carolina 27602
Mrs. Elizabeth D. Koontz, Sec. (N) School Teacher	418 S. Caldwell Street Salisbury, North Carolina 28144
Dr. Emery L. Rann, Treasurer (N) Medical Doctor	1001 Beatties Ford Road Char lotte, North Carolina 28208
Mrs. Chase H. Benson, Asst. Sec. Asst. Treas. (W) Housewife	505 Woodvale Drive Greensboro, North Carolina 27410
Mr. Fred D. Alexander (N) Apartment Manager, City Councilman	P. O. Box 273 Charlotte, North Carolina 28201
Mrs. Sylvia X. Allen (N) Attorney	1802 Murchison Road Fa yetteville, North Carolina 28301
Mr. W. M. Barbee (W) Labor Official	P. O. Box 10805 Ral eigh, North Carolina 27605
Rev. Moses S. Belton (N) College Administration	Johnson C. Smith University 100 Beatties Ford Road Charlotte, North Carolina 28208
Dr. Andrew A. Best (N) Medical Doc tor	P. O. Box 417 Greenville, North Carolina 27834
Dr. J. J. Blum (W) Duke Professor	2525 Perkins Street Durham, North Carolina 27706
Dr. H. Curtis Bowens (N) De ntist	1212 Faye tteville Street Durham, North Carolina 27707

Dr. Wayne A. Bowers (W) UNC-CH Physicist	714 E. Franklin Street Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514
Mrs. Martin L. Cannon, Jr. (W) Council Supporter $	1807 Providence Road Charlotte, North Carolina 28207
Mrs. George O. Clifford (W) George Mitchell's Sister	809 Woodland Avenue Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514
Rev. Frederick R. Crownfield (W) Teacher, Guilford College	P. O. Box 8325 Guilford College, N. C. 27410
Mr. Ruben J. Dailey (N) Attorney	46 S. Market Street Asheville, North Carolina 28801
Mr. Carl J. Dockery (N) Mortician	605 Buffalo Street Shelby, North Carolina 28150
Monsignor Hugh A. Dolan (W) Priest	St. Pius Tenth Rectory 2210 N. Elm Street Greensboro, North Carolina 27408
Mr. Thomas G. Donnelly (W) Statistician UNC-CH	Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514
Dr. Lewis C. Dowdy (N) College President	Agricultural & Technical State University of N. C. Greensboro, North Carolina 27411
Mr. Henry E. Frye, Attorney (N) Attorney	1920 Drexmore Avenue Greensboro, North Carolina 27406
Mr. Eugene Hampton (N) Civil Engineer, IBM	1507 Rosewood Avenue Durham, North Carolina 27701
Rev. James R. Hampton (N) Minister	P. O. Box 719 Sanford, North Carolina 27330
Mr. Robert L. Harrell (N) Attorney	13½ Eagle Street Asheville, North Carolina
Dr. Samuel S. Hill, Jr. (W) Religion Professor, UNC-CH	Department of Religion The University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27515
Mr. Watts Hill, Jr. (W) Insurance Company Pres.	Box 61 Durham, North Carolina 27702
Mrs. Dorothy B. Jackson (N) PTA Official	513 N. 7th Street Wilmington, North Carolina 28401

Mr. Robert T. Kimzey, Jr. (W) School Administrator	North Carolina School of the Arts P. O. Box 4657 Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27107
Rev. W. Judson King (N) Rural Farm Center	Franklinton Center Bricks, North Carolina 27815
Mrs. G. C. Lassiter (N) Domestic	306 Lindsay Street Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514
Dr. Carlyle Marney (W) Theologian	Myers Park Baptist Church 1900 Queens Road Charlotte, North Carolina 28207
Rev. Robert A. Massey (W) Minister	513 Albany Street Fayetteville, North Carolina 28301
Mrs. Martha McKay	406 Westwood Drive Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514
Mrs. Max I. Miller (W) Clubwoman (Democratic Party Contact)	705 Nottingham Road Greensboro, North Carolina 27408
Mr. Romallus Murphy (N) Attorney	126½ E. Hargett Street Raleigh, North Carolina 27601
Mr. William S. Page (W) Radio Station Owner	P. O. Box 871 Kinston, North Carolina 28501
Mrs. Mary D. B. T. Semans (W) Cultural & Philanthropic Figure	1415 Bivins Street Durham, North Carolina 27707
Mr. Robert E. Seymour (W) Minister	Box 108 Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514
Dr. Harmon L. Smith (W) Ethics Professor Duke	The Divinity School Duke University Durham, North Carolina 27706
Rabbi Leo J. Stillpass (W) Rabbi	4508 Pamlico Drive Raleigh, North Carolina 27609
Mr. Clifton Stone (N) Clerical Employee	303 Wesley Street Carrboro, North Carolina 27510
Dr. Daniel C. Tosteson (W) Duke Physiology	Department of Physiology Duke University Durham, North Carolina 27706

Mr. Nathaniel B. White
(N) Printing Company Owner

Service Printing Company
504 E. Pettigrew Street
Durham, North Carolina 27710

Mr. John H. Wheeler
(N) Banker

Mechanics & Farmers Bank
P. O. Box 1932
Durham, North Carolina 27702

MEMO • *from the Desk of:*

WILLIAM (Will) C. ALLRED, JR.
505 Woodlawn Avenue
Greensboro, N. C. 27401

TO Ed Stanfield

Summary Budget for Ford Foundation Review Team.

WCA

A PROPOSAL TO

THE FORD FOUNDATION

FROM

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

12 August 1963

Fwd
N.C. Fund
Cr. ref. Mrs. Brewer

November 13, 1963

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer
Box 314, Route 1
Scott, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Brewer:

I know George Esser, and something also about the North Carolina Fund. I don't know what he was calling Ozelle about, but I suspect he was asking Ozelle to help the Fund think about program plans which it has for North Carolina. I could be wrong, but I cannot conceive of the North Carolina Fund spending money outside the state.

The Fund has just recently been set up with very powerful North Carolina people connected with it, and with about $15,000,000, about half of which comes from the Ford Foundation, and about half of which has come from North Carolina sources. Its announced purpose is to try to break the cycle of poverty in North Carolina. I think it is a very exciting thing, and its work should be watched by other states. But I just cannot imagine that any of its program will be outside the Tar Heel state.

Looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MRS. JOE ROBINSON BREWER
BOX 314 ROUTE 1
SCOTT, ARKANSAS

November 9, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I happened to be in the office of ACHR yesterday afternoon when Ozzell Sutton received a call from a Mr. George Esser of Durham, North Carolina, representing the North Carolina Fund. He wanted consideration of a pilot project to expand and raise the aspirational, educational and job opportunity level of low income persons, and said they had a grant for $10,000,000.00 to cover ten such projects in the south in the next five years.

Mr. Griswold and Mr. Sutton suggested that I enquire into this when I am in Atlanta on November 25-26; but the possibilities seem far too exciting for me to wait that long. How I'd love to see such a project set up in Lonoke County, the plantation area in which we live!

Mr. Esser is to send material to the Council; but if you can give us any further light on the North Carolina Fund, I'd appreciate it. Perhaps I was wrong but I sensed that Nat and Ozzell were somewhat dubious -- . Many thanks for any leads or suggestions you may give me.

Sincerely,

Vivian Brewer

LWDV

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

NEWS RELEASE

C. A. McKnight
President

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

Mary L. Hatley
Administrative Assistant

Wednesday, November 27, 1963
For Release Friday, November 29
and Thereafter

North Carolina Fund
Booklet is published

Durham, N. C. -- The North Carolina Fund announced today the publication of some 7,000 copies of a booklet defining the programs and policies of the organization recently founded to seek and promote methods of combatting the problem of poverty in the state.

George H. Esser Jr., executive director of The Fund, said that distribution has begun on the 40-page booklet that will serve as a guide to communities in the state wishing to submit proposals for Fund assistance in setting up projects to relieve conditions of poverty and related problems.

The publication is being sent free of charge to city, county and state governmental officials, civic leaders and the press.

Earlier this month The Fund Board of Directors announced that comprehensive community experimental projects will be supported in about ten areas of the state. Their selection will begin about February 1, 1964.

The inexpensively designed booklet is divided into five major sections: (1) A discussion of the problem of poverty in the state; (2) General Fund policies; (3) Guidelines for preparation of Community Proposals; (4) Questions to use as a guide in defining problems of poverty in the community; and (5) Suggested types of experiments for comprehensive community projects.

The development and support of community projects to tackle problems in education, employment, housing, health, welfare, environment and other forces contributing to the state's cycle of poverty is a primary interest of The North Carolina Fund.

The booklet, Esser said, will clarify the Fund's purpose and scope, and act as a guideline to communities wishing to apply for Fund assistance.

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

NEWS RELEASE

C. A. McKnight
President

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

Mary L. Hatley
Administrative Assistant

NEWS RELEASE

Thursday, 12 December, 1963

FOR RELEASE FRIDAY, 13 December, 1963

NORTH CAROLINA FUND
BOARD OF DIRECTORS TO BEGIN
TWO-DAY MEETING IN DURHAM TODAY

Durham, N. C. -- A two-day meeting of the Board of Directors of The North Carolina Fund will get under way here today at 4 p.m. at the downtown offices of the organization established last July to tackle North Carolina's poverty cycle.

Most important item on the agenda for the weekend session is a review by the Board of a study of statewide poverty conditions. The study, just completed by the Fund staff, will in part determine how many community projects it will be necessary to establish to have a good cross-section of the state and its problems.

George H. Esser, Jr., executive director of the Fund, said that the Board will probably make a preliminary decision as to the "general distribution" of community projects. However, specific locations for Fund-supported projects will not be made until some time after February 1, 1963, Esser said.

Communities interested in developing comprehensive programs to strike at poverty conditions in their area have until February 1 to submit proposals for Fund support.

A final meeting Saturday morning in The North Carolina Fund offices will close out the session.

# # # # # # # #

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

NEWS RELEASE

C. A. McKnight
President

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

Mary L. Hatley
Administrative Assistant

Friday, December 13, 1963

For Immediate Release

NORTH CAROLINA FUND BOARD
NAMES WELL-KNOWN NEW YORK MAN
TO FUND STAFF --
KOCH BECOMES ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Durham, N. C. -- The Board of Directors of The North Carolina Fund announced today the appointment of William H. Koch, Jr. as the Fund's Assistant Director for Community Development. Koch will work directly with Fund-supported projects soon to be initiated in approximately ten North Carolina communities.

Speaking for the Board of Directors, C. A. McKnight, Fund president, said that The North Carolina Fund and the state were especially fortunate in securing the services of Koch for the new position. Koch will come to North Carolina from New York City where he is currently Director of Community Development, Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches.

He is to assume his new job on or about January 1.

The Fund's executive director, George H. Esser, said that the addition of Koch to the staff of The North Carolina Fund will bring invaluable depth and experience to the leanly staffed organization seeking to find ways of breaking the state's cycle of poverty.

The establishment of comprehensive community experimental projects throughout the state is the major means by which the Fund hopes to help the state and its people find ways of reversing the poverty cycle. The new Assistant Director will aid in setting up and staffing individual community projects, assist in devising experimental action programs in each such community, and will serve

(more,more)

in an advisory capacity for all community projects once they are under way.

From New York, where he is now closing out his duties, Koch expressed pleasure in accepting the new assignment. The North Carolina Fund program, he said, offered much hope for North Carolina's poverty-stricken, and he was proud to become affiliated with the state's effort.

Koch has a broad background of work in community development. In addition to his work in New York with the National Council of Churches, he served for three years as director of the Migrant Citizenship Project in Chicago. In that capacity, he was responsible for the establishment and development of an action research project to determine and experiment with methods of resolving migrant problems.

From 1954 to 1957, he was executive director of the Arizona Migrant Ministry, responsible for establishment and development of a state-wide program of social, educational, health and religious services among Arizona's large migrant worker population.

Prior to that, Koch served as Instructor in Recreation and Youth Leadership and as Director of Undergraduate Field Experience at Springfield College, Springfield, Mass.

The new Fund appointee is presently a Ph.D. candidate in adult education, University of Chicago. He holds a B.S. and M.S. degree from Springfield College and has also attended the University of Connecticut and Columbia University.

Koch is a member of a number of porfessional organizations, including the National Association of Social Workers. Born July 10, 1923, he is married and has four children.

# # #

December 16, 1962

Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director
The North Carolina Fund — file
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

Dear George:

Learn anything about Thompson?

Best wishes for the Season.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

file

Foundation's - North Carolina Fund

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND
POST OFFICE BOX 687
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
27702

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

December 17, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

It is my understanding that, while Dan Thompson is in New Orleans he is expected to become chairman of the department of sociology at Howard University very shortly. There is, so far as I can determine, no formal office being established in New Orleans.

It was good to see you in Durham, and I hope we will have more opportunities to invite you back as our community projects get underway.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

George

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

GHEJr.-lm

See Foundations: N. C. Fund

February 5, 1964

Mr. Billy Barnes
North Carolina Fund
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Billy:

Sorry I missed you, and come by to see me when you are again in Atlanta. Give my best regards to George Esser.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

BILLY BARNES — N. C. Funds

1-28-64

To: Leslie Dunbar,

Dear Les,

Sorry you couldn't make lunch today, but I understand the pressure you're under just now.

I'll be out the weeks of Feb. 3 and 10, then back the week of Feb. 17. So I'll check with you then.

Billy

McGraw-Hill Southeastern News Bureau
McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., Inc.
1375 Peachtree St., N.E.
Atlanta 9, Ga.
TEL.: 875-0523 (Area Code 404)

file Foundations N.C. Fund

LWD

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

NEWS RELEASE

C. A. McKnight
President

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

Mary L. Hatley
Administrative Assistant

FOR RELEASE SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1964

Durham -- The North Carolina Fund today announced the appointment of Billy E. Barnes as News Director. Barnes, a native of North Carolina, will be the Fund's staff member in charge of press relations, and creation of material for radio and television.

Barnes, 32, a professional writer and photographer, returns to North Carolina from Atlanta, where he has worked for five years as chief of McGraw-Hill magazines' Southeastern News Bureau.

Before that time he was in New York as an assistant editor at the McGraw-Hill home office.

Barnes was born in Winston-Salem, graduated from Reynolds High School there in 1949, and served in the U.S. Marine Corps during the Korean War.

He returned to the state in 1954, entered the University of North Carolina in 1955, and graduated in 1957 with a degree in Radio-Television-Motion Picture Arts.

Barnes is married to the former Anne Craig, of Mount Holly, N. C. The Barneses have two children, and now reside in Chapel Hill, N. C.

# # # #

File: Foundations: N.C. Fund

LWD
PA
VJ
MJ-file

NEWS FROM THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND -- FOR RELEASE A.M.s MONDAY, MARCH 23

For further information contact Billy E. Barnes, News Director,
Box 687, Durham, N.C., Phone 682-5788

Durham -- The North Carolina Fund today announced appointment of William A. Darity as Assistant Director for Community Development. Darity, a native of Flat Rock, N.C. has been active in community development work since the early 1950's, when he worked as a public health educator in Charlotte, N. C., and Danville and Norfolk, Va.

In 1953 he became a Health Education Consultant for the World Health Organization (WHO). For three years he served in the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Arab Refugees in the Gaza area of Palestine and in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan, organizing health education. WHO made him professor of Health Education in 1956 at the School of Public Health, American University of Beirut, Lebanon. In August of 1958, he became WHO Regional Advisor on Health Education to seventeen countries in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia working with the governments of the regions in the development of health-education services in their ministries.

During 1963, Darity accepted a short-time World Health Organization appointment that took him to Geneva, Switzerland. During the same year he also served at the University of Minnesota as a consultant for the Peace Corps Volunteers to Pakistan.

Born in Flat Rock, N. C., Darity graduated from Ninth Ave. High School, Hendersonville, N. C., and went on to earn a B.S. at Shaw University in Raleigh, an M.S. in Public Health at North Carolina College in Durham, and his Ph.D degree at the University of North Carolina.

Darity has published many articles for national and international journals. He is a Fellow in the American Public Health Assn., the Society of Public Health

more

Educators, and the American School Health Assn. He is also a member of the International Union for Health Education, the Delta Omega Society (an honorary public health society), and is a charter member of the American National Council of Health Education of the Public.

Darity, son of Mr. and Mrs. Randall Darity, of Flat Rock, is married to the former Evangeline Royall, of Wilson, N. C. The Daritys have two children.

# # # #

File: North Carolina Fund
Cr. ref. on H. Lee.
Va. Council on H. Lee
re: ~~help~~ for reference
Mr. Heslip Lee

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND
Post Office Box 687
Durham, North Carolina, 27702

August 26, 1964

PA - replied by phone
MJ - file

Rec'd 8/31/64

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Heslip Malbert Lee has applied for a position in a project relating to the North Carolina Fund and has given your name as a reference. The Fund is charged with sponsoring a series of comprehensive experimental community programs to assault the cycle of poverty in North Carolina, and seeks for its projects professional people who are both committed and able. We would appreciate having your candid opinion of this candidate. Will you be kind enough to answer the following questions? Your comments will be shared only with Fund staff and persons responsible for employment within local projects. The candidate <u>will not</u> have access to this linformation.

1. How long have you known him and what was your professional relationship to him?

2. Is he a mature person?

3. Is he a self-initiating person? Does he work well independently?

4. Does he work well as a team member?

5. How well does he respond to supervision?

6. How well does he work with board members?

7. How effective is he in working with members of client groups?

8. How are his work habits?

9. What are his outstanding strengths as a professional person? His weaknesses?

10. Has he had any particularly outstanding professional accomplishments you wish to comment upon?

11. Would you recommend him without reservation for positions for which he is otherwise qualified?

We will be grateful for your help.

Sincerely,

William H. Koch

William H. Koch, Jr.
Director of Community Development

WHK/bw

file: Foundations - North Carolina Fund.

BLUEPRINT FOR OPPORTUNITY

Vol. 1, No. 1 April, 1965

LEV PAN AUV LDV

PERSPECTIVE:

A Message by George H. Esser, Jr.

As this first newsletter is published, it already is somewhat out-of-date as a progress report. The eleven community action projects supported in part by The North Carolina Fund are beginning to pick up steam. Community planning is being translated into proposals. Proposals are being funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Funded proposals are being translated into programs that are reaching men, women, and children in their efforts to break out of poverty and achieve self-reliance.

We must not, however, let our expectations exceed our common sense. There will be few dramatic results in the next few months. But there will be the solid ground work on which results must be based.

Many questions have arisen concerning the role of The North Carolina Fund now that new and extensive resources from the federal government are available. The Fund continues to have an important role in the state's efforts to combat poverty. It has made funds available for basic administrative support of eleven community projects. It has supported new training programs to help meet the need for qualified personnel in North Carolina communities. It is undertaking a comprehensive program to evaluate what is being done in these eleven communities. It has provided small grants, or "starter" funds, to support new programs until permanent financing can be arranged. And The Fund is prepared to support significant experimental programs for which suport is not available from other sources—governmental or private.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and The North Carolina Fund share two major objectives: (1) mobilization of all resources available to the community—public and private, local and national and (2) involvement of the poor themselves in planning and implementing the attack on poverty. To reach these two objectives, a community must have total participation in planning and action of public and private service agencies, community leaders, and representation of the impoverished and the middle-class citizens who form the bulk of most of our communities. No American community has yet discovered a way to achieve total community participation. Can a North Carolina community be the first?

For communities that can muster such total participation, there will be tangible results: There will be improvements in education, for the young child, for the dropout, for the illiterate. There will be more

Cont'd on page 5

FUND TRAINS FIRST VISTA VOLUNTEERS

Miss Elizabeth Brown, 81, oldest of the VISTA Volunteers, receives her diploma and congratulations from VISTA Director, Glenn Ferguson.

The first VISTA Volunteers to serve in the nation's war on poverty now are working throughout the United States, after completing a six-week training program conducted by The North Carolina Fund. These are the first of some five thousand domestic Peace Corpsmen to be trained throughout the nation this year.

The first group of 13, ranging in ages from 20-81, arrived in Durham January 3, and started training with a two-week program at nearby Camp New Hope. Consultants from The North Carolina Fund, state agencies, and local universities led this phase of training centered around lectures and group discussions.

Then the Volunteers separated for field assignments in two North Carolina Fund project areas—Winston-Salem and New Bern. They worked with public agencies in programs designed to bring them in direct contact with disadvantaged families and individuals.

Field assignments included recruiting for adult literacy classes, re-locating of families displaced by urban renewal, working in pre-school readiness programs and conducting environmental sanitation programs in low-income areas.

The group returned to Camp New Hope February 7 for a final week of evaluation and training before leaving for their permanent assignments, February 13. Glenn Ferguson, national director of the VISTA Program, was on hand to present them their "diplomas."

The Fund was chosen to launch the VISTA Training Program because of its previous experience in training Volunteers and professionals for work in community action programs.

(Last summer, The Fund trained 100 college students, "North Carolina Volunteers," for work in its own project areas. Since then, its training department has trained classes of Community Action Technicians and Community Services Consultants and received grants for future training programs.)

A second group of VISTA's completed their training April 10, and a third will begin training in late May.

BLUEPRINT FOR OPPORTUNITY

A periodic progress report of
THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND
P. O. Box 687
Durham, N. C.

Terry Sanford, Board Chairman
George Esser, Jr., Executive Director
Carroll Leggett, BLUEPRINT Editor

James McDonald

McDONALD HEADS MANPOWER PROJECT

James McDonald has joined the Fund staff as director of a $1.2 million Manpower Improvement Project to provide job opportunities for, and train, unemployed farmers in six Eastern North Carolina counties.

McDonald, 33, of St. Paul, Minn., will head a two-phase program, the first of which calls for the retraining of 1,000 persons either by on-the-job training or institutional programs at Industrial Education Centers. The second will involve placement of the unemployed on jobs, including relocation of families, if necessary.

While only about 1,000 persons will actually be retrained, interviews will be conducted with some 2,500 families to determine their economic needs, as well as health, education and environment. One major objective of the program will be to show how existing resources and services can be of more significant value to the disadvantaged when these services are channeled and coordinated through field personnel.

A major part of the program will be conducted by Craven Operation Progress. Other areas participating in the program are Nash, Edgecombe, Richmond, Robeson, and Scotland counties.

FUND LAUNCHES SUMMER VOLUNTEER PROGRAM

250 College Students to Participate

The North Carolina Fund has completed a fifty-six campus recruiting drive for an expanded North Carolina Volunteers summer program to involve 250 college students in community action against poverty problems.

The program will be funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity as a demonstration project to develop ways in which communities and community agencies might improve and expand the distribution of basic community services through the recruitment, training, and utilization of volunteer services.

Project Director, Jack P. Mansfield says applicants will go through a rigorous screening process, including personal interviews. Appointments will be announced by April 20.

Volunteers will report for duty in mid-June. They will spend the first few days in training on one of the state's university campuses and then leave in teams of 10-20 for eleven weeks of service in 15 to 20 communities across North Carolina.

Each volunteer will be provided with room, board, and transportation and will receive a $250 honorarium at the end of his term of service.

Any community in North Carolina with an active community action organization is eligible to participate in the summer program. Communities will be asked to submit imaginative proposals for the use of Volunteers and the Fund then will choose a limited number as experimental projects.

The North Carolina Volunteers will start pilot programs in four areas — health, education, welfare, and library. Persons in local communities will be involved in the programs and will continue them after the Volunteers leave.

These members of the first Community Action Technician Training Program now are serving on the staffs of community action projects throughout the state.

NORTH CAROLINA FUND TRAINS TECHNICIANS

The North Carolina Fund has begun the second of a series of training programs to produce some 96 Community Action Technicians during the next two years. The Community Action Technician (CAT) Training Program, funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, is designed to train sub-professionals to assist in planning, implementing, and coordinating community action programs.

When The Fund project areas reached the action stage of their programs in late 1964, persons with skills in community development as well as techniques of dealing with the impoverished were not available. The Fund then had its training department set up an intensive, short-term program to provide the persons needed.

The training program consists of three phases, the first of which is five weeks of formal training including class instruction, seminars, and field trips. The second phase offers three months of service as a resident trainee in a Community Action Program in North Carolina, under the supervision of a professional Community Action Program worker. Then the trainees are given assistance in finding permanent employment in Community Action Programs or related programs and agencies.

During the trainees' training and residency they receive a stipend plus living expenses. After placement on the job, the trainees receive salaries established by the local organization.

The next CAT training program begins in June.

CRAVEN OPERATION PROGRESS
409 GEORGE STREET
NEW BERN, NORTH CAROLINA
PHONE: 638-5602

James J. Hearn, Director **1**

Craven Operation Progress, Inc.'s Community Action Program was among the first six in the nation to be funded. The six components of the $178,453.66 CAP are (1) a strawberry marketing cooperative, (2) rural environment sanitation, (3) public health nursing, (4) home management aid, (5) day-care centers, and (6) a psychological counselor. The CAP became operational February 1, involving 20 local public and private organizations.

Craven also received $421,000 from OEO for a Title V Work Experience Program and $300,000 from the U. S. Department of Labor for a Manpower Training Program for the training of unemployed.

A $586,700 Neighborhood Youth Corps project has been approved and will become functional in April. It will have 209 in-school enrollees and 608 out-of-school enrollees employed in twelve agencies in Craven and Pamlico Counties. This now is the largest rural NYC project in the nation.

The Craven County Board of Commissioners recently voted to provide $8,000 in cash for the administrative budget of Craven Operation Progress, plus $2,000 in office facilities. These amounts make up Craven's local matching portion of the total COP administrative budget for this year.

East Carolina College is cooperating in three proposals now pending at OEO: (1) summer theatre cultural enrichment program, (2) a remedial education Adult Education Recruitment Program is now pending at OEO.

Craven Operation Progress supervised the three-week field training of five VISTA Volunteers—the first in the nation.

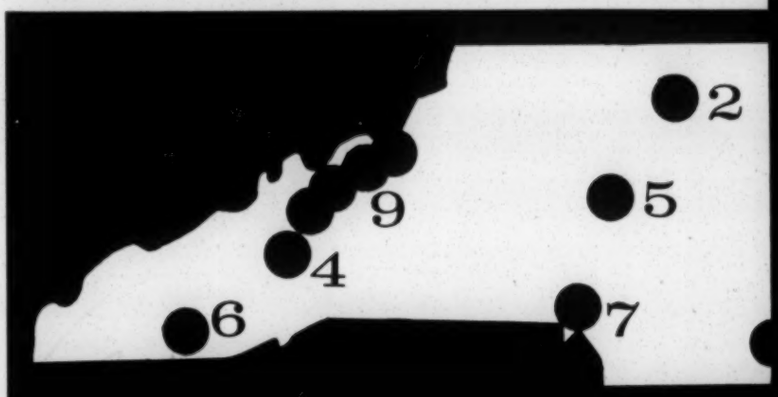
EXPERIMENT IN SELF-RELIANCE, INC.
1108 NORTH HIGHLAND AVENUE
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

Russell D. Rosene, Director **2**

Two phases of Forsyth's original proposal to The North Carolina Fund—concentrated services to selected families and pre-school readiness—are being implemented with local funds.

ESR is helping launch adult literacy classes, and recruit for Job Corps. A large Title I, B, work-training proposal is pending in Washington. Winston-Salem State College has a Title I, C, work-study proposal pending, and the N. C. Advancement School has a proposal for 15 Vista Volunteers also pending. The final Community Action Proposal using the "building block" approach has not been written.

ESR supervised the three-week field training program for nine Vista Volunteers, the first in the nation.



PROJECT REPORTS

CHOANOKE AREA DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION
ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY DIVISION
BOX 95
MURFREESBORO, NORTH CAROLINA
PHONE: 9781

Roger R. Jackson, Jr., Director **3**

Choanoke still is in the organizational stage, studying problems and gathering data for a Community Action Program. It plans to begin an Adult Education Program soon.

Choanoke plans to use the building block approach in submitting proposals to OEO, the first to be Pre-School Readiness and Work-Training Programs.

THE OPPORTUNITY CORPORATION
170 WOODFIN STREET
ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA
PHONE: 252-2495

Ora Spaid, Director **4**

The Opportunity Corporation has received a $6,000 planning grant from the Fund to establish a demonstration and training day-care center. A preliminary proposal for the center is now pending at OEO.

The Corporation is planning an extensive NYC program and is exploring possibilities for a work-experience program for unemployed parents. The Corporation is cooperating with the local Technical Institute to establish adult education classes.

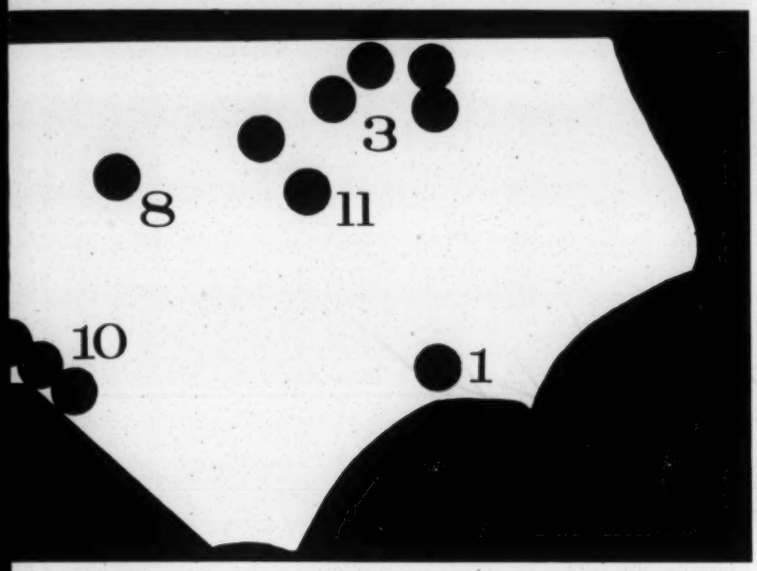
SALISBURY-ROWAN COMMUNITY SERVICE COUNCIL, INC.
BOX 631
SALISBURY, NORTH CAROLINA
PHONE: 633-6633

Heslip M. Lee, Director **5**

The Salisbury-Rowan program, although still in the planning stage, has two ongoing programs:

Five women taking courses in professional homemaking at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, will provide homemaker services for the county.

Adult education classes began February 1, taught by seventy-six persons trained at Rowan Technical Institute.



Projects scheduled to go to OEO in February: (a) pre-school readiness program, (b) county homemaker service, (c) multi-purpose service centers, (d) tutorial programs, (e) day-care centers.

MACON PROGRAM FOR PROGRESS, INC.
POST OFFICE BOX 147
FRANKLIN, NORTH CAROLINA
PHONE: 524-2347

Julian G. Griggs, Director **6**

Macon Program for Progress, now in its formative stage, is concentrating on involving and getting the support of all local citizens. Preliminary planning is being done for an action proposal, but there are no ongoing programs.

CHARLOTTE AREA FUND
122½ EAST THIRD STREET
CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA
PHONE: 377-6157

Dr. W. Leslie Bobbitt, Interim Director **7**

Because a project director was not hired until January 20, the Charlotte Area Fund has no active programs. The board has approved plans for programs including (1) two multi-service neighborhood centers in low-income neighborhoods, (2) Neighborhood Youth Corps, (3) summer pre-school readiness program for 2,000, (4) summer remedial reading program, students in grades 1-6, (5) experimental programs for disadvantaged 3 and 4 year olds.

OPERATION BREAKTHROUGH, INC.
BOX 1470
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
PHONE: 682-2184

Robert L. Foust, Acting Director **8**

Operation Breakthrough's proposal for a Community Action Proposal was approved by OEO, December 31, 1964. The proposal revolves around three multi-service community centers. A proposal requesting ten VISTA Volunteers was approved January 17 and a NYC proposal now is pending. Both Duke and North Carolina College have applied for work-study programs under Title I, C.

A proposal has been submitted to the Ford Foundation for an Education Improvement Project which would provide the primary education components of the anti-poverty program. A Fund grant is supporting a neighborhood center called, "Children's House."

WAMY COMMUNITY ACTION, INC.
BOX 187
BOONE, NORTH CAROLINA
PHONE: 264-2861

Ernest D. Eppley, Director **9**

WAMY now has a two-part Neighborhood Youth Corps proposal (in-school and out-of-school) pending at OEO. A Community Action Program is nearly completed and will be submitted in February.

WAMY sponsored a two-week Christmas Work Project for sixty unemployed, out-of-school youths between 16 and 22. A team of fifteen worked in a community improvement project in each of the four counties included in WAMY. The program was financed by a grant from the North Carolina Fund to establish guidelines for the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

TRI-COUNTY COMMUNITY ACTION, INC.
BOX 1217
ROCKINGHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
PHONE: 895-5249

Arnold W. Leonard, Director **10**

Tri-county has a ten-point Community Action and NYC Proposal awaiting final approval by OEO. The CAP components deal with Leadership Development, Day-Care Centers, Health Education, Home Management, Rural Sanitation, Social Welfare Aids, Pre-School Programs, Cultural Enrichment Programs, Family Counseling, Oportunity Classes for Deprived Children, and Research and Evaluation. The proposed NYC will involve 1,759 youths.

Some 450 persons are attending adult education classes. Tri-county is participating in a Demonstration Manpower Training Program to train unemployed rural tenant farmers. Two colleges have submitted work-study proposals to OEO.

NASH-EDGECOMBE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, INC.
BOX 307
ROCKY MOUNT, NORTH CAROLINA
PHONE: 442-7350

Rufus T. Brinn, Director **11**

Nash-Edgecombe Economic Development (N.E.E.D.) is still in the organizational stage, working to develop maximum local support.

Several classes of adult illiterates are participating in the basic education program called the "System for Success." N.E.E.D. is trying to establish a training program for practical nurses at a local hospital and an experimental day-care program.

Nash and Edgecombe Counties are included in a Manpower Improvement Project which will train and place in jobs unemployed rural Eastern North Carolinians.

THINGS BEGIN TO HAPPEN

FUND GRANTS TO ITS ELEVEN PROJECTS

January 26, 1965, The Fund announced grants to eight projects totaling $20,600. Of this amount, $12,600 will be granted to seven communities—Buncombe, Choanoke, Forsyth, Macon, Mecklenburg, Nash-Edgecombe, and WAMY—to employ staff members for recruiting students for adult education programs. Each community received $1,800. February 16, Craven and Rowan counties also received grants of $1,800 for the same purpose.

Salisbury-Rowan Community Service Council received an interim grant of $2,000 to train ten homemakers. They began training in February at UNC-G and later will work in the Salisbury-Rowan area.

The Opportunity Corporation in the Asheville-Buncombe County area received $6,000 to finance planning of a Demonstration and Training Day-Care Center Program. The Opportunity Corporation will use the money to plan a day-care program to be submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity for approval and funding.

Earlier Program Grants:

$12,325 to Tri-County Community Action in Rockingham to finance a basic adult education program in five communities in the three-county area. This grant will carry the program through January, 1965, at which time Tri-County officials hope the Department of Community Colleges will be able to support the program from EOA Funds.

$4,300 to Operation Breakthrough in Durham to support a pre-school program for children in an area around the 305 Morehead Street address popularly known as "Children's House." A program started there last summer and N. C. Volunteers helped staff the Center. In the morning, Volunteer workers operated a pre-school nursery; in the afternoon, a teenage center; at other times, parents met to discuss family and neighborhood problems.

The grant is for employment of a program coordinator, maintenance of the building, and for supplies for a six-month period.

$3,180 to WAMY, Inc. for a two-week Christmas Work Project for sixty unemployed, out of school youths between 16 and 21 years old. A team of fifteen worked in a public works project in each of the four counties included in WAMY, Inc. This was an experimental project to establish guidelines for a Neighborhood Youth Corps.

PERSPECTIVE, Cont'd

vocational training, more jobs, and better matching of men with jobs. There will be programs to improve the environment of the poor—in housing, in health, in standards of living, in care of children. There will be better definition of community problems and more effective use of all available resources. And each of these, sometimes seemingly unrelated, will contribute to constructive changes in the lives of thousands of North Carolinians.

If there is a central guideline to follow it is this: In everything we do, we must recognize the dignity of the individual, whatever his economic status. We must enlist his cooperation, not ask for his gratitude.

Administrative Grants	
Buncombe (Asheville)	46,000
Choanoke	14,500
Craven	39,996
Durham	38,961
Forsyth (Winston-Salem)	40,000
Macon	9,950
Mecklenburg (Charlotte)	30,325
Nash-Edgecombe	40,000
Rowan	32,360
Tri-County	39,976
W.A.M.Y.	51,950
	384,018

Adult Education
Homemaking
Day-care
Pre-School Readiness
Youth Work Experience
Tutoring
Community Organization

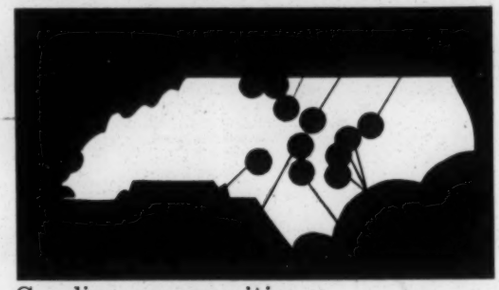
COMMUNITY SERVICES CONSULTANTS: COORDINATION FOR TWENTY-FIVE COMMUNITIES

Soon after The North Carolina Fund was organized, fifty-one North Carolina communities organized their leadership, planned local programs and asked The Fund to help finance them. The Fund, with its limited resources, was able to give financial support to only eleven.

The North Carolina Board of Public Welfare was quick to capitalize on the effort expended by the forty-five communities whose proposals were rejected.

The Board applied for and received from the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare a grant for training and support of persons to coordinate local anti-poverty efforts in twenty-five of these areas.

The North Carolina Board of Public Welfare has launched a program to train and place Community Services Consultants in twenty-five North



Carolina communities.

The Consultants will coordinate and stimulate the efforts of public and private agencies and organizations in their areas as they attempt to solve the problems of the poor.

CSC training is being planned and supervised by The North Carolina Fund's Training Department, with most classes held at the Institute of Government at Chapel Hill. The Fund already has trained ten consultants who are now in the field; fifteen others began training February 22.

A major objective of the program is to determine the type of experience and training (including both professional and in-service training) that best qualifies a person for this kind of community service work. Officials of the State Board are anxious to learn whether persons without formal training in social service, but experienced in administrative and consultative capacities, can gain the understanding necessary to direct the planning of a comprehensive program of services including health, education, and economic and social assistance. Only two of the ten Consultants now on the job had previous formal training in social work.

Thus far, the program has proved successful, and many of the communities involved now are preparing proposals to be submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity.

1 PAUL SEIBEL
BOX 647
HILLSBORO (ORANGE)

2 VERNON PORTER
LILLINGTON (HARNETT)

3 ROBERT PHELPS
BOX 97
GREENVILLE (PITT)

4 TED LINFORD
BOX 252
GOLDSBORO (DUPLIN, WAYNE, GREENE)

5 T. A. GUITON
BOX 272
TROY (MONTGOMERY)

6 BENJAMIN CROMER
BOX 566
YANCEYVILLE (CASWELL)

7 ASA BLOUNT
BOX 65
WENTWORTH (ROCKINGHAM)

8 VIRGINIA SHERRILL
WAKE COUNTY OFFICE BLDG.
RALEIGH (WAKE)

9 CHARLES EDWARDS
BRYSON CITY (CLAY, CHEROKEE, GRAHAM, SWAIN)

10 IRVING CHEROFF
KYLE HOUSE
FAYETTEVILLE (CUMBERLAND)

BLUEPRINT FOR OPPORTUNITY

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DURHAM, N. C.

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Southern Regional Council
Atlanta
Georgia

December 21, 1965

Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director
North Carolina Fund
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

Dear George:

It was good to see you in Washington. Al and I thought the meeting was productive and hope we can have more like it. Enclosed is a brief preliminary report which I thought you might be interested in.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

January 6, 1966

Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director
The North Carolina Fund
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

Dear George:

Thank you for your note and the offer of the use of your facilities. In time we will undoubtedly take advantage of it.

I, too, hope our staffs can get together in the Spring.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND
POST OFFICE BOX 687 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 682-5785

January 4, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I thought Al Ulmer's report was very helpful, and it will be helpful to us. We want to keep you informed on the sorts of things that are being talked about in North Carolina.

Moreland Smith visited us for a few days before Christmas, and we were delighted to see him. I hope we will see more of him. If he works to any extent in North Carolina, he should feel free to use any facilities that we have. As a matter of fact, that applies to any of your staff.

I hope we can get our staffs together later this spring. We have a great deal in common.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

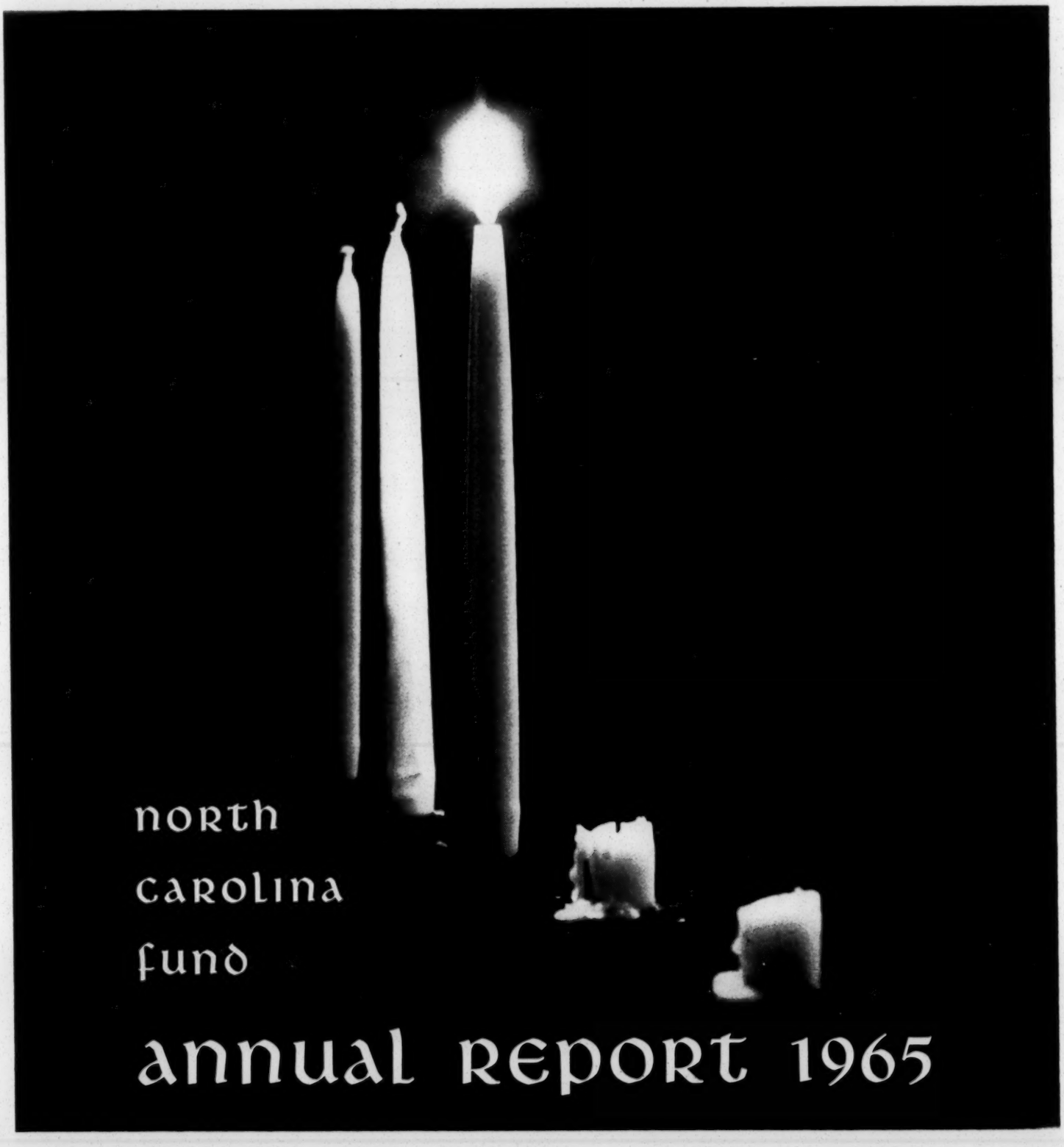
George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

GHEJr:jcm

MS - file

BLUEPRINT FOR OPPORTUNITY

Vol. 2, No. 1 March, 1966



file

file North Carolina Fund

August 4, 1966

Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director
North Carolina Fund
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

Dear George:

Thank you for sharing with me the request for the grant for Leadership Training. I will be happy to give you some reaction in writing, though I would also welcome an opportunity to discuss this with you.

Enclosed is a memo to me from Marvin Wall on his reactions to the proposal. Marvin is Research Director for our Voter Education Project and has been giving considerable thought to this subject since, following the summer, the VEP will more and more emphasize leadership training and civic education in its program.

Let me also quickly point out that funds in excess of a million dollars strikes us as very high ones, and we are simply not accustomed to thinking in those terms. Therefore, an inevitable reaction on our part would be to question the amount of money involved.

Beyond that, I would like to be very cautious in any criticism because I thoroughly subscribe to the need for programs of leadership training and think it would be magnificient if North Carolina had a substantial program of this nature.

There are, however, several things about the proposal that concern me a great deal. I feel the concept the

authors have of leadership training is greatly over simplified and that a stronger program might well be developed if it were more aimed at community organization and helping people achieve what they want in their own communities. And this, of course, is something the North Carolina Fund has a wealth of experience in doing. Part of my feeling here is based on our conviction that to an unprecedented degree the poor are aware of their problems and determined to do something about them. They simply need a great deal of technical assistance and guidance and resources. Built into this process, in my opinion, are opportunities for a great deal of training on its most effective level.

Somewhat akin to the above thought, but also apart from it, I am very uneasy about the understanding the authors have of poor people. If I read them correctly, I find such objectives as "overcoming apathy" or "developing responsible attitudes" a questionable approach. We all know that such things exist but there is, nevertheless, a remarkable degree of responsibility and lack of apathy on the part of poor and this is what must be built on. (Incidentally, "emphasizing liberating roles of amity, joy and laughter" really stumps me.)

These things are not said to be picayunish but merely to reflect my feeling that I am not satisfied that those who have submitted the proposal have a satisfactory understanding of their own program or a clear enough idea of how to carry it out.

I would very much welcome the opportunity for our key staff people to get together. I think we would all benefit from it and certainly I would welcome an opportunity for the two of us to spend considerable time together.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

file

August 3, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Marvin Wall

I got sidetracked during the afternoon on something else, and at this point I am a bit groggy. Nevertheless, I will put down several impressions.

1. The basic idea sounds good. I have the feeling that there is more talent and knowledge among the poor than is generally recognized. There are resources in poverty areas that can be developed.

2. However, the scope of the program and the amout of money being sought jolted me a bit. Would it not be better to start on a smaller scale and build up? Would not a three-month training for 20 people be better than a one-year training for 10 people? Would not a two-week program for 60 people be better than a six-week program for 30 people?

3. Twenty-three sounds like a large board aad 55 sounds like a large advisory council.

4. It is hard enough to get people to come to established churches, schools and community centers. How are they to be attracted to a mobile unit? (I note that mention is made of using local facilities where possible.)

5. There is an enormous amount of vagueness in this proposal which, as I understand it, is whataafflicts the VISTA program

at least somewhat. There is much talk about "rubbing shoulders" and "pursuing questions and issues." There are not enough specifics. I am a bit jogged by such statements as: "Stress ... is to be place on comprehending the situation."

6. I am a little concerned about the heavy religious orientation of this proposal. (Not that I have anything against religion.) It seems a mixture of an academic proposal and a religious proposal. I mention this because it is something that kept coming to mind as I read it.

These are some thoughts hastily put down. To repeat, the general idea sounds good. But it seems to me the proposal needs some hard analysis and a good, stiff rewrite in basic English.

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MJ - file

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

POST OFFICE BOX 687 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 682-5785

July 28, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The North Carolina Fund recently received the attached proposal for establishment of a Leadership Training Center in North Carolina, concerned with a comprehensive training program for potential leadership from the poor of all races.

Staff members of the Fund have watched the development of this proposal with great interest, and we are convinced that the basic idea has great merit and possibilities for very constructive results for the State and perhaps the South. We are aware, however, of the questions which can and should be raised in evaluating the proposal, and a list of the questions being used to guide staff evaluation are enclosed.

Before submitting this proposal to the Board of Directors of the Fund, we want to have the comments and opinions of a number of people who have been familiar with the problems of poverty in the South and who can help us in evaluating the desirability of establishing such a program. I would appreciate it very much if you would examine the proposal carefully, particularly in relationship to the questions posed for staff review, and give me your comments. In your consideration of the proposal I think it is important to note that the Fund's grants terminate in September 1968 and that we could not provide financial support, in part or whole, past that date. I am not sure that I could recommend assumption of full responsibility even during the two year period.

After you have had a chance to read this document, I would like to have your reactions in writing, by phone, or perhaps we need to sit down and talk about the possibilities. We hope to have recommendations for action by the Fund Board at it's September meeting.

It is really time we got together, for we are working in a number of areas of mutual interest. I was very much impressed with the paper on the states' responsibilities in ending segregation and discrimination, and once the revision process has been finished, I would like to see that it is not only lead but studied very carefully by a number of people in North Carolina.

Perhaps we could get key members of our staff together for a day or two sometime this fall. You need to know the key people on our staff and what we are working on, and we need to know the same from you.

I shall look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

GHEjr/jva

The North Carolina Fund
Post Office Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

REQUEST FOR GRANT

Organization Requesting Grant: Leadership Training Center Steering Committee

Type of Grant: Leadership Training

Amount of Grant: $486,625.00 first year and $596,392.00 second year

Covering Period: October 1, 1966 - September 30, 1968

Date Request Received: July 11, 1966

Staff Officer: Richard First

SUMMARY

The proposal for a North Carolina Leadership Training Center is an outgrowth of experiences of fourteen North Carolina ministers attending the Urban Training Center for Christian Mission in Chicago on a Ford Foundation Grant. It has been prepared by these ministers and a tri-racial group of approximately fifty North Carolina citizens.

(Summary continued on next page)

Review Process: Staff meetings with sponsoring group and action by Policy Planning Committee currently under way.

Recommendations:

Special Instructions:

BOARD ACTION CITATION: APPROVED:

Executive Director

Controller Action:

Date

This proposal suggests a method to assist the poor in North Carolina to participate more effectively in the war against poverty and in the democratic process generally. The growing acceptance of the philosophy of "involving the poor" is creating a great demand for skilled and effective leaders of the poor. The Leadership Training Center is designed to train the poor in North Carolina to effectively use the resources and opportunities continually being opened to them and to create new resources and opportunities in their local communities.

To pursue these goals the Center will conduct three types of training programs, each differing in the type of trainees enrolled, the duration of the training, and in the nature of the instruction given the trainee.

how? only ten

Long Term Trainees - Ten trainees will be selected each year to participate in a one year training program. Classroom, seminar and group discussions, led by experienced teaching fellows who are specialists in economics, urban affairs, law, adult education and community organization, will focus on developing skills in identifying needs and issues of the poor, creating representative and effective community organizations, and in forming alliances which will aid the poor in obtaining services, employment, education, and equal political and legal rights which will enable them to participate fully in a democratic society. Considerable field work will complement the more formal aspects of the program and continuous supervision and counseling will be given the trainees in the field as they seek to apply the skills and knowledge gained through classroom activities. Long term trainees will be provided a minimum living allowance for one year. They will be expected to be specialists who will bear heavy responsibilities in community wide programs and organizations such as local Community Action Projects.

Short Term Trainees - Thirty trainees will be trained for six weeks. Six training sessions will be held each year. Again, as for the long term trainees, the short term participants will receive instruction in programs and techniques for combating poverty, knowledge of organizational procedures and techniques,

and the principles and operation of a demoncratic society. They will also engage in field training during a considerable portion of their time in the Center. It is expected that they will be effective individual participants in community affairs and leaders of relatively small, but effective citizen groups.

Mobile Training - This field operation, consisting of three mobile units, will be equipped with audio visual and communication aids. The mobile units will provide on-the-spot training for larger community groups in basic techniques of self help, in consumer education, family life education, neighborhood improvement techniques, etc. The training will be primarily aimed at low-income families and individual participants in community affairs. Training will be conducted by the Center's field staff, supported by the central training staff and long and short term trainees.

The Leadership Training Center will have a central office convenient to the main training facilities. Three mobile units will tour the state. Local facilities for extended training will be used where convenient and necessary.

The Leadership Training Center will be administered by an Executive Director under the direction of a Board of Directors representative of the poor in North Carolina and those experienced and knowledgeable in organizations effectively engaged in the war on poverty. There will also be an Advisory Council composed of representatives from state wide agencies, community action programs, etc.

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

LEADERSHIP TRAINING CENTER
STAFF REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What are the outstanding features of the project's approach to training and leadership development? Particularly as it relates to:
   a. Recruitment and selection of trainees;
   b. Training content and teaching methods;
   c. Role of the trainee and former trainee in developing and supporting involvement of the poor in community action.

2. What kind of support and assistance will the center provide to the trainee,
   a. when he returns to the local community on a field assignment;
   b. after the completion of his training?

3. What will be the relationship of the center to churches, ministers and religious groups,
   a. in policy making and staffing;
   b. recruitment and selection of trainees;
   c. curriculum content?

4. Is the training primarily directed at changing and developing the institutional church and its leadership, or training and involving the poor in new community leadership roles and activities?

5. Will the training and organizational activities be primarily aimed at involving the poor,
   a. To what extent and how will the program attempt to create a multiracial training situation?

6. What are the major distinguishing features in each of the four types of training and education:

a. short-term training;

b. mobile training;

c. long-term training;

d. semi-annual conferences?

7. Describe some of the possible uses for the incentive grants. Under what condition would grants be awarded?

8. What criteria will be used to select potential Board and Advisory Council members? What is regarded as the maximum possible size for the Board and Advisory Council?

9. What accounting and business management practices will be employed to ensure sound fiscal management?

10. Will the center seek support and financing from other sources in addition to the North Carolina Fund?

11. How will the center relate to and differ from university based efforts, community action programs and other educational programs in the State?

July 20, 1966

A PROPOSAL FOR A

NORTH CAROLINA LEADERSHIP TRAINING CENTER

For Submission to

The North Carolina Fund

July 11, 1966

July 11, 1966

Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director
The North Carolina Fund
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Esser:

I am pleased to forward the attached proposal and request the support of the North Carolina Fund in establishing a new Leadership Training Center in North Carolina. This project represents the work and hope for hundreds of disadvantaged citizens in our State.

This proposal seeks to establish a program which will provide motivation and training for potential leaders from the low-income group, so that they may develop the necessary skills for responsible, effective leadership.

The ideas expressed in this project are the results of the new insights that we as ministers have gained through our attendance at the Urban Training Center for Christian Mission in Chicago under the auspices of a Ford Foundation grant.

This training has provided us with an opportunity to gain first hand experience in relating the problem of a large urban area to the new role of the church and to the immediate needs of the disadvantaged citizens in our communities. We have experienced the frustrations of a large urban city and now see the new urgency for men of leadership and statesmanship to act constructively before crises occur that can disrupt the economic, social and cultural life of our North Carolina cities and rural areas. This project is based on the premise that we have an opportunity to avoid the shortcomings of more highly urbanized areas. In so doing, our people need new insights into basic conditions, new visions as to what our state and and urban society can become, new leadership and practical know-how for helping our people realize these visions.

It is for these reasons that we have directed our study to the establishment of a new center to be located in North Carolina and designed to train and prepare leaders who come from and understand the immediate needs of our poverty stricken citizens. We propose to demonstrate that the economically and socially disadvantaged citizens of our state can work together on a tri-racial basis for the support of the community action programs and the betterment of the democratic process.

We are, therefore, turning to the North Carolina Fund as a statewide anti-poverty foundation for the initial support of this project. This is to request your counsel and support of this project for the initial two-year period in the sum of $1,083,017.00 ($486,625.00 for the first year and $596,392.00 for the second year).

Sincerely yours,

A. I. Dunlap

Reverend A. I. Dunlap
Chairman
Sponsoring Committee

RAID/grn

Enclosure

I. INTRODUCTION

The genesis of the idea in this proposal emerged during the attendance of fourteen ministers from various sections of North Carolina at the Urban Training Center for Christian Mission in Chicago under the auspices of a Ford Foundation Grant. The concepts included in the proposal are the result of study and reflection on their own North Carolina community situations. Early in the program the idea emerged of building a center in North Carolina geared toward leadership training for the low-income group. The participants expressed the belief that a training center in North Carolina would make it possible for other ministers and church people to receive the kind of experience and knowledge that they had gained during their Chicago experience and that its program might be broadened and operated under secular auspices.

The ministers are now thoroughly convinced that they must stay together in order to think and plan on a state-wide basis about North Carolina's people, problems, and possibilities. There is an "interconnectedness" about the new situation which goes far beyond each man's local turf. For this reason, they have taken the following steps:

(1) Upon their return the ministers met with community, church, and civic leaders from throughout the state and presented their idea for developing a training program in North Carolina. The group received the idea with enthusiasm and made suggestions which were incorporated in the body of the proposal.

(2) Made certain the inclusion of representatives of all the poverty-stricken groups, ethnic or otherwise, who want to make certain they will have a better place and a creative role in the unprecendented future of the state. This means Indians, poor rural whites, whites in mill towns, Negroes across the state, etc.

(3) Involved themselves in the development of a corporate organization for leadership development in the state.

(4) Laid out plans and procedures by which a Board of Directors would be elected to shape the structure and to develop the program for such statewide leadership.

Although the initial core of fourteen are all clergymen, in their sojourn at the Urban Training Center in Chicago, they acquired a new vision of mission and concluded that their most faithful and relevant role in these times is to lead their churches in ecumenically joining going actions calculated to serve the best interests of the majority in developing a public polity. They are, therefore, proposing the creation of a North Carolina leadership training center under secular auspices and are requesting the North Carolina Fund to join in its development and financing.

II. BACKGROUND

A new kind of regional urban area is emerging in North Carolina. Its cities are close together and serve as connectors of the flow of money, goods, technical information and people. What is now being defined as a regional urban area will soon aptly describe the entire Piedmont area. It is already indicative of the new kind of urban field in which distinctions between rural and urban disappear. Relatively recent in urban emergence, the Piedmont area does not have the huge backlog of old problems and structures that many Northern urban fields of larger size seem to possess.

North Carolina's Piedmont relates to a larger region which spills over into other states and constitutes the gateway to a change in economic and human environment into the rest of the South. For the immediate future; it is possible to predict a tremendous rise in income for greater numbers of citizens; tremendous spurts in building commercial buildings, industrial plants, and private housing; greater mobility of its people through new transportation and communication facilities; an enlarged scale of living, making possible the development of new communities of function and interest not tied down to the city or rural area in which a person lives; and, increased dialog as to the method through which the various styles of interest and participation get aggregated and articulated. The central part of the state has a tremendous impact upon the Eastern, rural part of the state and upon the mixed uses of the Western region.

North Carolina needs new insights into basic conditions, new visions as to what urban society can become, new leadership, and practical know-how for helping its people realize these visions. The need for trained, responsible leadership in the deprived community is crucial, for despite the most worthwhile goals or the most carefully developed programs, any effort to help people must ultimately depend upon the people's own resources for helping themselves. Outside agents may motivate and enlighten, but long-range, permanent changes evolve as a result of the development of the people themselves. Not until a community is clearly

functioning under its own leadership can the success of a community action program be truly ascertained.

Every where in the deprived community one is struck by the lack of experienced, trained leaders. In civic organizations, church groups, and on community action boards, poor people are severely handicapped by their lack of preparation for intelligent and effective participation. Attempts to communicate with other segments of the community are frequently frustrated by difficulties in expressing problems and concerns.

For years the pastor of the church in the deprived community has been one of the community leaders who has exerted profound influence. Because of the position of the church, the minister has had a unique opportunity to motivate and stimulate, but also because of his lack of training and sophistication he is frequently unprepared to undertake the responsibility of enlightened leadership. The church leadership, if trained, can extend its natural role of influence in the community, interpreting to the laity the function of the community action program and its crucial dependence upon the people's expression and participation. It can educate people not only in the doctrines of the church but also in the responsibilities of citizenship. It cannot only save souls, but rescue human lives from the disastrous effects of poverty.

The health of the State and the Southern region depends on developing broader understanding, adequate skills, new visions, and creative vehicles through which all citizens can contribute to the development of a viable democratic society. Those who dwell under specific disabilities must learn how to communicate with those who now enjoy relative degrees of leadership and responsibility, so that both learn how to be teachers and pupils, and become responsible actors in ever-widening contexts and at ever-increasing magnitudes. If the process occurs soon enough, North Carolina may side-step many of the debilitating effects of urbanization as they have affected other communities.

III. OBJECTIVES AND PURPOSES

The main purpose of this new training center is to find, train, and support leaders of the disadvantaged who, for the health of the state need adequate skills, broader understandings, new visions and opportunities for contributing to the total development of our state's human resources. Center programs will be addressed to one or more of the following central objectives:

(1) overcoming apathy and neglect.
(2) developing responsible attitudes toward urban change.

(3) affirming a new style of participation in
(3) the democratic process.
(4) developing a new urban polity and creative vehicles for each community.
? (5) emphasizing liberating roles of amity, joy, and laughter.
? (6) developing a new aesthetic sense.
(7) keeping the dissident spirit alive, making sure that both sides of an issue are understood.
(8) restructuring institutions around fulfillment of needs and decision-making tasks.
(9) perceiving needs and designing relevant actions.
(10) dramatizing need for either change or maintenance where appropriately required.
(11) developing new structures of hope and participation.
(12) clarifying and articulating the human meaning of life in each community, the state, the region, and the nation.

The Training Center is conceived of as a holding company for new ideas, new programs, leadership development, and social intervention in the North Carolina area. Through trainees, the project will help people, organizations and institutions to acquire the technical information and skills, the methodology, and the education by which they may choose and make appropriate decisions. Emphasis is to be placed on the development of leadership for present and future needs. Such leadership is to be developed in the field by doing and practicing. Trainees will have an opportunity to reflect critically with a faculty and an adjunct faculty, who are specialists in a field of knowledge or in practical methods. Trainees are to be taught to think relationally about the complex problems of the disadvantaged. In turn, they are to teach people in their communities how to understand and come to grips with the newly emerging urban environment and define their roles in it. All ethnic and racial groups are to be represented; established poor and deprived groups such as Negroes and poor whites from rural areas, mill towns and industrial areas, Indians and people in transition from rural conditions to urban centers.

The Center will develop courses of instruction involving rigorous analytical examination of situations, problems, and actions, expose trainees to the field, reflect critically with them on their experiences, and work with them in developing proposals for answering specific problems.

In addition, the Center will provide a medium for the candid and honest exchange of ideas, so that techniques employed by the professional worker, concepts held by the middle class, and ideas of creativity latent in the low-income group will be fully interpreted and utilized in program planning and development.

Churches in the state are to be counted as viable factors in the development of this project. They may be utilized as an entry into each community with respect to mobile units attempting to train people within their own context to understand what is happening and what they can do about it. Emphasis is to be placed on enlisting teams or groups from each church including the pastor and this church school superintendent as well as other laity as the first step in developing a sensitive and aware leadership in each community. In addition, they may be an excellent source for identifying possible trainees to attend the Training Center.

Basic over-all ingredients in all training curricula include: (1) focusing on the method for reaching the disadvantaged; (2) understanding the historical background and cultural heritage of all of the various ethnic groups involved, so that each group may come to know and appreciate the others; (3) providing religious studies which gauge the role of each religious group in the past and the present; and (4) impartation of an urban overview for the purpose of giving each trainee an appreciation of the whole so that relevant structures and ways of service may be shaped.

IV. ORGANIZATION

The Center will be an independent organization with its own twenty-three member Board of Directors. Of this number not more than eleven will be clergymen. Representatives will be selected for their leadership in behalf of the poor and disadvantaged citizens of the state. The make-up of the Board will be comprehensive enough to include various lay and clerical leaders, geographic areas, racial groups, and organizations of the poor. (See attached By-laws.)

A top level Advisory Council consisting of 55 members will be created for the purpose of advising the Board on training needs and supporting the Center. Council membership will include leaders in the fields of education, business, professions, government, and organizational membership from the North Carolina Fund, Learning Institute of North Carolina, University of North Carolina Center for Community Research and Services, and local community action agencies.

V. SPONSORSHIP

In order to implement the project it was felt by the initiating group (see attached list of Urban Training Center participants) that it was necessary to share ideas with other persons from North Carolina, survey existing training projects, and consider

alternatives for sponsorship. An initial tri-racial meeting of approximately 50 North Carolina citizens was held in May in Raleigh, North Carolina to explore various possibilities. This group gave their suggestions and support to the idea of establishing an independent leadership training center with its own governing board. A temporary steering committee was elected for the purpose of convening a nominating committee and seeking out alternative sources of funding and a site for the proposed center.

Negotiations are presently underway for location of the various training sites. Tentative plans call for the administrative offices and central training facilities to be located in Charlotte on the campus of Johnson C. Smith University. Details of the administrative relationship have not been completed. The sponsors, however, envision full access to classroom space in the Theology School and possible joint appointment for senior members of the Training Center faculty. Other Piedmont communities would be served by field staff through various out-reach programs.

The sponsors propose to serve the Eastern and Western sections of the state through affiliated regional centers; one might be located at the Episcopal Conference Center near Asheville and the other could possibly be housed at Franklinton Center (United Church project) near Enfield. These two locations afford an excellent opportunity for working cooperatively with already existent training and conference facilities.

VI. PROPOSED PROGRAM

The Center will perform four different types of training:

(1) Short-term or basic training sequences, six weeks in duration, each enrolling approximately thirty (30) leaders and/or potential leaders from communities across the state. Five or six such sessions would be held each year involving 150-180 trainees.

(2) Mobile training units would go into a community and train a cross-section of leadership utilizing a particular need or issue as a beginning focus. Several communities a year might be probed, its leadership trained, and viable community practices initiated in this way.

(3) Long-term training would involve at least ten interns a year for training of 12 month duration in various technical specializations. This sequence is conceived as a demonstration over the two-year period to be carefully evaluated before being launched as a full-scale operation.

(4) Semi-annual conferences are to be held at the state level and each of the three regional levels in order to resolve major issues and designate specific trouble spots for developing appropriate state, regional and community programs. These are conferences conceived as new departures in programmatic thinking and as bridges between the world of ideas and the world of practice. Stress is to be placed on doing those things which emphasize interdependence and bring out the most for the benefit of the whole, while at the same time, "determining the resources needed to accomplish the objective and measuring the value of the resources against the results."

A. Short-Term (Basic) Training

1. Operation

a. Leaders and/or potential leaders from communities across the state would be brought to the headquarters center for intensive training of six weeks' duration. At least thirty trainees could be accommodated at each session.

b. Five or six intensive training sessions would be held each year. This would mean 150-180 trainees a year going through basic training, or 300-360 for the initial two-year period.

c. Stress for each six-week training unit is to be placed on comprehending the situation and in formulating provisional approaches which are to be launched in the communities from which trainees come. Trainees are to be given tools with which to sift facts, formulate questions, and make policy recommendations. They will engage in disciplined study of program strategy development as well as information gathering. In the process, trainees will become aware of skills needed for solutions to be advanced. Theoretical development is to occur as a result of cutting the issue and by defining their task in light of engagement. Practical skills to be stressed are those designed to help trainees teach others and initiate community programs when they return home.

In their back-home situation, trainees are to work under the immediate supervision of the appropriate regional training and action director. A new kind of consultative and technical advisory action service is to be provided by the Center similar to that of agricultural and municipal extension.

d. In addition, short-term trainees are to be utilized as core or catalysts for mobile training in their respective communities when and where needed.

e. Leaders at the community levels, whether in more formal institutions or informal community groups, are to be enlisted for this training sequence.

f. Those participating in short-term training will receive a per diem of twelve dollars ($12.00), approximately, for the six-week period. Each unit of thirty people will cost $15,000 in subsistence fees.

B. Mobile Training

1. Under the regional training set-up and utilizing graduates of short-term programs as leaders, training classes will be carried to the places where the poor live, work and worship. In some cases this may mean meeting one night a week at the corner store, in other areas the church can be utilized as a center for new learning. Training classes will be developed in cooperation with local churches, neighborhood councils, community colleges and volunteer groups.

a. Mobile training study tours will be encouraged so that participants will rub shoulders, share experiences, participate in disciplined study, and exchange ideas with local citizenry as they analyze urban and rural conditions and proposals to improve communities. An extended area of inquiry will be realized by bringing several study groups together at specified times. This will also form the basic framework for developing inter-community relationships which are essential to the development of new leadership.

b. The program is designed to develop leaders who will motivate and stimulate self-help efforts by those who have become apathetic and remorseful.

c. Training programs will attempt to motivate deprived individuals and groups. Trainers will demonstrate positive values and point up fallacies in the behavioral patterns and customs that tend to reinforce the cycle of poverty to the end that the cycle of poverty will be broken.

2. The initial training programs can be outlined as follows:

a. Self-help Seminars: emphasis here will be placed on helping the individual to help himself to take advantage of new opportunities that have been developed as a result of community action programs, extended educational benefits, expanded job opportunities and the mobility of modern American families. Specialized areas of study will be undertaken in relation to:

(1) Economic Development: assistance for small businessmen, underemployed farmers and low wage workers.

(2) Family Life Education: specialized attention to homemaking skills, family enrichment, childhood behavior and information on family planning.

(3) Consumer Education: buying practices, borrowing and credit procedures, leisure time opportunities and community resources for stretching the family dollar.

b. Enrichment Classes: these training programs will be designed to broaden the horizon of those individuals who have neither lived nor acted outside of a very limited geographic and social scene. Some of the areas for class work will be:

(1) Urban Life Course: visits to nearby cities, films on the opportunities and liabilities of urban life, talks with former residents who have moved to other areas and individual counseling.

(2) Citizenship Rights and Responsibility: discussion of legal services, understanding the operation of various facets of local government, elementary aspects of parliamentary procedure and town meeting concepts.

(3) Policymaker Seminar: meetings with local leaders from business, government, education welfare and health agencies.

c. Community Improvement Laboratory: these will be designed to provide the participants with actual practice in carrying out those activities that can enhance their homes, neighborhoods, and communities. The emphasis will be on learning by doing through group action.

(1) Neighborhood Conservation Projects: clean-up, fix-up, paint-up programs at the community level.

(2) Citizen Participation Projects: attending public meetings, voting, writing letters, reading and learning about important local issues.

(3) New Careers: visiting employment sources, learning about other jobs, and developing grooming and related hiring skills and learning about community resources for expanded job opportunities.

The structure, format and teaching practices will be designed around the needs of the training group. Efforts will be made to bring about a cross fertilization of the needs of various poor people, including Indians, whites, and Negroes. The training content will be non-didactic in nature, utilizing group discussion, role playing and observation as the primary teaching techniques. Resource people

will be brought in from local community agencies, organizations and various elected officials. Former trainees will be utilized as resource people and role models in training sessions.

C. Long-Term Training

1. Ten interns a year, twenty over the initial two year period, are to be trained as technical specialists. Their role is to provide appropriate technical skills to the action apparatus of the state as it develops.
2. Their course of study is to be for twelve (12) months to be divided between classroom instruction and field practice.
3. Specializations are to be developed within the context of the following process systems:
   a. socialization or local neighborhood centered processes, e.g. families, youth, peer groups, schools, etc.
   b. Human services such as welfare, unemployment, medical, geriatric, correctional services, etc.
   c. Economic/productive systems such as occupational/professional, and groups in industry, finance, labor and business, etc.
   d. governmental and legal systems such as governments, courts, police parties, legislatures, etc.
   e. culturally creative systems such as the arts, the university, and mass media, etc.
4. Trainees electing specialization in a particular system are to be trained in analyzing and interpreting the culture, tactics and methods, commitments and disciplines, and the skills and resources required in that system as well as in the acquisition of appropriate techniques and practices.
5. Trainees should be sought from all geographic areas and ethnic groups in the state. The goal here is to make them into cogent, incisive, responsible, creative and committed technical specialists and on-the-spot trainers. Their curriculum would be divided into three parts:
   a. Orientation
      (1) A general orientation to all phases of North Carolina, its structures and its problems as well as a consideration of various platforms espoused as answers to these problems.
      (2) A series of calculated exposures to the various people, issues, movements and systems of the State and the region.
      (3) Seminar series designed to develop the analytical tools by which conditions, agents, systems and institutions may be analyzed, goals set, policies chosen from various alternatives, strategies and tactics considered, appropriate action designed, and social, political and economic organizations appraised and invented to meet the critical needs of the situation.

(4) to grips with who every one is and who is the trainee is, class and ethnic identity. The overcoming of this and establishment of new identities based on function--through process seminars. Questions raised may include: Where have I come from? Where have others come from? How do I get inside their skin and perceive through their eyes? Who am I now? Where will I be tomorrow? Therefore, what must we all do today?

Is my condition basically due to a lack of power or a lack of skill? How is this question to be answered with reference to others? What mechanisms do we need for translating our ideas into action and formulating policies. How are all of the above related to an adequate grounding in the theory and practice of community organization and development, political science, sociology, communications, the arts, urban planning and management, decision-making, and philosophical reconceptualization.

b. Field Engagement

(1) Each trainee is to be given a specific assignment with a specific agency or movement where he learns a particular practice. In addition, he is to regard this assignment as a starting point from which to perceive the relation of his agency or movement to relevant issues and systems.

(2) Therefore, he is part of a reflective team which is to meet at least once a week to pursue questions and issues related to a state, regional and national level and to develop team proposals. Appropriate technical experts will be brought in from time to time to assist the reflective process and to clarify the proposals.

(3) Specific skills as needed are to be custom-fitted to each trainee. Simple skills such as how to conduct a meeting, express oneself clearly, plan and organize one's thoughts, etc. are to be taught. There will also be instruction in the more sophisticated skills such as: How to understand a community, how to identify and train indigenous leadership, and how to understand the unique features which work against inclusive participation and those that may be utilized to further it. Some trainees may constitute field teams to engage specific issues or systems and develop working expertise in them.

c. Reconceptualization

(1) Trainee team works at reconceptualization and proposal development. What each has seen as a part of his field training he now brings to the whole group in order to work out a philosophy and approach. Emphasis to be placed on corporate responsibility in strategizing at larger scale and clarifying role of each trainee as he goes to his vocational and community work destination.

D. Semi-Annual Conferences

1. To be held at the state level twice a year (an intensive week-end Friday through Sunday)

a. Reports as to how the action is proceeding and how the purpose is being realized.

b. Consultations about major issues to be resolved and designation of specific trouble spots which are issue-laden situations.

c. Is to include people in training, Leadership Training Center alumni, leaders of various communities, people working in field, corporate members, etc. May be enlarged to include principal actors and action groups in the state, and technical experts appropriate to the issue or system under discussion.

d. Establishment of agenda and schedule as to how and when these issues are to be handled.

2. To be held at each regional level at least twice a year. Agenda similar to that proposed at state level.

E. Training Methods and Techniques

1. The overall procedure of training is to study specific problems and communities with groups of students. This approach will be used so that trainees will be working in a live situation and therefore will be able to use the study as a base of reference when they return to their home communities. The following guidelines are suggested, however, the implementation will be left to the professional direction of the Center staff members.

a. Curricula will be shaped to the needs and educational level of the students. Practical solution to problems will be emphasized.

b. The participants will be organized into small study groups and will enter into disciplined projects such as gathering information. Results of such findings will be discussed.

c. Participants will be urged to develop a variety of skills which are necessary for social responsibility, such as speaking effectively, reading and comprehending, and writing. (It is anticipated that many of the persons coming from the low-income group will be limited in these areas and therefore built into the program will be plans for implementing such training activities.)

d. There will be consultation with experts in the disciplines relevant to the task which is being carried out by the study group. For example, if study is being made on family size in the community,

population problems, and birth control methods, then specialists from agencies such as the Health Department or Planned Parenthood Federation will be brought in. Or if discussion is on implementation of a Neighborhood Youth Corps Program or Work Experience for Welfare Clients then officials from the Office of Economic Opportunity or local poverty administrators will be brought in to discuss the possibilities and methodology.

e. Emphasis will be placed on finding resources and solutions for long-standing social problems. As an example, when the trainee discusses utilization of a Headstart Program, he should also emphasize and understand that for the individual family there most likely will be need for the older children to utilize the services of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the need for family life education with the mother and a Job Training or Work Experience for the father.

f. Participants in the training program will be prepared to ask questions about themselves and the community, such as: What were the methods and interpretations used in the past? What is the particular situation which needs understanding? What type of action is needed to solve the problem? How do we act in this situation to evoke new life and creative community spirit? What is my role in helping to solve the problem? How does clarification of my role redefine and remake my own identity?

g. Such a training program will deal with basic conditions and problems of life as reflected in specific communities of North Carolina and then related to the urban and rural society of the state. This type of training will provide for both structural strengths and deficiencies to be examined where they are found to exist in institutions, such as the family, the home, the school, hospital services, the welfare program, the health program, etc.

h. The training program will be concerned with creative responsibility, positive self-image and engagement as factors in developing social responsibility and constructive leadership.

F. Methods of Recruiting Personnel for Training local agencies and organizations will be utilized in recruiting and orienting prospective trainees. Recruitment will be limited primarily to those persons from the low-income group. Special provision will be made in the long-term program for the inclusion of college trained people and in the mobile training unit for an adequate cross-section of

the community. The selection will be done on a fair basis. The initial impetus to selecting persons will have to rely on local ministers in the communities who may identify potential leadership abilities among the residents. However, their role will be to nominate such persons--hopefully, more than one person at a time--but final selection will be made by an impartial committee consisting of both staff of the Center and laymen. The staff of the Center will assure that equal training opportunities are offered to all communities which express a desire to participate. Also, Center staff members will work with local communities and ministers in organizing educational programs for recruitment of the potential leaders. Selection of personnel for training will be on the basis of interest, personality traits, pursuasive ability, enthusiasm, and apparent ability to work with people.

VII. FUTURE PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

In order to insure training activities that are both relevant and applicable, the Center will evaluate each of the experimental training designs. Evaluation efforts will be geared to practical programmatic findings that can be implemented in the next training cycle or service as the basis for policy decisions. Particular attention will be given to finding additional sources of financing for specific research projects, incentive grants and teaching fellowships.

Although these projects are shown in the attached budget, they will require more extensive planning and development. Preliminary plans call for refining these research and training demonstrations for presentation at a future date to foundations, federal agencies and other groups.

A second major program not included in the attached budget, but meriting further study and demonstration, is that of the citizen advice bureau or neighborhood information center. The concept is similar to that that has recently been studied by the Ford Foundation and is currently in practice in England. The idea is basically that of providing one general source for information, advice and referral related to jobs, health and welfare sources, legal problems and educational opportunities. The role of the Center in essence becomes that of providing information and selectively advocating the needs of the individual in the public sector.

VIII. OTHER AFFILIATIONS

The training in this project is to be of the engagement reflection type, that is contact with a problem and then study and reflection on the solution. This will necessitate appropriate practice in community organization, programming for the poor, programming for people with special needs, such as the unskilled and programming in such areas as job development, housing, communications, government, welfare, health, employment and the arts. In this connection the more contact the trainees have with a diversified population the more self-confidence they will gain. It is therefore proposed that a number of college, professional, university and seminary students be encouraged to join the Intern Group at certain periods for the purpose of cross-fertilization of ideas and concepts. Such students from the university group could bring to the group of indigenous trainees a new intellectual outlook and add to their experience from the specialized fields from which they come. In return, the professional insights of the university, college, and professional group would be enriched as a result of such experience. At the same time, relationship would be established with university urban study and planning centers for opportunity for trainees to pursue further specialized training.

IX. FINANCING

It is proposed that the North Carolina Fund make an initial program grant for the establishment of the Leadership Training Center. This grant would be for a two year period encompassing costs as outlined in the attached budget.

Primary expenditures will be for facilities, staff, and initial organization development. The center proposes to support its activities on an ongoing basis through solicitation from individual and groups such as church denominations, grass root citizen groups, community chest, charitable and philanthropic foundations and through special federally funded demonstration projects. Creative designs will be developed and presented to various federal agencies, national foundations and other interested groups. The Center and its regional affiliates will work closely in conjunction with various colleges, universities, technical institutes and educational groups. The center is not designed as a permanent institution but as a demonstration project that will enhance the future programs to be undertaken by community colleges, adult education programs in the public schools, churches and relevant community groups. Additionally, it is hoped that the experience of this center will serve as a model for the entire country in new methods and techniques for motivating low-income groups.

X. STAFF

A well qualified professional staff will be sought for this innovative training demonstration. The director will be selected by the board of directors and employed at a salary commensurate with his training and experience. The major staff positions can be outlined as follows:

A. Executive Director: Will be responsible for the overall direction of the program. Directly responsible to the Board of Directors. Should be someone who is genuinely imaginative in administering training and practical programs.

B. Business Manager: Responsible to the Executive Director. Responsible for the financial aspects of the program. Should have sound knowledge of administrative management and financial operation.

C. Director of Training: Directly responsible to the Executive Director. Responsible for the development of the training curriculum and design of training schedule. Will serve as central training resource person to men in the field.

D. Director of Field Operations: Directly responsible to the Executive Director. Responsible for the practical field training, liaison with citizen groups and supervision of the three regional centers.

E. Director of Research and Planning: Directly responsible to the Executive Director. This position combines the function of program planning and evaluation of existing projects. Must be objective, has to be to do creative planning, analyze data, raise hypothetical questions, and prepare objective reports.

F. Field Workers (3): Will work directly under the regional director and will be responsible for the recruitment of trainees in all centers. Must be competent in the practice of community organization and in the resources available.

G. Regional Director of Training and Practice (three -- one for each region): Coordinates all program at the regional level as well as mobile training.

There will also be a need for clerical and administrative staff. The Center itself will need a competent Administrative Assistant, a Clerk-Librarian, and secretarial staff for all professional employees.

SUMMARY

The need for trained, responsible leadership in the deprived community is crucial. New opportunities, economic development and service programs can help to break one part of the cycle of poverty. Without motivating and enlightening the people there cannot be long range and permanent change. The poor are being involved in new leadership roles such as service on community action program boards, and in their own organizations and churches, but frequently they are without the necessary skills that will make community action programs truly a success and provide for full access to the new opportunities and their share in the democratic society.

Neighborhood, church and other grass roots leaders, if trained, can extend their new learning to their children and the future generation, thereby breaking the cycle of community dependence. This proposal is designed to help grass roots leaders obtain new knowledge and thereby inform their families and friends in such areas as consumer education, family planning, community betterment, citizen education and new job and employment opportunities. North Carolina is a rapidly changing state and therefore requires a new alert and educated populous that can take advantage of future job opportunities, roles in urban life and the democratic process at the state and local levels.

LEADERSHIP TRAINING
Proposed Budget
10-1-66 to 9-30-67

	Total 10-1-66 9-30-67	10-1-66 to 12-31-66	1-1-67 to 3-31-67	4-1-67 to 6-30-67	7-1-67 to 9-30-67	10-1-67 to 9-30-68	Two Years 10-1-66 to 9-30-68
Personnel							
Director	$ 19,000	$ 4,750	$ 4,750	$ 4,750	$ 4,750	$ 19,000	$ 38,000
Director of Training	14,000	3,500	3,500	3,500	3,500	14,000	28,000
Director of Field Operations	14,000	3,500	3,500	3,500	3,500	14,000	28,000
Director of Research & Planning	14,000	3,500	3,500	3,500	3,500	14,000	28,000
Business Manager	12,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	12,000	24,000
3 Regional Directors	22,500		7,500	7,500	7,500	30,000	52,500
3 Recruitment & Field Workers	15,750	2,250	4,500	4,500	4,500	18,000	33,750
Administrative Assistant	6,000	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	6,000	12,000
Legal Counselor	6,000	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	6,000	12,000
10 Secretaries @$4,000	34,000	4,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	40,000	74,000
Annual Increment						8,650	8,650
	$157,250	$27,500	$ 43,250	$ 43,250	$ 43,250	$181,650	$ 338,900
Fringes	15,725	2,750	4,325	4,325	4,325	18,165	33,890
Total Personnel Cost	$172,975	$30,250	$ 47,575	$ 47,575	$ 47,575	$199,815	$ 372,790
Consultants for Teaching & Training	$ 25,000	$ 6,250	$ 6,250	$ 6,250	$ 6,250	$ 25,000	$ 50,000
Travel and Per Diem							
Travel Staff							
Mileage @9¢/mi.	$ 9,620	$ 2,405	$ 2,405	$ 2,405	$ 2,405	$ 12,825	$ 22,445
Per diem	10,920	2,730	2,730	2,730	2,730	14,560	25,480
Leasing	6,300	1,575	1,575	1,575	1,575	8,352	14,652
Gas, wash	3,400	850	850	850	850	4,500	7,900
Air, rail, bus	6,000	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	6,000	12,000
Trainee Travel							
120 (600 mi. ea.)	6,480		2,160	2,160	2,160	9,720	16,200
10 (10,000 mi. ea./yr.)	6,750		2,250	2,250	2,250	9,000	15,750
Trainee Per diem							
120 @$12 x 42	60,480		20,160	20,160	20,160	90,720	151,200
10 Interns @$14 x 274	38,360		12,787	12,787	12,786	51,100	89,460
Total Travel and Per Diem	$148,310	$ 9,060	$ 46,417	$ 46,417	$ 46,416	$206,777	$ 355,087

LEADERSHIP TRAINING
Proposed Budget
10-1-66 to 9-30-67

	Total 10-1-66 9-30-67	10-1-66 to 12-31-66	1-1-67 to 3-31-67	4-1-67 to 6-30-67	7-1-67 to 9-30-67	10-1-67 to 9-30-68	Two Years 10-1-66 to 9-30-68
Other Cost							
Conferences & Meetings Cost	$ 7,500	$	$ 2,500	$ 2,500	$ 2,500	$ 10,000	$ 17,500
Office Supplies	2,600	650	650	650	650	2,600	5,200
Promotion & Recruiting Materials	3,750	937	937	938	938	5,000	8,750
Training Materials	4,500		1,500	1,500	1,500	6,000	10,500
Telephone and Postage	9,000	2,250	2,250	2,250	2,250	9,000	18,000
Office Space and Utilities	12,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	16,000	28,000
Incentive Grants	40,000	5,000	10,000	12,500	12,500	40,000	80,000
Teaching Fellowships	20,000			10,000	10,000	50,000	70,000
Evaluation Services	11,250		3,750	3,750	3,750	15,000	26,250
Equipment (Schedule below)	18,540	9,270	9,270			-0-	18,540
Contingency	10,000	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	10,000	20,000
Equipment Leasing	1,200	300	300	300	300	1,200	2,400
Total Other Cost	$140,340	$23,907	$ 36,657	$ 39,888	$ 39,888	$164,800	$ 305,140
TOTAL	$486,625	$69,467	$136,899	$140,130	$140,129	$596,392	$1,083,017

Schedule of Equipment	
6 Executive Desk Units @$450 ea.	$ 2,700
Furniture for 3 Regional Directors and Field Staff	2,100
10 Secretarial Desk Units @$755 ea.	7,550
6 Dictating Units	2,400
Adding Machine	250
Printing Calculator	650
4 Mimeograph Machines	2,250
4 Tape Recorders	640
	$ 18,540

APPENDIX

Appendix A

THE URBAN TRAINING CENTER FOR CHRISTIAN MISSION

FORD FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

NORTH CAROLINA FELLOWSHIPS

April 18, 1966

ANDREWS, (Rev.) Frazier, First Baptist Church, 211 Hyde Park Street, Hertford, North Carolina

BURWICK, (Rev.) Oscar, St. Paul Methodist Church, 105 South Ervin Avenue, Newton, North Carolina

DUNLAP, (Rev.) Alexander I., African Methodist Episcopal Church, 402 West Third, Weldon, North Carolina

GOODWIN, (Rev.) Kelly O., Mount Zion Baptist Church, 501 - 26th Street, N. W., Winston-Salem, North Carolina

HAIRSTON, (Rev.) Otis, Shiloh Baptist Church, 504 Asheboro Street, Greensboro, North Carolina

HUTCHISON, (Rev.) Frank, Davie Street United Presbyterian Church, 913 Southeast Street, Raleigh, North Carolina

McMILLAN, (Rev.) Joseph T., St. James A.M.E. Church, 1511 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, North Carolina

MOORE, (Rev.) Ezra J., Brooklyn United Presbyterian Church, 2027 Syracuse Drive, Charlotte, North Carolina

SAUNDERS, (Rev.) Lenwood O., Emmanuel A.M.E. Church, 806 Spring Street, Durham, North Carolina

SMITH, (Rev.) Thomas, Episcopal Church, 2839 Bon Air Avenue, Winston-Salem, North Carolina

TROTMAN, (Rev.) John E., Baptist, 407 Roanoke Avenue, Elizabeth City, North Carolina

TURNER, (Rev.) Smith, Grace A.M.E. Church, 1600 Beatties Ford Road, Charlotte, North Carolina

WARD, (Rev.) Charles W., First Baptist Church, 501 South Bloodworth Street, Raleigh, North Carolina

WATKINS, (Rev.) Talmadge A., University Park Baptist Church, 3139 Burbank Drive, Charlotte, North Carolina

File
N.C. Fund

October 20, 1966

Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director
The North Carolina Fund
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina 27702

Dear George:

Very belatedly may I express to you my most sincere regret that I was unable to participate in the evaluation program.

I am still holding December 1 and 2 for our joint meeting at Jekyll Island but if we are to meet on this date I need to ask the staff to reserve these dates, and we probably should go ahead and make reservations for an appropriate facility down there. Has this been confirmed in your own staff?

Every good wish.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

NORTH CAROLINA FUND
OPPORTUNITY

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

POST OFFICE BOX 687 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 682-5785

September 14, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear ~~Mr. Anthony~~ Paul:

This is to confirm your September 6 phone conversation with Mary Schneider concerning your participation in the North Carolina Fund's review of its eleven community action agencies this fall.

I am very pleased that you will be able to participate as team member in the review of Charlotte Area Fund during the week of September 26. Enclosed are forms to ensure payment of your expenses. Please return these completed forms to Dewitt Sullivan, Controller, the North Carolina Fund, Box 687, Durham, North Carolina; as soon as possible after the completion of the review. Reservations have been made for you beginning Sunday night, September 25, at the James Lee Motor Inn in Charlotte, North Carolina.

The review team will convene Sunday evening, September 25, at James Lee Motor Inn motel in Charlotte, North Carolina for a preliminary session (see enclosed agenda). The review is scheduled to take four days, although some teams may need an additional day. After the first Sunday evening meeting, the daily agenda will be arranged by the team captain.

Thank you again for your participation in our review procedure.

Sincerely yours,

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

GHEJr:sh

Enclosures

AGENDA FOR PRELIMINARY SESSIONS OF

REVIEW TEAM

SUNDAY NIGHT 8:30

September 25, 1966
(Date)
James Lee Motor Inn,
Charlotte, N. C.
(Place)

I.	Introductions	
II.	Discussion of Standards and Procedures	Preston Kennedy Field Representative
III.	Discussion of Task at Hand	Jake Wicker Team Captain
IV.	Note Taking Procedure	Jake Wicker Team Captain
V.	Division of Assignments	Jake Wicker Team Captain
VI.	Setting of Agenda for Monday -- Thursday	Jake Wicker Team Captain

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND
P.O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

Consultant's Statement of Time Worked

Name _____

Address _____

_____

I certify that I have worked on business of The North Carolina Fund on _____
(dates)

for a total of _____ days during the month of _____.

Of the above days, _____ days were within the State of North Carolina.

Signed _____

Date _____

Soc. Security # _____

_____ Executive Director
(Approved)

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND TRAVEL EXPENSE SHEET

NAME _____ DEPARTMENT _____

Date	From Mileage	To .09/mile	Total Miles	Cost	Meals	*Hotel	Expla. *Other	Amt. Exp.	Total	(Code) Budget

*PAID RECEIPTS MUST BE SUBMITTED FOR AMOUNTS ENTERED!

This is a true accurate statement of expenses incurred in the services of the North Carolina Fund.

Signature _____

Computation Checked By _____

Approved By _____

Advance Outstanding _____

Less Expenses _____

Balance Outstanding _____

CODES

4 - North Carolina Volunteers
5 - Research Admin., and Profiles
7
8
9 - C.S.C. Training
11 - Deputy Director for Programs
13 - Training Administration
14 - CAT Training
16 - Research, Process
17
18 - V.I.S.T.A.
19 - Research, Survey
20
21 - Community Support
22 - Special Projects
23 - Manpower Administration
24 -
25 - Public Information
27 - Task Force - Manpower & Eco. Dev.
28 - Task Force - Housing
29
30
31 - North Carolina Fund Administration
32 - Mobility

PLEASE READ OTHER SIDE BEFORE COMPLETING!

TRAVEL POLICY

Reimbursement for travel expenses will be made according to the following limitations:

A. Travel By Staff Members on Official Business of The Fund

1. For transportation by privately owned automobiles, nine cents (9¢) per mile of travel and the actual cost of tolls paid. All parking and storage fees are included in the 9¢ per mile allowance except for airport parking.

2. For bus, railroad, pullman, or other public conveyance, actual fare. Travel at less than first class is required if available.

3. For rooms, actual cost is paid. Even though the actual room cost is allowable, sound judgment must be made by the employees as to what is a reasonable charge for room allowance. Administrative review of hotel expenses will be made to determine if a uniform compliance is being made by all staff members.

4. For meals and reasonable gratuities, actual expenditures not to exceed $8 per day when traveling on official business outside the state of North Carolina. The maximum within the state of North Carolina is $6.

5. A $50,000 travel insurance policy is carried on all staff members who are expected to travel at the rate of at least 4,000 miles per year on Fund business. Board members and consultants are also covered under this policy regardless of the number of miles traveled. Since this insurance is provided at no cost to the individual, the purchase of additional coverage will not be considered as a reimbursable travel expense.

B. Use of Automobiles

1. Vehicles owned by the North Carolina Fund should be used for all travel where the use of a car is practical. If all Fund cars are in use, travel by personal auto may be authorized by the department head. If personal auto is used, reimbursement will be in accordance with paragraph A-1 above.

2. When a car owned by the Fund is used, storage fees, bridge or other tolls or repairs are allowable charges and should be included on the employee's travel reimbursement voucher.

3. Each person using a vehicle owned by the Fund will be responsible for its mechanical operation. Minor repairs will be completed as soon as practical, and charges for such repairs will be billed to the Fund or may be paid by the employee and reimbursed on his travel voucher.

4. Each Fund-owned vehicle will be supplied with an adequate number of gasoline credit cards for the purchase of gas and oil.

Staff members are expected to use sound judgment regarding all travel policies. Paid receipts must accompany all requests for travel reimbursement with the exception of meals and telephone charges, cab fares, bridge and road tolls. If emergency purchase of gasoline or other supplies are made, a paid invoice should be received and submitted with the claim. Request for reimbursement of travel expenses will be made on travel voucher forms provided by the accountant for your department and must be submitted to your department head for approval not less often than monthly.

Your department head may authorize travel advances which must be accounted for not less often than monthly. Additional advances may not be made until the previous advance has been accounted for.

C. Board Members Expense

Official members of the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Fund will be reimbursed for travel expenses as follows:

1. Travel subsistence will be paid on the same basis as staff members while traveling on official business.

2. For use of privately owned automobile, reimbursement will be made at 9¢ per mile, plus the actual cost of parking and storage fees while attending functions of The North Carolina Fund.

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

POST OFFICE BOX 687 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 682-5785

MJ file

file

October 31, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

To confirm the arrangements made by my assistant, Nathan and I plan to arrive in Atlanta Tuesday, November 8, on Eastern #369 at 7:08 p.m., and should be at the Marriott Motor Hotel shortly thereafter. We look forward to seeing you there.

We are holding Thursday and Friday, December 1 and 2, for the Jekyll Island Conference and plan to have approximately fifteen people from here to go.

This week promises to be a busy one, with the review of the Ford Foundation in full swing, but we have done some preliminary thinking about matters that are certainly joint concerns of the Southern Regional Council and The Fund.

We look forward to discussing these with you.

Sincerely yours,

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

GHEJr:jpl

File North Carolina Fund

November 3, 1966

Mr. Nathan T. Garrett
Deputy Director
The North Carolina Fund
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina 27702

Dear Natt:

We have made reservations for our group on Jekyll Island for December 1 and 2. The specific motel has not yet been selected, but it will likely be Stuckey's Motor Inn.

I don't think thirteen people from your office is too large a figure. We will likely have approximately ten. And it would be very good if John Wheeler and Cliff Campbell could join us. The suggested format looks good to me. My only suggestion would be that we allow plenty of time for individual staff people to get to know each other and to be with each other in a combination of social and work situations. I would hope, too, we could arrange the Agenda in such a way as to begin no earlier than 2:00 P.M. on December 1 with our meeting running through Friday, December 2. And, should we find the need for it, continuing on Saturday, December 3. We are encouraging the staff to bring along spouses and remain on the Island Saturday and Sunday if they wish.

I don't think we should have an outside speaker. It seems to me the importance remains on our two agencies getting to know each other's staff and program and on the thinking we can do together.

I am delighted this is coming off and look forward to it.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Rec'd 11/2/66

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

POST OFFICE BOX 687 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 682-5785

November 1, 1966

(1)

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed you will find an outline of proposed topics and format for the forthcoming workshop for our two staffs.

The outline was prepared basically by Dick First of our staff, and has been approved tentatively by George and me. We both feel that perhpas the best way for our staffs to learn more about each other is through the interplay which would result from the work groups described in the outline. We would propose to alter the composition of the groups each time they meet so as to get maximum inter-staff exposure.

As I recall our discussion in Atlanta, we were agreed that December 1 and 2 at Jekyll Island might be the best time for the conference. I think we also agreed that the Southern Regional Council would be responsible for making conference arrangements and that we would work up the agenda jointly.

We are thinking of having about 13 people from our office in attendance. These people would include George and me, Jim McDonald, Director of Community Support; Mike Brooks, Director of Program Planning and Development; Billy Barnes, Director of Public Information; Dick First and Rocco Fazio, Program Developers on Mike's staff; John Strange, Director of our Process Analysis Research Project; Bill Flowers, Education Study Committee; Cynthia Gubernick, Housing Study Committee; Moses Burt, Study Committee on Legal Services and Consumer Education; Carol Van Alstyne, Study Committee on Manpower and Economic Development; Ronald Semone, Study Committee on Inter-Governmental Relations; and possibly Dewitt Sullivan, our Controller. I think it is also possible that John Wheeler and Cliff Campbell will want to join us.

If the group mentioned above is too large, let us know. Also let us hear from you on the proposed topics and format, and any suggestions for outside speaker.

Very truly yours,

Nathan T. Garrett
Deputy Director

NTG:fb
Enclosure
cc: G. Esser

PROPOSED TOPICS AND FORMAT FOR THE
JOINT STAFF WORKSHOP FOR THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
AND THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

FIRST DAY

1. Opening General Session "Analysis of the Resistance Revolution"

This session will serve as a new look at the question of race and southern politics. Specifically, a post election analysis of how such factors as increased Negro registration, white resistance, black power controversy and reactionary candidates have affected the drive for political change. Additionally, the session should look at various techniques for helping the poor and disadvantaged play a more decisive role in the local and state decision making processes. The format might include an outside speaker and a reactor panel composed of representatives of the Fund and the Southern Regional Council.

2. Concurrent Work Groups

Three to four groups, depending on the number of participants, would meet to react to the general session presentation and to look at the issues from the vantage points of the two organizations.

3. Second General Session "The Opportunity Structure"

This session would look at various opportunity programs that have not been tried, but which hold some promise, and either need to be demonstrated or require legislative action. Such programs might include leadership training, income maintenance, new towns and economic development and increased union activity.

4. Concurrent Work Groups

SECOND DAY

5. Third General Session

The South in national prospective "creative federalism." This session would focus on federal-state-local relationships and the significance of creative federalism. Specific attention would be given to possible legal, legislative and administrative developments at the Washington level and the need for a responsive state government.

6. Concurrent Work Groups

7. Closing General Session

Report from work groups and comments by George Esser and Paul Anthony.

See N.C. Fund

November 4, 1966

Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.
North Carolina Fund
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

Dear George:

I shall be at the Marriott Tuesday, November 8, no later than 8:00 P.M. and look forward to seeing you then.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File
N.C. Fund

December 13, 1966

Miss Lucy Watkins
North Carolina Fund
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Lucy:

Thank you for your very nice note. I, too, enjoyed this opportunity to get to know you and hope I can visit in Durham in the not too distant future.

I am somewhat confused on billing procedure the motel followed. Certainly it was not the one we agreed on. We received a bill for all of the meals and social hours and have paid it. A copy of it is enclosed for you. Please work out any formula for the North Carolina Fund share that you think appropriate and forward that amount to us. Enclosed are the hotel bills of North Carolina Fund staff members which we received. We have paid them and would appreicate a reimbursement at your convenience. Presumably, the other Fund staff people either paid their own or they were sent to you.

We are missing bills for Al Ulmer, Ed Stanfield, Moreland Smith and Vernon Jordan. If these were sent to you, please send them on.

Again it was good getting to know you and I hope SRC

and the Fund can do more of this sort of thing.

Every good wish.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures - 2

file
N.C. Fund

December 15, 1966

Mr. George Esser
North Carolina Fund
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

Dear George:

Belatedly, this is to express to you again my appreciation for the opportunity of the meeting at Jekyll. I do hope there can be more of this.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File N.C. Fund 1966

December 28, 1966

Mrs. Lucy R. Watkins
Assistant to the Director
The North Carolina Fund
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina 27702

Dear Lucy:

Thanks for putting our people on your mailing list. We shall do the same with those names you have sent us.

Every good wish for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

NORTH CAROLINA FUND
OPPORTUNITY

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

POST OFFICE BOX 687 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 682-5785

December 19, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for the bills and statement, both of which I have turned over to Dewitt Sullivan, suggesting that he use a formula of roughly one-quarter for you and three-quarters for us. Of course the Saturday lunch and box lunches are our expenses entirely. We did get one separate bill directly from the Jekyll Island motel, but it did not include any of the motel room bills for members of your staff. Dewitt will be on the lookout for them.

At Bill Flowers' suggestion, we are putting some of your staff members' names on our mailing list, including Tilly, Alexander, Stanfield, Long, Watters, Elliott, Jordan, Adams, Via, Ulmer, Smith, and Lewis. Please let me know if I've left out anybody. Could you do the same for us? The attached list is in order of priority, in case I've given you too many.

Again, thanks, and Merry Christmas.

Ever,

Lucy

(Mrs.) Lucy R. Watkins
Assistant to the Director

LRW:jcm

enclosure

cc: Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.
Mr. Dewitt Sullivan

North Carolina Fund Staff

George H. Esser, Jr.
Nathan T. Garrett
Michael P. Brooks
Billy E. Barnes
Dewitt Sullivan
James C. McDonald
Mrs. Lucy R. Watkins
James Lee Burney
Mrs. Martha McKay
Mrs. Carol Van Alstyne
Miss Cynthia Gubernick
Moses Burt
Ron Semone
Richard First
Williams Flowers
John Strange
Rocco Fazio
Mrs. Sarah Herbin
Preston Kennedy
Robert Walker
Royce Jordan
Bruce Jones
Charles Davis
Mrs. Edwina Williams
North Carolina Fund Library

John Morgan
Mrs. Mary Schneider
Tommie Dial
Arthur Cogswell, 105 North Columbia St., Chapel Hill, N.C.
Noel Beyle

Sites - Agency

Fiscal Year (1967)

January 5, 1967

Mr. Dewitt Sullivan
Controller
The North Carolina Fund
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina 27702

Dear Mr. Sullivan:

Thank you for the check in the amount of $1,011.75. This is quite satisfactory with us and, if anything, is too generous.

I, too, regret that you were unable to be at the meeting, but hope we can meet some time in the not too distant future.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

NORTH CAROLINA FUND
OPPORTUNITY

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

POST OFFICE BOX 687 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 682-5785

December 30, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of One Thousand Eleven Dollars and Seventy-five ($1,011.75) Cents which represents our portion of expenses incurred at Jekyll Island, Georgia, December 1, 1966, to December 3, 1966. This amount was arrived at in the following manner:

Actual motel bills	$ 227.00
100% of the charges for lunch and box lunches on December 3. (I understand your staff had departed.)	157.75
75% of all other charges	627.00
Total	$1,011.75

1-4-67
C.F.

I hope the basis I have used in arriving at this amount is satisfactory with you.

We did not receive the missing bills you referred to in your letter to Lucy.

The Fund is still buzzing about the enjoyable time at Jekyll Island. I am sorry I could not make it.

Sincerely,

Dewitt Sullivan

Dewitt Sullivan
Controller

DS:ln

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

NORTH CAROLINA FUND

REGARDING

Prospective employment of Susan Bresler

DATE

2/6/67 letter to Mrs. Lawrence
from P. A.

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

PERSONNEL: Susan Bresler

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

NORTH CAROLINA FUND

REGARDING

Prospective Employment of Susan Bresler

DATE

ltr. 2/6/67 from PA

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

SUSAN BRESLER PERSONNEL FILE

See N.C. Fund

AIR MAIL

June 26, 1967

Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director
North Carolina Fund
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina 27702

Dear George:

Enclosed is the promised memorandum. Needless to say, it could have gone on and on. But perhaps this is enough for us to begin work. I will be very anxious to get your reaction.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

June 26, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: George Esser

FROM: Paul Anthony

RE: Conference in the South

George, here follows, as an effort to create a first draft working paper, my initial reactions. This will include several things we developed together at breakfast last Tuesday.

PURPOSE:

(1) Just as this memo is an effort at creating a first-draft working paper, I think we should consider the conference as an effort to

create a first-draft position paper on where the South is at present racially and economically and what the implications are from this analysis for the several interested agencies, groups, and foundations. In addition to this it would be essential for the participants to develop priorities of future needs and programs.

It would be our understanding that from the proceedings of the conference the briefest possible summary report would be prepared.

(2) A first - and I think an essential use - of this summary report would be with interested foundation personnel and leadership. We would assume at our first meeting that a second meeting of foundation representatives would be held. The paper would be circulated ahead of time to those who planned to attend and this meeting would be the time at which we (of the Southern agencies) got the reaction of foundations to the ideas and priorities in the report.

(It would probably be necessary to make clear to the foundation participants that reactions at the second meeting would hardly be commitments but rather the thinking of that first-line of people in foundations decision making. In addition to the purpose of reaction,

I think the second conference should have the purpose of education of the foundation representatives to the thinking of the Southern group. This would be desirable for those representatives of foundations committed to civil rights but essential to those in the periphery. We would assume the representatives of Ford, Field, New World, Taconic, and perhaps others, are committed to further support of some needs and are there primarily to react. Yet I would hope too a representative, for example, of Carnegie would also be present. If you and others agree with this the second meeting might be considerably larger than the first. And, it might well be held in New York.

(3) As a part of purpose another use of the first-draft conference report could be its use internally by the several Southern agencies and efforts. I would certainly hope SRC would react to the paper-priorities and needs - as a part of its planning and policy-making for the future - within the context of SRC's role and method of operation.

The North Carolina Fund might want to do the same. So might the new Coop-Federations, and others; all within the context of their role, methods and resources.

If a good conference report is prepared the concerned agencies could then examine its contents within their own policy groups to determine how they could meet that part of the need best suited to that agency. Assuming we produced a work of quality, I would be very disappointed if this third purpose didn't materialize.

SUBJECTS OF DISCUSSION:

(1) Along with selecting participants, this is perhaps the most difficult area to determine. We have the dilemma of needing very specific agenda items to get the most from the participants. Yet we must avoid an over subject, over structured agenda that would divide us into groups in jobs, housing, education, enough of which has already been done at the White House Conference and at innumerable other places.

This is tentative in my mind, but perhaps we should approach this problem with the idea that all those involved - in the initial conference and with the parts (2) and (3) of Purpose are generally well informed on problems and processes of such areas as

education, jobs and housing. In fact the selections of participants is based on this fact.

Tentative, too, is the following but if the above is valid then our subjects might include:

(a) Attitudes of Southerners - by and about - race, class, economic status and other criterion - late summer 1967.

(b) Role and posture of governments - local, state and federal relative to race and economics - 1967.

(c) A summary of experiences, interest and aims of the major agencies and groups at this time. (By this I mean a summary of all important efforts ranging from the N. C. Fund to the regionwide self-help effort that is emerging.)

(d) The plight and implications of the great number of poor in the region - urban and rural - in the midst of affluence.

(2) Certainly if these subjects or similar ones were taken, the participants would have to be the most knowledgeable people available.

(3) Important too is the assumption that if these or like subjects are discussed the end results would be,

having agreed on where we are presently, to determine by priority what should be done about it.

(If this is done I continue to feel that the ground rules should be limited to what ought to be done without regard to what any agency has done or wants to do, without regard to what foundations are interested in, and certainly without regard to what any agency or part of government is likely to do. Otherwise, I think we will be unable to provide the most basic ideas with which agencies, foundations ora anyone concerned can wrestle.)

PARTICIPANTS:

(1) We should aim for the smallest possible group, perhaps a goal of 15 with the realization it may as much as double by the time invitations are issued.

(2) I renege on the promise to send specific names at this time. After considerable thought it seems to me we should do much more thinking about, and get agreement on, such matters as purpose and subject before getting into this.

(3) Some thought should be given to providing travel funds, and if possible a modest honorarium, to

participants. I would hope that several participants such as you and I - if we're selected to attend! - would either have few expenses or have them paid by their employer. Most, however, would need assistance. SRC can certainly provide part of this, though likely not all. Do you think the Fund could help?

TIME, PLACE AND SCHEDULE

Late summer - perhaps early September if at all possible. I wish we could have such a meeting sooner but we may well find that even early September is too soon to do a proper job.

As we agreed, perhaps Atlanta as the place with the meeting in a major downtown hotel or motel. We here can handle these arrangements when the time comes if you wish.

I think we should have a full two day meeting with participants urged to arrive the night before. (Also, it's rough but I think the invitations should tactfully stipulate that no one can attend only a part of the meeting.)

In general terms, subject to selection of items for discussion, we might aim for 4 sessions - two per day -

with roughly half a day devoted to each subject.

There remains the question of sponsor. Perhaps the Fund and SRC could co-sponsor this. I am certainly open to suggestions but for the moment this seems to me the most logical arrangement.

Finally, this is an excellent idea. We need such a meeting and I am prepared to devote considerable time to its preparation.

What are your reactions?

PA/km

cc: Mr. Clifford Campbell

file

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

POST OFFICE BOX 687 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 682-5785

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

July 3, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

You are more than prompt in sending the memorandum which arrived yesterday. I am going to review it with a couple of key staff people this week and will have a reply with our comments in your hands next week.

The more I think about it, the more I am convinced that we are on the right track. Certainly the Fund will want to provide whatever support, financial or staff that it possibly can, and I see no real barriers to support of the type of meeting we are planning.

Sincerely yours,

Geo

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

GHE/vv

Dictated 6/29/67

File North Carolina Fund

file

Statement by North Carolina Fund Executive Director
George H. Esser, Jr.

News Conference
August 2, 1967

The other day a Durham television reporter referred to a filmed statement by me as a "rare public appearance." I suppose it was. We are not in the business of making public appearances. We are in the business of fighting the causes of poverty and that is why we almost never have news conferences.

However.....the spotlight that has been turned on the war on poverty, and on the problems of our cities in recent weeks, leads us to feel that the people of North Carolina desire and deserve a report on the war on poverty in general and The North Carolina Fund in particular.

The Fund was incorporated in late 1963 and supported with $9.5 million from three private foundations. Since that time the Fund Board of Directors has used these grants as seed money to finance experimental programs, and to bring additional resources to North Carolina for dealing with the problems of our 405,000 poor families.

To date, programs supported by the Fund have attracted more than $32 million to the state, over and above our original $9.5 million in private monies. But dollars are significant only when they are used well. What have we done with the dollars? Let me give you a few examples:

Community Support: Almost $1.4 million of the Fund's money has gone into direct administrative support of 11 community action agencies in 23 counties, where one-third of the state's people and 28% of its

poor live. An additional $600,000 has been appropriated for further support of these community action agencies.

Education: A $2 million grant from the Fund, matched with another $2 million from state government, financed the Comprehensive School Improvement Project that benefitted 25,000 students.

The Fund, along with Duke, UNC, and the State Board of Education financed the Learning Institute of North Carolina, resulting in an additional $5 to $7 million in foundation and federal funds coming into the state for educational purposes.

Manpower Development and Employment: An experimental rural outreach and training program, Manpower Improvement Through Community Effort, has placed 1240 people either in training or in jobs, in just six counties.

The Mobility Project, experimenting with moving people to where the jobs are, has relocated 775 workers and their families, with the result that the relocatees' wages increased an average of 200% within two months after moving.

The need to plan and experiment for manpower development sparked the Manpower Development Corporation, a $1.2 million cooperative effort of the Fund, the National Association of Manufacturers, North Carolina businessmen and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Housing: The Fund provided matching of $10,000 to draw a federal grant of $80,000 to study the state's problems in housing, and staff the Governor's Advisory Committee on Low-Cost Housing.

A method of using the computer to aid in the design of low-cost housing has been developed by the Fund.

The Low-Income Housing Development Corporation, financed by OEO, with Fund matching monies, grew out of the Fund's studies of housing needs. 1000 to 3000 housing units should result from constant turnover of its $300,000 revolving development fund, as well as expanded knowledge of how local sponsoring groups can make the best use of federal housing programs.

Community Relations: Grants to Winston-Salem for a Community Services Police Unit have opened the way to a changed image of and role for policemen, and attracted the interest of law enforcement officials in North Carolina and all over the country.

Rural Economy: A small grant to Macon County helped to make possible a cooperative marketing and planting program that will have put a half-million dollars in the pockets of small farmers by the end of this summer.

Volunteers: For two summers college students responded to the call for teams of students to work among the poor. In all, 350 students served throughout the state.

A study by the N. C. Council of Women's Organizations, also financed by the Fund, points out that volunteers can do essential jobs, but that a new attitude in working with the poor is necessary. Dr. Guion Johnson's recently-published book is one of the products of that study.

The Need for Information: The Fund has sponsored in-depth studies---The Dimensions of Poverty, problem profiles of seven communities, a survey of 13,000 low-income families, and the only film ever produced anywhere to explain the complicated Economic Opportunity Act.

To Develop Incentive: A grant to WANY, Inc., a community action agency in western North Carolina, has given small communities of the poor a chance to decide what their own community projects will be and to get money to finance them.

Home Improvement: A home management grant to Salisbury turned out to be one of the most successful outreach programs in the state, and succeeded in enabling workers to teach while helping. Many counties now have similar programs.

Other sizeable grants have been made in support of legal services, state government's human resources planning, health and welfare, day-care, adult basic education and research.

How do North Carolina's anti-poverty efforts measure up in the nation as a whole? Figures released less than a month ago show that our state has the fourth largest number of adult basic education enrollees; we are fourth in the nation in number of work-experience trainees; fourth in number of rural loans made; fifth in number of loans to rural co-ops; fifth in number of Head Start enrollees; seventh in number of Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees; and 13th in number of small business loans.

But is this enough?

These programs I have mentioned are but a sampling of the hundreds of efforts underway, supported by the Fund or organizations it supports.

How much money has been spent is not nearly as important as the answers to these questions: Did you innovate? Did you try to learn the needs of the poor as articulated by the poor themselves? Did you try to work at the local level where the problems are? Did you try to help the state and its communities take advantage of all available resources,

making use of them in ways that fit the state's own problems? We have tried to plan and implement and act so as to answer "yes" to all of these questions.

North Carolina can be proud of these strong programs and the fact that they have been developed over such a short period of time. At the same time, we have come to the conclusion that these programs are not enough. It is not enough to reach into the ghettos with Head Start, or the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and deal with pieces of the problem without creating any real change in the attitudes and understanding of the poor toward their community,or the community toward the poor. With the full approval of our Board, and after extensive consultation with more than 60 people in staff and policy-making roles at the community level, the Fund in 1966 began to encourage community level anti-poverty organizations to work, with or without the Fund's help, to develop leadership and motivation among the poor. We felt then, and are even more convinced now, that the poor must have leadership that understands how peaceful, legal, democratic means can be used to make the needs of the poor known to local government so that local government can in turn respond.

That is what is happening in Durham and other North Carolina cities. Through a long and painstaking process of citizenship education, the poor and local government are beginning to know each other.

As our state newspapers have pointed out, Durham is the opposite of Detroit. Durham is a city in which people from all walks of life are striving to prove that democracy still works if local people really want it to.

What is the North Carolina Fund's role with regard to community affairs?

The North Carolina Fund does not participate in activity on behalf of a specific candidate for office; it does not lobby; it does not involve itself in elections at any level. In other words, the Fund does not participate in politics, narrowly defined.

We do, however, encourage community action programs, and other community-level organizations, to aid the poor to register and inform themselves, and to encourage them to vote.

This is citizenship education, with the same goals as similar campaigns by Leagues of Women Voters, Junior Chambers of Commerce, and other civic agencies interested in making democracy work better by involving more people in the democratic process.

As more people participate in community affairs there will be some changes made. There are always those, however, who oppose change. Some repeatedly appear in public and try to link the names of Durham, Newark, Detroit, Black Power, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the North Carolina Fund. By implication they attempt to convey the erroneous impression that there is a great national conspiracy afoot to destroy our cities and our government.

There is NO dark conspiracy afoot here. Rather there are new voices rising from the city ghettos and the rural slums. They are the voices of left-out Americans saying "We want to participate. We want to contribute. We want to help build America's great cities and prosperous countrysides."

These are strong voices, sincere voices, voices that require special attention because they have been ignored for so many years.

The North Carolina Fund has only 14 months remaining before we finish the five-year experimental program originally planned by our Board of Directors. We intend to complete that task.

We are a private, non-profit corporation. And although we will continue to operate with regard to our public responsibility, in a legal sense we are responsible only to our Board of Directors and to the federal and state regulations under which non-profit corporations are chartered.

We will continue to follow the policies fixed by our Board of Directors. We will continue to define and seek solutions to the causes of poverty in North Carolina. We will continue to work with the poor. We invite all North Carolinians, including Mr. Gardner, to join with us. We think it is more appropriate to fight the causes of poverty than to fight with each other.

Today, we are in the midst of a national emergency. Our own North Carolina cities are holding their breath and asking, "What can we do to avoid violence and unrest?"

Most of the riots of this summer have begun when an accidental spark ignited explosions in a community where the poor had no confidence in the community's willingness to understand the problems of the poor, and act on those problems. The climate for peace in North Carolina communities must be a climate in which the community has faith in its people, and the people have faith in the community.

I would suggest, based on the Fund's experience, these courses of action:

<u>City Councils</u>:

Can provide a democratic setting for representatives of the poor (chosen by the poor) to set forth their problems; act quickly where possible; set in motion study and action on long-range problems. Most frequently-cited problems across the state are low-income and public housing; enforcement of minimum housing codes; recreation, and unpaved

streets. When city councils listen to the poor, they will hear problems expressed in a special language that may be strong and at times sound threatening. We must remember that this is the language of frustrated people who live with the rats and the hunger and the muddy streets that to us are statistics and perhaps lines on a map.

City Councils:

Can act as quickly as possible to place representatives from poor neighborhoods on all city boards and commissions.

Insure special training for police departments in police-community relations and;

Give financial support to local community action programs.

City Councils:

Can call together a commission broadly representative of the community, including the poor, to define and fix goals for community improvement, and to encourage positive cooperation from all local agencies. Let me commend the steps taken by Mayor Benton of Winston-Salem over the past few weeks in this regard.

County Commissioners:

Can support and participate in efforts to hear the problems of the poor in relation to county-supported activities.

Take immediate steps to fund and implement food stamp or surplus commodity programs to insure that no poor North Carolinian suffers from hunger or malnutrition.

Take steps to strengthen welfare programs for the aged, young children and the handicapped to insure that persons unable to take care of themselves have a decent standard of living and that the children have opportunity.

Businessmen:

Can take an active role with community action programs, community colleges, and other agencies to open up the maximum number of jobs and on-the-job training opportunities.

Churches:

Can throw open their extensive physical facilities for day-care programs, Head Start programs, recreation for youth, and provide support for such programs in terms of money and volunteer help.

Schools:

Can encourage tutoring programs; sponsor new approaches to curriculum and teaching which promise to reach underachievers and cut the drop-out rate; and take leadership in determining how school facilities can be used to provide community services in low-income neighborhoods after school hours.

Newspapers and Broadcasters:

Can help seek out and describe community problems and innovative approaches to such problems being used in other communities. They can report and interpret the goals and programs, paying particular attention to communicating the ideas and concerns of the poor.

All North Carolinians:

Can offer Volunteer help to their local anti-poverty agencies; and willingly support local community action programs with their tax monies. Individuals also can look around them in their personal relations, to ask, for instance whether they are paying domestics at least the state minimum wage.

These are but a few of the things that can be done.

In summary, on the basis of the North Carolina Fund's experience, North Carolina can meet today's challenges. To do so, we must listen and respond to the needs of our poor, not because it will get their votes, not because they will riot if we ignore them, but because it is right.

file

LWD
PAV
MJ-file

NEWS FROM THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

NORTH CAROLINA FUND BOARD
MAKES FIRST PROJECT GRANTS

Durham - - - The Executive Committee of the North Carolina Fund, meeting here Monday, took several steps toward getting its experimental poverty programs off the planning boards and into action. Most important step, to the seven communities in which Fund projects are located, was appropriation of a total $79,195 in organizational grants to those communities, representing the first funds allotted to the projects since their selection last April.

The $79,195, according to Fund Director George Esser,"will allow the communities to hire their full-time project directors, and move their programs from a planning stage to an action stage by mid-fall."

Esser says this week's appropriations will finance program-organization activities through September 30, at which time the Fund board will make grants for administrative costs of the projects over the full, four-year life of the experiments.

The $79,195 is to be divided with the Craven County project receiving $11,075; the Durham County project, $10,975; Forsyth, $7,745; Mecklenburg, $11,275; Nash-Edgecombe, $14,950; Richmond-Robeson-Scotland, $11,550; and Watauga-Avery-Mitchell-Yancey, $11,625.

In making these grants to the seven projects, the Fund board set aside $12,805 (in addition to the $79,195) as a contingency fund to cover any unexpected expenses arising in the projects between now and September 30.

The grants to the seven project areas will cover organizational expenses including staff salaries, clerical and office expenses, travel costs, and miscellaneous expenses for items such as conferences, legal fees, and publicity.

In addition to the making of the grants, the Fund board made several decisions important to the total Fund program.

more

The board appropriated $60,000 as its share of support for the Learning Institute of North Carolina in the fiscal year 1964-65, with the understanding that LINC will provide staff services to the North Carolina Fund in the field of educational experimentation.

The Fund officials approved a formula for determining the extent to which the seven experimental communities will be required to match (in money or services) the Fund's grant money. The matching formula is based on a sliding scale that considers the communities' personal income levels, tax rates, percent of families living in poverty, and other factors.

Another appropriation made by the Fund board at its Durham meeting was a sum of $40,000 for a staff-intern program to begin this fall. The starting of the federal government's poverty programs has brought on a great demand for people trained in working with community problems. The Fund's staff-intern program, to be administered as a part of the Fund-sponsored North Carolina Volunteers organization, will allow for up to 10 young people interested in community problems, to be hired and trained by the Fund, and assigned to experimental projects in the Fund program. Some of these interns likely will be college graduates serving this summer in the North Carolina Volunteers. Others may be recruited from the ranks of returning Peace Corps volunteers.

In support of a special educational experiment, the Fund board approved an appropriation of $8,000 for new types of programmed reading materials to be used in individual school systems in the Fund's experimental projects.

Another action taken by the Fund board was approval of a graphic symbol to be used on Fund stationery, news releases, and publications. The symbol features an outline of the North Carolina map, enclosed in a circle broken by the words "North Carolina Fund." In the center of the map is the key word, "OPPORTUNITY," which sums up the meaning of the Fund program for North Carolinians.

# # # #

File
"No" - gen. corresp.

May 3, 1966

Mr. A. T. Spaulding
President
North Carolina Mutual Life
Insurance Company
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Spaulding:

The Southern Regional Council would be very interested in considering sponsoring the publishing of the symposium, "The Negro and the American Economy."

If you would be good enough to have sent to us the proceedings of the eight seminars we will react promptly on how this can best be done.

We appreciate you thinking of the Council in this regard.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

cc: Mr John Wheeler

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NORTH CAROLINA MUTUAL
LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
Office of the President

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

April 29, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We have been greatly impressed by the nationwide interest in our symposium on "The Negro and the American Economy" held in connection with the dedication of our new home office building the weekend of April 1, 1966. We have received numerous inquiries as to whether or not the proceedings of the eight seminars will be published in a volume or volumes. Some typical comments are as follows.

Mr. Eugene Thoré, President, Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, New York said:

> "We found the program stimulating and inspiring. We only wish that this type of activity could be greatly expanded to the end that our society would become better acquainted with the problems of the Negro, his aspirations and the valuable contributions he is making and will continue to make to our economy and culture."

Mr. John G. Watson, Partner, Cresap, McCormick, and Paget, 342 Madison Avenue, New York, New York said:

> "It was one of the best conceived and best executed programs I have ever witnessed. Nowhere else have I seen so distinguished a gathering."

Mr. Hugh Abernathy, Vice President of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, Newark, New Jersey said:

> "It was the first occasion of this kind, where everything was done on such a high level, that it has been my pleasure to attend."

Dr. Floyd W. Reeves, Distinguished Professor Emeritus, Michigan State University of East Lansing, Michigan had this to say:

> "I would not have missed the opportunity to be present at the dedication ceremonies and to present the position paper at the Education Seminar, had it been necessary for me to pay for the privilege of doing so."

Mr. Calvin Kytle, Author of the Booklet, "Race in the News" has written as follows:

> "If you plan to publish the proceedings, would you remember to send me a copy."

Mr. Oscar Cohen, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York says:

> "We are very much interested in the symposium which was conducted on the occasion of the dedication on 'The Negro and the American Economy.' Do you intend to publish the proceedings? If so, we would very much like to have a number of copies."

We have received numerous similar requests from organizations, high schools, colleges, and universities. We would like to know if your organization would have any interest in sponsoring the publishing of the proceedings of the symposium.

Very truly yours,

A. T. Spaulding

ATS:cfd

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

TO THE POLICYHOLDERS

by Asa T. Spaulding, President

NORTH CAROLINA MUTUAL

LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

Sixty-Seventh Annual Meeting

12 Noon — January 10, 1966
Home Office Auditorium, Mutual Plaza
Durham, North Carolina

To the Policyholders of North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company—Greetings:

It is again my privilege and pleasure to present to you on behalf of the Directors, Officers, and Employees of your Company, a report on our stewardship for another year. This is the sixty-seventh such annual report for the Company, and my seventh to you as your President.

Strong Faith and Proper Balance

In this topsy-turvy world, constantly plagued by fermentation, social and political unrests, turmoil, strife, and recurring upheavals sometimes bordering on chaos, **strong anchors of faith** are indispensable to holding one securely, while riding out the tornadic storms and tumultuous waves of change which take place at such a quickened pace that evolution seems like revolution. Good balance is also needed.

Proper balance is essential to any sound situation. When the chemistry of the body is out of balance, it is sick. When the moral and immoral forces of society are out of proper balance, it too is sick and its future may be in peril. When man's judgment is out of balance, his safety, as well as that of others, may be in jeopardy also.

Vessel Shipshape and Cargo Safe

I am pleased to be able to report to you that **the affairs of your Company are in proper balance and the corporate body is healthy and strong;** and I have the faith to believe that **its future is secure.** The corporate vessel is shipshape and ready for sailing in the mainstream. Its financial position is sound and its personnel anchors are strong. The crew is trained, experienced, and competent. Your cargo is, therefore, in safe hands.

Meeting in New Quarters — To Be Dedicated April 1-2

In our report to you last year, we suggested that when we assembled again in such a meeting, it would, in all probability, be in the new home office building. And so it is. We

are happy to welcome you here, and also to urge you to attend the dedication activities scheduled for the weekend of April 1. No other invitation is necessary. More detailed information regarding the planned activities will be announced later. We expect this to be not only one of the most memorable occasions in this community's history, but also one of state, national, and international significance. The excitement is already running high!

An Eloquent Witness

This building stands here today as an eloquent witness to the indomitable determination of the American Negro to take full advantage of his opportunities, in our democracy and under the free enterprise system, to win his way in American life with dignity and honor.

Articles about our new building and its uniqueness and significance have appeared in Time Magazine, Architectural Forum, The New York Times, and other leading news media and trade journals, both domestic and foreign. There is still available in the building for suitable tenants approximately 50,000 square feet of rentable space.

An Example of "Togetherness"

Because of what is symbolized here, government, education, business, industry, labor, the arts, and the professions are cooperating with us in planning for our dedication activities. This occasion provides an excellent opportunity for an outstanding demonstration of Togetherness. The Departments of State, Commerce, and Labor; the office of the Governor, and the Mayor of the City; Duke University; North Carolina College at Durham, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; the Durham Chamber of Commerce and the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, are all participating in planning for the dedication.

Wide Interest Stimulated

People in all walks of life from across the nation, and representatives of foreign countries are expected to be in attendance for the activities. We would like very much for anyone who hears or reads this message to attend if possible, and be a part of this "history in the making."

I have been informed that the United States Information Agency is keenly interested in covering the entire dedication ceremony, not only for the Voice of America, but also for their press and newsreel (TV) services.

1965, A Year of Many Concerns

Nineteen hundred and sixty-five has been a year of many concerns for all, including the management of your Company, and somewhat of a year of transition. While it has been a difficult year, we believe it has also been a productive year.

In addition to the usual concerns, the completion of, and moving into, our new building and getting adjusted; the putting on the market of a complete new line of Ordinary policies and premium rates based upon the more recent mortality table; and the installation of Remington Rand's newest and most technologically advanced computer systems, have required much time and attention. These changes, of course, resulted in some dislocations which adversely affected our sales programs for the year; but these are now behind us, and we expect 1966 to be a much better year than 1965. Competition will be keener, but we are better prepared to meet it.

Policies and Rates Competitive

Our new line of policies and rates compare favorably with those of our competitors; and during 1965, we gave considerable time and attention to better preparing and strengthening our sales, management, and home office staff.

Results of Operations—Reports not Complete

Complete and audited statements and reports reflecting the results of 1965 operations are not yet available. We do have enough tentative information, however, to indicate that our assets will increase approximately $3 million and, therefore, exceed $88.5 million; and the insurance in force is expected to increase at least $65 million and reach approximately $420 million. The payments to policyholders will amount to more than $8 million, making a total of such payments since organization in excess of $121 million.

The Company met the criteria established by the Administrator of Veterans Affairs to qualify as a reinsuring company for providing group

life insurance for persons in the uniformed services under Public Law 89-214, approved by Congress on September 21, 1965, and is participating in this program to the extent of approximately $53 million of insurance in force as of December 31, 1965.

Former Home Office Properties Sold

Since moving to our new quarters, the following former home office properties have been sold:

1. The six-story main home office building at 114-116 West Parrish Street to Realty Services, Inc.
2. The adjoining property at 108-112 West Parrish Street to the Mutual Savings and Loan Association.

The sales prices were in keeping with current appraisals, and above the Company's book value. A reasonable gain from the sales was realized.

Reasonable progress is also being made in the rental of the remaining former home office properties. Interest in purchasing these remaining properties is also being manifested.

Company Recognizes Its Social Responsibility

The Company and its personnel continued to show interest in all matters affecting the common good, and to support as far as possible those activities believed to be constructive. Significant recognitions and honors have come to both the Company and its personnel on the local, state, and national level as a result of their contributions to society, a few examples of which follow.

A Certificate of Appreciation was received by the Company from the President of the United States "in recognition of a meaningful contribution to the welfare of the Nation and its youth through participation in the 1965 Youth Opportunity Campaign."

One of our Directors, Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr., was signally honored by his appointment by President Johnson as Deputy to the Security Council of the United Nations with the rank of Ambassador and as alternate to Ambassador Goldberg.

Our Executive Vice President and Secretary, Mr. J. W. Goodloe was appointed by Governor Dan K. Moore to membership on the Finance Committee of the North Carolina Railroad Co.

Our Vice President-Home Office Operations, Mr. Maceo A. Sloan, was elected a Director of the Bankers Fire and Casualty Insurance Company and of the Salvation Army of Durham, and Vice President of the Home Office Section of the National Insurance Association.

Our just recently retired Financial Vice President, Mrs. V. G. Turner, was appointed a member of the National Public Advisory Committee on Regional Economic Development of the Department of Commerce just before her retirement.

The various recognitions received by your President have been adequately publicized. It might not be amiss to mention, however, that the Presidents of the thirty-three Colleges and Universities of the United Negro College Fund have written him to express their deep appreciation for his having served as a Vice Chairman of the 1965 United Negro College Fund National Campaign, during which "more money was raised than in any previous similar campaign."

On Improving the Lot of our Fellowmen

In his Inaugural Address on January 20, 1965, President Johnson said:

> "In a land of great wealth, families must not live in hopeless poverty. In a land rich in harvest, children just must not go hungry. In a land of healing miracles, neighbors must not suffer and die untended. In a great land of learning and scholars, young people must be taught to read and write."

To improve the lot of our fellowmen has long been the message and mission of life insurance.

Life insurance dollars help finance agriculture, commerce, and industry, which not only supply human needs but also provide employment. These dollars support widows and befriend orphans. They help to make possible the education and proper rearing of children, and for families to live together in homes instead of in tenements in ghettoes. They war against poverty and want, ignorance and disease, and the causes of unemployment and crime. All the policyholders of all the life insurance companies are participating in this struggle for a better life for all. And I con-

gratulate you upon the part you are playing in this human drama.

The Power to Become

It is a far cry from the early days in this Company's history, when the first death claim of forty dollars caused such a crisis that the Company's future might have been in jeopardy had it had a less courageous, determined, and responsible management than it then had, and when many people were ridiculing the idea "of Negroes attempting to run a Life Insurance Company," to this day. Stony indeed was the road trod by the Company's organizers and early builders in the days when the hopes of many others, "unborn had died." The Company was not much **then, but it had the power to become.** And so today, among the more than 1,500 legal reserve life insurance companies operating in the United States, this Company ranks among the first one hundred and thirty (130) in the amount of assets owned. One of God's greatest gifts to man is The Power to Become.

It has been the **power to become** that has brought the Company to the place for which our fathers **sighed,** and "where the white gleam **of our** bright star is cast." And we, indeed, **should—**

> "Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us; . . full of the hope that the present has brought us," as we face the rising sun of a new day begun—a new day filled with many challenges.

The road ahead will be long and difficult, but what of it? As long as we hold on to, and fully develop, all of our **powers to become,** "we shall overcome." The acorn has the power to become an oak. A child has the power to become a man. A student has the power to become a scholar; and a slave, a Joseph, a free man and a ruler over Egypt. The ultimate in man or thing is limited only by the power, possessed and utilized, **to become.**

President Johnson has likened the "Great Society" to the "excitement of becoming—always becoming, trying, probing, falling, resting, and trying again—but always trying and always gaining." It is in this way that man develops his highest potentials. And it is in this spirit that your management faces the future. For the surest way to stop the growth and development of anything is to think, feel, and act as though it is as effective, good, and great as it ever can be. This will never be the attitude of your management. And with your continued confidence and support, we shall **ever be marching on, greater victories to win!**

Closing

It would be remiss for me to close this report at our first policyholders' meeting in these beautiful surroundings without recognizing our indebtedness to our founders and all of the others who have gone before us who helped to make our rich heritage possible. The first assembly in this auditorium was Founder's Day, October 20, 1965, on which occasion our Financial Vice President, Mrs. V. G. Turner, reviewed the life of Founder John Merrick. It is expected that similar services will be held annually hereafter, with the life of Dr. A. M. Moore, associate of John Merrick and second President of the Company, to be reviewed on Founder's Day 1966.

May we also take cognizance of those of our co-workers whose services have been terminated by death or retirement since our last meeting. We are grateful to them for the contributions they made also.

And finally, I wish to thank you and all of my associates and co-workers for the wonderful cooperation and support given me and my efforts in your behalf.

Respectfully submitted,

A. T. Spaulding

President

Make file
North Carolina
Mutual Life Ins. Co.

June 9, 1966

Mr. A. T. Spaulding
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Spaulding:

Several of us here have read the position papers you were good enough to provide us with. I have also discussed them with Dr. Vivian Henderson and with Mr. Thomas Young who, I understand, has considerable interest in them.

While I find them very interesting, the problem we have with them is that the papers were meant primarily as a means of stimulating the discussions that followed, which you have taped. It is difficult for us to evaluate the over-all material without access to the tapes.

I understand Mr. Young is working with the tapes and have asked him to discuss them with us when he is able to do so. In the meantime, if satisfactory to you, we would like to consider publishing one or more of the papers for publication in our magazine New South. No final decision will be made without further consultation with you.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Bcc: Mr. John Wheeler

NORTH CAROLINA MUTUAL
LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

Rec'd 5/12/66

May 9, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Talked with P.A.

We are quite pleased to attach copies of the position papers delivered during the symposium held in connection with the formal dedication of our new Home Office building.

We deeply appreciate your interest and trust that this material will be of assistance to you.

Yours very truly,

Alma H. Wade

Mrs. Alma H. Wade, Director
Advertising and Public Relations

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Enc/

Rec'd 5/9/66

See - with Spaulding

NORTH CAROLINA MUTUAL
LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

Office of the President

May 6, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 3 and the indication of the Southern Regional Council's probable interest in sponsoring publishing of the symposium "The Negro and the American Economy."

We are having forwarded to you under separate cover the position papers which were presented. In addition to these position papers, of course, we have a tape recording of the presentations of the panelists as well as the discussions from the floor which could be made available to the Council for consideration. Should you decide to publish these proceedings and desire to have an Editorial Committee handle it, one of the Professors of a leading university has offered his services for such a purpose.

With kind personal regards and continued good wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

A. T. Spaulding

ATS:cfd

P S Since we have only one complete tape recording of each Seminar at this time, our Public Relations Department is reluctant to release these recordings.

Rec'd 6/15/66 file

NORTH CAROLINA MUTUAL
LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
Office of the President

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

June 13, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am referring your letter of June 9 to our Director of Public Relations, Mrs. Alma H. Wade, for her attention.

Should you be in this area any time and have the time, we will be very glad to have you listen to the taped recordings of as many of the seminars as you might wish.

Very truly yours,

A. T. Spaulding

ATS:cfd

Jake
Make file —
N. C. Mutual Life
Ins. Co.

December 28, 1966

Mr. A. T. Spaulding, President
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Spaulding:

Thank you very much for the copy of your Seasons Greetings and for the latest issue of the WHETSTONE. The receipt of them reminds me that all of us here would like to extend to you and to all of your great company every good wish for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Seasons Greetings

The Whetstone

"GOOD TIDINGS OF GREAT JOY"--FOR WHOM?

Would you like to hear and to bear the "good tidings of great joy" during this Christmas Season? Then let us have the spirit of the shepherds "keeping watch over their flock by night," instead of engaging in the comfortable easy-going self-indulging life.

Such an attitude as the shepherds had would be conducive to the angel of the Lord appearing to us saying, "...behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people"--good tidings of great joy to the masses as well as to the classes.

If we would find the Christ, we must not confine our search for Him to the palace or the mansion expecting Him to be wrapped in royal purple; we might be more apt to find Him "wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger," perhaps even in a ghetto. Life there is precious and can be promising also.

May we join the angelic choir in singing, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men" throughout this Yuletide Season, and give fulfillment and meaning to it through our deeds. "For unto us is born this day in the city of David a Savior, which is Christ the Lord."

Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year to All!

A T Spaulding
President

© 187 U.S.A.

bc: Mr. John H. Wheeler

File
N.C. Mutual Life Ins. Co.

January 4, 1967

Mr. A. T. Spaulding
President
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance
Company
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Spaulding:

Thank you very much for your invitation to be the "Brotherhood Day" speaker at the White Rock Baptist Church. I am pleased and honored to be asked, and readily accept.

There is a slight travel problem in that I am scheduled to be in Baton Rouge, Louisiana on the 25th, but I am sure this can be worked out.

No honorarium would be required.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Return to PA

NORTH CAROLINA MUTUAL
LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
Office of the President

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

December 30, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

At the White Rock Baptist Church in Durham, North Carolina, the fourth Sunday in February each year is set aside as "Brotherhood Day." As a member of the Board of Trustees of the church and on behalf of our pastor, I extend to you a most cordial invitation to be our speaker at the 11:00 a. m. services on February 26, 1967, "Brotherhood Day."

White Rock Church is one of the leading Baptist Churches in the city with a membership in excess of 1,300 and is something of a cosmopolitan church with its membership consisting of business and professional people -- educators, lawyers, and doctors -- labor leaders and union members. In other words, it is a good cross section of our population.

I sincerely hope that you will find it possible to accept this invitation to be our speaker on "Brotherhood Day." Some of our previous speakers have been Honorable George V. Allen, Former Director of the U. S. Information Agency; Former Congressman Brooks Hays from Arkansas; Dr. Luther H. Evans, Former Director General of UNESCO; Honorable E. M. Debrah of the Embassy of Ghana; His Excellency Avraham Harman, Ambassador of Israel; Honorable Terry Sanford, Governor of North Carolina; Honorable A. K. Ray, First Secretary, Embassy of India; His Excellency J. M. Udochi, Ambassador from Nigeria; His Excellency Ganzalo J. Facio, Ambassador from Costa Rica; and Mr. Nathan A. Pelcovits. Special Assistant for United Nations Political matters, Bureau of International Organizational Affairs, Department of State Washington, D. C.

We would appreciate a prompt reply as to whether or not you will be able to accept our invitation for the date given above, and what honorarium, if any, would be required.

With kind personal regards and every good wish, I am

Very truly yours,

A. T. Spaulding

ATS:cfd

DA -
file for
N.C. Mutual Life Ins. Co.

February 3, 1967

Mr. W. A. Clement
Vice President
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company
Mutual Plaza
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Clement:

Enclosed is a biographical data sheet for Mr. Anthony, who will be speaking at White Rock Baptist Church this month.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

MECHANICS AND FARMERS BANK
DURHAM — RALEIGH — CHARLOTTE

February 2, 1967

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Please send to

Mr. W. A. Clement, Vice President
North Carolina Mutual Life Ins Co
Mutual Plaza
Durham, N. C.

a biographical sketch of Mr. Anthony -

Mr. Clement needs it introduce him when he comes to White Rock (next week I believe)

Vivian P.

File
N.C. Mutual
Life Ins. Co.

February 16, 1967

Mr. William A. Clement, CLU
North Carolina Mutual Life
Insurance Company
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Clement:

Thank you for deciphering our typographical error. I shall, of course, be arriving at 9:39 a.m., and am very grateful to you for meeting me. I shall leave that afternoon at 6:00 p.m.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

NORTH CAROLINA MUTUAL
LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

February 8, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Your letter of February 6, addressed to President Spaulding, has been referred to my attention inasmuch as Mr. Spaulding is out of the states.

We are assuming that the arrival time stated in your letter 9:39 P. M. is a typographical error and I will look forward to meeting you at the airport at 9:39 A. M. on Sunday, February 26.

Very truly yours,

W A Clement

William A. Clement, CLU

wac:rsm

P. S. Please advise whether you will be able to remain over for dinner.

February 6, 1967

Mr. A. T. Spalding, President
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Spalding:

A schedule which has been worked out is for me to arrive on Sunday, February 26th, at the Raleigh Durham Airport on Eastern Airlines Flight 540, arriving at 9:39 P.M. I would prefer coming out the night before, but I have to be in Louisiana through Saturday evening.

Would you please let me know if this schedule is satisfactory with you and have someone send me instructions on how I should get to the church from Raleigh Durham Airport.

I look forward to being with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

White Rock Baptist Church

WHITE ROCK SQUARE
600-606 FAYETTEVILLE STREET
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27701

February 21, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I regret very much that I will not be here at White Rock with you Sunday morning, February 26, 1967, at 11 A. M. Because of an Interracial Pulpit Exchange with the minister at University Baptist Church in Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

I do welcome you to our church and our pulpit. Mr. W. A. Clement, one of our Trustees and Vice-President of North Carolina Mutual, will introduce you at the Worship Service, and be your host for the day. You will be in good hands!

I am preaching in Greensboro, North Carolina, at 6 P. M. Sunday night, but I do hope to at least speak to you some time during the afternoon.

Sincerely,

Lorenzo A. Lynch

Lorenzo A. Lynch, Pastor
White Rock Baptist Church

LAL:ejh

organized & gone to PA

Doing up Feb. 14

bc: Mr. John H. Wheeler

Speech?
Travel Arrangements?
Pd mj

January 4, 1967

Mr. A. T. Spaulding
President
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance
Company
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Spaulding:

Thank you very much for your invitation to be the "Brotherhood Day" speaker at the White Rock Baptist Church. I am pleased and honored to be asked, and readily accept.

There is a slight travel problem in that I am scheduled to be in Baton Rouge, Louisiana on the 25th, but I am sure this can be worked out.

Note possible travel problem

No honorarium would be required.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See N.C. Mutual Life Ins. Co.

March 6, 1967

Mr. C. C. Spaulding, Jr.
Business Manager and Treasurer
White Rock Baptist Church
White Rock Square
600-606 Fayetteville Street
Durham, North C rolina 27701

Dear Mr. Spaulding:

Thank you for your check for $54.00 and for the warm comments in your letter.

Enclosed is my contribution of $50.00 to the White Rock Baptist Church.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check #344; $50.00)

cc: Mr. William A. Clement

1866 *Centennial Celebration* 1966

White Rock Baptist Church

WHITE ROCK SQUARE
600-606 FAYETTEVILLE STREET
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27701

February 28, 1967

Mr Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr Anthony

Following our conversation on Sunday, February 26, 1967 and in keeping therewith, we are enclosing herein our check in the amount of $54 which covers $50 for an honorarium, and $4 for hotel expenses. On behalf of our minister, Reverend Lorenzo A. Lynch, who could not be present on Sunday morning because of a prior commitment, and on behalf of the members of the church, we wish to thank you for honoring us by your appearance in our pulpit.

We wish for you much success in the great work that you are doing.

Very truly yours

C C Spaulding, Jr
Business Manager & Treasurer

cpg
Enclosure
cc: Rev Lorenzo A Lynch
Mr W A Clement

Face
N.C. Mutual Life
Ins. Co.

March 6, 1967

Mr. William A. Clement
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance
Company
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Bill:

It was indeed a pleasure meeting you, your wife, and others in Durham, and in being with you.

Thank you again for having me.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

NORTH CAROLINA MUTUAL
LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY **DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA**

March 3, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

It was nice meeting you last Sunday here in Durham. You made quite a contribution to the success of our annual Brotherhood Day services at White Rock Baptist Church.

We sincerely appreciate your accepting the engagement and making the sacrifice to come. Hope that you had a delightful trip back to Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Bill

William A. Clement

wac:rsm
cc: Mr A T Spaulding

April 8, 1960

Mr. Ernst W. Swanson, Head
Economics Department
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Ernst:

Many thanks for your kind words about the New York Times Magazine piece. I'm pleased that you think so well of it.

I regret that I didn't see more of you before you escaped to North Carolina. Anyway, this gives me a chance to extend hearty good wishes to you in your new post, which sounds to me like one worthy of your ability.

You can be sure I'll look you up when I get to those parts, and I'll expect the same of you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE • RALEIGH

School of General Studies
Department of Economics

April 5, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Allow me to thank you for the fine article in last Sunday's The New York Times Magazine. I started to say "congratulate" instead of "thank" but the congratulations go the the New York Times for its choice of the author and the thanks to you for an excellent evaluation of the changes taking place in the South.

Whenever you are in the so-called Triangle Area be sure to get in touch with me. It would be an extreme pleasure to see you again. My home number is VAnce 8-6181; office TEmple 4-5211, extension 333.

Sincerely,

Ernst

Ernst W. Swanson, Head
Economics Department

EWS/jl

via air mail

May 12, 1960

Mr. Ernst W. Swanson
Research Program Secretary
The Inter-university Committee for
Economic Research on the South
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Ernst:

Many thanks for the invitation to participate in the first annual conference of the Inter-university Committee for Economic Research on the South. While I am not sure that my grasp of economics qualifies me, I accept with pleasure and will hope to make some contribution to the discussion from my special vantage point. In any case, I am sure that I will learn a lot.

As an added bonus, it will be good to see you again.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE · RALEIGH

School of General Studies
Department of Economics

May 6, 1960

Yes General discussant

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

On behalf of the Inter-university Committee for Economic Research on the South, I wish to extend to you an invitation to attend as a general discussant its First Annual Conference to be held October 28 and 29, 1960, at the Colonial Inn and Desert Ranch, St. Petersburg Beach, Florida. This Conference inaugurates a series of studies on the economic attributes and shortcomings of the South, economic developments in the South, and on a theoretical framework essential to the understanding of the economics of a major area undergoing vigorous, but strident changes. A copy of the program is enclosed.

In extending this invitation the Committee believes that you will find much of value in the papers and proceedings for your own thinking on our nation's economic problems and that you will contribute significantly to the discussion. The papers are expected to be in the hands of all conferees by October 1, so that ample time will be had for their review.

For your information the Committee is comprised of the following representatives of nine southern universities: James M. Buchanan, University of Virginia; Melvin L. Greenhut, University of Richmond; Maurice W. Lee, University of North Carolina; Chairman, John B. McFerrin, University of Florida; William Nicholls, Vanderbilt University; B. U. Ratchford, Duke University; Howard G. Schaller, Tulane University; Research Program Secretary, Ernst W. Swanson, North Carolina State College; and Vice Chairman, W. Tate Whitman, Emory University.

The Committee's finances permit its defrayal of your meals and lodging from Thursday evening, October 27 through Saturday noon, October 29. It ask you or your institution to meet your transportation costs.

Since the plan is to keep the conference attendance at 40 plus conferees, may I hear from you as soon as possible whether you will be able to come?

Cordially yours,

Ernst

Ernst W. Swanson
Research Program Secretary
The Inter-university Committee for
Economic Research on the South

EWS/jl

Enclosure

NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE • RALEIGH

School of General Studies
Department of Economics

May 16, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am very pleased that you can attend the First Annual Conference of the Inter-university Committee for Economic Research on the South and I am looking forward to seeing you there.

Cordially yours,

Ernst

Ernst W. Swanson
Research Program Secretary
The Inter-university Committee
for Economic Research on the
South

EWS/jl

8/22/60

Suspend to 10/21/60

Colonial Inn

On the Gulf of Mexico
6300 Gulf Boulevard
St. Petersburg Beach, Florida
Phone 22-1011

file under NC. College

August 19, 1960

TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE
INTER-UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH ON THE SOUTH

It is our privilege here at The Colonial Inn to entertain the First Annual Conference of the Inter-University Committee for Economic Research on the South -- Thursday, Friday and Saturday, October 27-28-29, 1960.

This beautiful Resort, located directly upon the Gulf of Mexico at St. Petersburg Beach, Florida is a delightful meeting site for your group and a very cordial welcome awaits you.

Dr. John B. McFerrin, Chairman of your Committee has planned an interesting program and there is every indication that your meeting will be outstanding.

For your information and convenience we are enclosing a map of this area, as well as color brochure and post card of The Colonial Inn. For those planning to travel by plane, you will find Limousine Service at the St. Petersburg-Clearwater International Airport as well as the Tampa International Airport to bring you direct to The Colonial Inn.

Be assured of our complete cooperation every way possible in seeing that your meeting is a most successful and memorable one and look forward to having you with us at The Colonial Inn.

With every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

Lisa S. Carson

Lisa S. Carson
Convention Sales Manager
The Colonial Inn

LSC:mm
Enclosures

October 19, 1960

Colonial Inn and Desert Ranch
St. Petersburg Beach
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Sirs:

Mr. Harold C. Fleming expects to be in attendance at the First Annual Conference of the Inter-university Committee for Economic Research on the South which will be convening there October 28-29. Since transportation from and to the airport is to be provided by the Inn, I am passing on Mr. Fleming's travel schedule: arriving in St. Petersburg on Eastern's flight #549 at 7:56 p.m., Thursday, October 27th; leaving on Eastern's flight #102 from Tampa at 3:55 p.m., Saturday, October 29th.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

MF -

Many thanks.

Please make the reservations checked + drop a note to the Colonial Inn informing them.

HCF

EASTERN AIR LINES:

Flt. #549 Lv. Atlanta ~~7:56 a.m.~~ 6:15 p.m.) non-stop
Ar. St. Pete 7:56 p.m.)

✓ Thurs 10/27

dinner

~~Flt. #548 Lv. St. Pete 11:45 a.m.) non-stop~~
~~Ar. Atlanta 1:25 p.m.)~~

OR

Flt. #102 Lv. Tampa 3:55 pm
Ar. Atlanta 5:30 pm

✓ Sat. 10/29

25th pick up before 5pm

Note back of program: Transportation provided by the Inn to and from airport.

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1960

Department of Economics
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, North Carolina
October 17, 1960

To all participants in the First Annual Conference of the Inter-university Committee for Economic Research on the South, St. Petersburg Beach, October 28-29, 1960:

Will you please be sure to notify the Colonial Inn and Desert Ranch of the time of your arrival, if you are traveling by plane?

Transportation will be provided from and to the airport by our hosts.

Ernst W. Swanson

[illegible] Schedule
[illegible] Inter-U. Committee
[illegible] 28-29:
[illegible] Eastern Flt. #549
7:56 pm Thursday Oct. 27
Flt. 102 Tampa 3:55 p.m., Sat.
Oct. 29

THE CHANGING SOUTHERN ECONOMY

1930-1960

The First Annual Conference of the
Inter-university Committee for Economic Research
on the South

PROGRAM

October 28-29, 1960

The Colonial Inn and Desert Ranch
St. Petersburg Beach, Florida

RECEIVED
OCT 12 1960

P R O G R A M

Friday Morning, October 28: 9:00

I. The changing economic structure of the South since 1930 - a paper by Edgar S. Dunn, Jr., University of Florida

Discussant: Joseph Airov, Emory University

General discussion follows the comments by Mr. Airov

II. Changes in total and per capita incomes in the South since 1930 and their economic significance - a paper by Frank Hanna, Duke University

Discussant: Richard Ruggles, Yale University

General discussion follows the comments by Mr. Ruggles

Luncheon 12:30

Friday Afternoon, October 28: 2:00

III. Changes in population and employment in the South since 1930 and their economic significance-a paper by John Fulmer, Georgia Institute of Technology

Discussant: Donald J. Bogue, University of Chicago

General discussion follows the comments by Mr. Bogue

IV. Changes in consumption and the propensity to consume in the South since 1930 - a paper by R. W. Pfouts, University of North Carolina

Discussant: Franco Modigliani, Carnegie Institute of Technology

General discussion follows the comments by Mr. Modigliani

Social Hour 6:30

Dinner 7:30

Saturday Morning, October 29: 9:00

V. On describing the structure and development of an economic system: A case of the South as an example: A paper by Rutledge Vining, University of Virginia

Discussant: William J. Baumol, Princeton University

General discussion follows the comments by Mr. Baumol

Luncheon 12:00

General Information

Transportation:

National Airlines and Eastern Airlines service Tampa, Florida, from all major cities on the East Coast. Transportation will be provided from and to the airport by the Colonial Inn and Desert Ranch.

Meals and Lodging:

Arrangements have been made with the Colonial Inn and Desert Ranch to provide meals and lodging from the evening of Thursday, October 27 through luncheon, Saturday, October 29.

For such conferees as may wish to bring their families, arrangements may be made with either the Inn or the Ranch.

For further details write:

Ernst W. Swanson
Research Program Secretary
The Inter-university Committee
for Economic Research on the South
Department of Economics
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Colonial Inn

On the Gulf of Mexico
6300 Gulf Boulevard
St. Petersburg Beach, Florida
Phone 22-1011

October 21, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm. 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Re: Inter-University Committee
for Economic Research
on the South, 10/28, 29

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your reservation request. This is confirmation for:

a room at the special rate of $ ** per day,

single occupancy, European Plan; also arrival

and departure date, PM, Oct. 27 - 29.

We look forward with pleasure to having you and your fine group with us and will do everything possible to see your stay is both comfortable and enjoyable.

Sincerely yours,

Lisa S. Carson

Lisa S. Carson
Convention Sales Manager
THE COLONIAL INN

LSC/vy

Dr. John B. McFerrin has made arrangements for room & meals.

Colonial Inn

On the Gulf of Mexico
6300 Gulf Boulevard
St. Petersburg Beach, Florida
Phone 22-1011

October 21, 1960

TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE
INTER-UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH ON THE SOUTH

Pursuant to our letter of August 19, regarding Limousine Service to the Colonial Inn, we have alerted the Limousine Service at both airports there will be a mass arrival of your fine group intermittently throughout the days of October 27 and 28. However, The Colonial Inn does not furnish transportation, but be assured sufficient limousines will be available at the St. Petersburg-Clearwater International Airport and Tampa International Airport to bring you to our beautiful Resort.

We look forward with pleasure to welcoming you next week.

With every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

Lisa B. Carson

Lisa B. Carson
Convention Sales Manager
The Colonial Inn

LSC:mm

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

LWD

F.Y.I

Do you think we shd do anything with this list?

Return to MF for file.

HCF

MF

P A R T I C I P A N T S

IN THE

FIRST ANNUAL CONFERENCE

OF THE

INTER-UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH ON THE SOUTH AT

ST. PETERSBURG BEACH, FLORIDA

OCTOBER 28-29, 1960

Dr. Joseph Airov
Department of Economics
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Lowell Ashby
Department of Economics
Carroll Hall
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dr. William J. Baumol
Department of Economics
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Dr. C. E. Bishop
Department of Agriculturial Economics
216 Patterson Hall
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dr. Donald J. Bogue
Department of Economics
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. James Buchanan
Department of Economics
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dr. William Proctor
Department of Economics
Georgia Institute of Technology
Atlanta 13, Georgia

Dr. Allen M. Cartter
Graduate School of Arts & Science
Office of the Dean
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dr. Marshall Colberg
Department of Economics
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dr. Clarence H. Danhof
Department of Economics
Tulane University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dr. Edgar S. Dunn, Jr.
Department of Economics
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dr. John Fulmer
Department of Economics
Georgia Institute of Technology
Atlanta 13, Georgia

Dr. Seymour Goodman
Department of Economics
Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dr. Melvin Greenhut
School of Business Administration
University of Richmond
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. Murray Havens
Department of Economics
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dr. John Henderson
Department of Economics
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dr. C. Addison Hickman
Department of Economics
University of Southern Illinois
Carbondale, Illinois

Dr. Werner Z. Hirsch
Department of Economics
Washington University
Saint Louis, Missouri

Dr. Werner Hochwald
Department of Economics
Washington University
Saint Louis, Missouri

Mr. M. K. Horne
National Cotton Council
Memphis, Tennessee

Dr. James C. Ingram
Department of Economics
Carroll Hall
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dr. Richard Leftwich
Department of Economics
Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dr. John McFerrin
College of Business Administration
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dr. John E. Moes
James Wilson Dept. of Economics
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dr. Franco Modigliani
School of Humanities and Social Studies
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dr. William Nicholls
Department of Economics
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. John Nixon
Committee for Economic Development
711 Fifth Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dr. John M. Peterson
College of Business Administration
University of Arkansas
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dr. R. W. Pfouts
Department of Economics
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dr. B. U. Ratchford
Federal Reserve Bank
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. William D. Ross
College of Business Administration
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge 3, Louisiana

Dr. Richard Ruggles
Department of Economics
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

Dr. Shelden Schaffer
Industrial Economics
Southern Research Institute
Birmingham 5, Alabama

Dr. Alfred G. Smith
Department of Economics
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

Dr. Ernst W. Swanson
Department of Economics
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dr. Anthony Tang
Department of Economics
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. Charles T. Taylor
Research Department
Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. James H. Thompson
Bureau of Business Research
College of Commerce
West Virginia University
Morgantown, West Virginia

Dr. Rutledge Vining
Department of Economics
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dr. Kenneth C. Wagner
Industrial Development Branch
Engineering Experiment Station
Georgia Institute of Technology
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. John Webb
Department of Economics
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dr. W. Tate Whitman
Department of Economics
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Irvin Zingler
Department of Economics
University of Houston
Houston, Texas

May 8, 1956

Mrs. Isabel Nunnally
Riverside Farm
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Nunnally:

When Mrs. George Wolfe in Takoma Park, Maryland said you ought to like us, I wrote you and said we would send you our maggie.

Here I come in person on an unrelated occasion — to be part of a sort of Retreat of a Catholic settlement group in Washington called St. Peter Claver Center. They have, or have command of, a farm in Burnley, Virginia, and I am to be there at their disposition Friday and Saturday May 25th and 26th.

Assuming I can get myself into your setting, I will call you and see whether there will be a moment when you will let me pay you a visit.

I trust Mrs. Wolfe's sure instinct as to who will like what we work at.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

May 29, 1956

Mrs. Isabel Nunnally
Riverdale Farms
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Nunnally:

I am sorry but my Charlottesville trip has come and gone and I did not get to see you. They kept me considerably used at the farm at Burnley. I broke away and into Charlottesville on the Saturday afternoon, but had no luck in getting your telephone to answer. So made no effort to get myself physically to Riverdale Farms.

In any case, I am concerned only to tell you what you might be willing to listen to about this Southern Regional Council.

We were set up as long ago as 1919, when we were called The Commission on Interracial Cooperation. We are white and Negro, we are entirely Southern, and we try to move things ahead circumspectly and together. Leaflets are really an annoyance, but you ought to read this policy statement that we did back in 1951.

Next time, when there is a next time, I will hope for more freedom and more luck in finding you.

Meanwhile, in Albermarle ramblings you will encounter my long-time close friend Francis Duke who teaches Italian at the University. Lives with a nice wife and some children and a donkey and some goats on top of a mountain the other way out from town.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - 1951 policy statement

tickler - next
w/ "B"

RECEIVED MAY 14 1956

RIVERDALE FARMS
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

May 11, 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for the copies of your "maggie" and for your letter.

I'm completely in the dark about your project as I haven't discussed it with "B" Wolfe. However, will he glad to see you when you are in this neighborhood.

There is a big Garden Show at Farmington Country Club on Friday, the 25th

#2

RIVERDALE FARMS
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

I will not be available that day - but my other days are free - My telephone number is Charlottesville 2-8514 -

Sincerely,

Isabel Amorous Kennedy

February 28, 1948

Mr. George S. Outle
444 East Jackson
Thomasville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Outle:

We were very sorry to miss having you at the meeting yesterday. It went well, we thought.

Thank you very much for your subscription to New South, which is now duly renewed.

I do hope we can be together in the near future to talk over again your most stimulating ideas.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

444 East Jackson, Thomasville, Ga.

February 27th, 1948.

Dr Mitchell,
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED
FEB 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr Mitchell,

Have just returned from a trip into the South and heart of Florida, which explains my inability to accept your very kind invite. It is just such a conference as would fit in with what I am interested in - better harmony between the various conflicting interests - human interests - that make up the civilization that was born around the shores of the North Sea, from Scotland right round to Norway, and with the imprint of Xianity has flowered into what is best found in Canada and the Mid-west, before William Allen White wrote "Decline of the West".

I suggest you also dip into Toynbee's "A study of History". You will not agree with his philosophy, but what he writes certainly provokes & stimulates original thinking on the part of more who take our modern civilization seriously. Bernard De Voto in Harper's Magazine throws new light upon evil as being implicit in this world & should be combatted by courage & reality instead of illusion & despair. Until Protestantism wakes up and takes sides, instead of seeking to placate like Chamberlain at Munich, it will go under as it is fast going today. We need another Luther or John Knox or even a John Wesley - strange as that remark may seem.

Again thanks with regrets at inability to be present, and with best greetings to the little family at Home, sincerely,

George S. Dekle

$1.00 enclosed.

444 E. Jackson, Thomasville Ga.

2/9/48

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

With advent of warmer "visiting" weather, please advise me of any meetings you think might be of interest. Best regards to you express, sincerely,

George S. Ollette

P.S. How do I stand financially?

Oettle, Geo. S.

February 17, 1948

Mr. George S. Oettle
444 East Jackson Street
Thomasville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Oettle:

Very nice to have your postal.

We are having a most interesting meeting in Atlanta on February 27 on civil rights. It would be nice if you could come. I am attaching a copy of a letter which went out to our State Division officers, which will give you details about the meeting. Registration will begin at 9:00 AM in the Educational Building of the Lutheran Church of The Redeemer and the first session will open at 10:00 AM in the same place.

As to dues, one dollar is owed to the Council for the subscription to New South which you ordered sent to the South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, South Africa. This became due in January, 1948.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure

O - O'Connell

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
FIELD OPERATIONS

NEW ORLEANS OFFICE:
1508 MASONIC TEMPLE BUILDING
333 ST. CHARLES AVENUE
NEW ORLEANS 12, LOUISIANA

March 25, 1948

MAR 29 1948

Rev. V. J. O'Connell, S.M., Chairman
Catholic Committee of the South
2901 Carrollton Avenue
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Father O'Connell:

As requested by Miss Margaret Price, Research Assistant, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta 3, Georgia, we are pleased to enclose the following Bureau of the Census publications, Series NA,

Farms of Nonwhite Farm Operators, Number of Farms, Land in Farms, Cropland Harvested, and Value of Land and Buildings, By Tenure: Censuses of 1945 and 1940

No. 1 - Preliminary figures: Mississippi
2 - Preliminary figures: Virginia
3 - Preliminary figures: Maryland
4 - Preliminary figures: Louisiana
5 - Preliminary figures: Alabama
6 - Final figures: Georgia
7 - Final figures: Tennessee
8 - Final figures: Arkansas
9 - Final figures: Texas
10 - Final figures: Florida
11 - Final figures: Oklahoma
12 - Final figures: West Virginia
13 - Final figures: South Carolina
14 - Final figures: North Carolina

If the Department of Commerce can be of service to you at any time, please feel free to call upon us.

Respectfully,

Harold C. Jackson
District Manager

By: Wren W. Anderson
Business Specialist

Enc.

O - Olivet College

RECEIVED
MAY 1 1948
Southern Regional Conf

OLIVET COLLEGE STUDENT-FACULTY COMMITTEE
to
STOP WAR-BUILD PEACE

Fellow Citizen:

The response to our first appeal has been gratifying. Several communities are proceeding to set up their own committees, and are adopting our program. Various student organizations and individual students in Michigan are planning a state-wide meeting in the near future in order to implement a program for peace. What are you doing to promote the cause of world peace?

There are many ways in which you can make your voice effective in this time of crisis. Form a group among your friends for the purpose of spreading this idea throughout your community. Use the radio and newspapers in your area for conducting an intensive educational program. Contact your Congressmen personally or by mail to explain the merits of this program. Above all, do your share in promoting a climate of opinion more conducive to the building of a stable and just world order.

The road to peace does not follow the oft-tried direction of competitive armaments, conscription, and industrial mobilization But neither does it proceed by the path of appeasement. Appeasement invites aggression, and thus makes war more likely. A peace program is possible only by the joining of people in a non-partisan effort to achieve commonly shared values.

The program for peace must call for universal and total disarmament, enforced by an international agency. This means Russian as well as American disarmament. Funds which are now being used for armaments could then be rechanneled into production for the satisfaction of man's needs rather then for their destruction. No nation should be allowed to impede progress by use of the veto. Out of this limitation of national soverignty, may rise the structure of a world government dedicated to the service of mankind.

Men of the calibre of Albert Einstein and Arnold Toynbee have recognized the need for an end to militarism. Toynbee writes,"...the heroism which Militarism inculcates has risen to the height of sublimity; but this is not the sublimity of the saints, and not a heroism which leads anywhere except to suicide."

Are you willing to stand by and watch democracy die? The humanitarian values which democracy has nourished are in danger of extinction as the intensity of the present crisis increases. Will you join with us in this crusade to, "Stop War-Build Peace Now."

Fraternally,
Fred Dirrick
Fred Dirrick,
Chairman,
Olivet College Student-
Faculty Committee

Stop War

Build Peace

The United States and Russia are waging a "cold war"—the U. S. for the declared purpose of stopping: (a) Russian expansion, and (b) the spread of totalitarianism. We are conducting a name-calling and armament race that can end only in a shooting war, a war democracy cannot win, whatever the fate of armies scattered over the earth in suicidal, guerilla warfare.

Americans must realize now that we are losing this war even as we intensify it. We are adopting totalitarianism as we turn more and more to military means. Soon it will be too late to turn back either to peace or to democracy.

Before it is too late, the friends of democracy must make a determined effort to get America to try for peace. An armed and divided world cannot keep the peace, nor stop the spread of totalitarianism. Only a world free of armament and war scares can build peace and democracy. **We must try now for disarmament and a peace program before we have gone beyond recovery.**

The Choice Before Us—

I. The war-preparedness road—away from peace and democracy!

1. Those who favor "getting tough with Russia" must face these costs:

a. If war is to come, begin as soon as possible —before Russia has time to recover, to rearm, to make atom bombs. Delay aids Russia.

b. Draft the largest army we ever built—to conquer, to occupy, to police Europe and Asia; under constant guerilla attack for many years, until no "communist sympathizer" remains to revive the war when we go home.

c. Set up immediate rationing and allocation of men, money, materials and machines—with the bulk of our national income going to war, even if the shooting does not begin for years. Forget prosperity and accept rigorous discipline.

d. A fanatical fifth column, in any duel with Russia, will require complete suppression of our traditional liberties, a vigorous "gestapo" and rigid penalties for any internal opposition to our war policy, war measures or war leadership.

e. Many nations do not share our affection for what we call "The American Way", and cannot be relied upon to share in making any peace (a la American way). We shall, therefore, find ourselves using reactionaries of the world as allies, and compelled to police the peace 'alone' for decades.

2. Easy going Americans will not pay such prices for preparedness unless aroused annually by hysterical war scares at the time Congress votes money. These annual campaigns for getting tough will kill the peace, kill democracy, and make a shooting war. They will not frighten Stalin into submission, but will unite Russians behind him and lead to a reply in kind.

3. Half preparedness would **make and lose the war.** The American people must realize this will be no "push button war", with our soldiers comfortably winning by the use of superior machines. It will reach the guerilla stage, with the outcome bitter, prolonged and doubtful. Are Americans willing to fight for ten years and police for forty?

That road leads to war. It ends democracy now. Military victory is doubtful. And what a peace it promises. Almost nothing offers worse prospects.

II. The United States Should Propose Disarmament and a Peace Program.

1. We should immediately propose **universal, total disarmament**—scrapping all national arms capable of making modern war. And patiently persist in promoting that policy. "Limitation of armaments" will not do the job.

2. We urge strengthening the Charter of the United Nations, taking from national governments the power to declare or conduct war, reserving all international police functions to UN (with disarmament, a small police force will be adequate); giving UN powers of inspection over disarmament, and laying the basis for real world organization.

3. We propose that funds which might be devoted to armament and international rivalries be channelled through UN to relief, reconstruction and development of depressed areas, including Russia.

4. We try to make democracy work at home so it may be admired and copied abroad. The spread of totalitarianism can be stopped only by a healthy peace—not by guns.

5. While condemning Russian totalitarianism, we must, in embarking upon this new course, credit Russia with: (a) standing alone for universal disarmament for many years, (b) genuine, historic grounds for fearing capitalist attack, and (c) excusable skepticism about this proposal when first presented.

But we must persist in trying to demonstrate to Russia and to the rest of the world that: (a) we mean total disarmament and an end to war methods, (b) the alternative to this proposal is war and ruin for all, and (c) only such a program offers solid hope for human progress.

★

"But will the Russians agree?" Probably not at first . . . not until we **persist** in trying to get them to agree. They will probably agree to nothing else.

"But hasn't disarmament been tried and failed?" No! Disarmament has never been tried. Past agreements for modest limitations of armaments were not disarmament, but were deliberately drawn to continue the policy of reliance upon national armaments, and were, for that reason, inadequate.

"But won't Communism overrun disarmed peoples?" Thus far communism has gained power

only in lands devastated by non-communist wars. Those who believe disarmed communism can take over non-communist nations are saying: (a) other systems have no popular appeal, and (b) we must police the world forever. Do they really mean that?

★

The basic question is, "Will we propose disarmament and peace?" Unfortunately our government has shown no signs of doing so. Our policy is the same folly that made the two world wars. Russia desperately needs peace and disarmament. We need them far more than our people realize. **And time is running out!**

★

Stop War - Build Peace NOW!

Olivet College Student-Faculty Committee

Olivet, Michigan

O - Ogilvie

North Carolina Catholic Laymen's Association

Nazareth, North Carolina

PHILIP S. OGILVIE
~~DALE FRANCIS~~
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

RECEIVED
JUN 1948
Southern Regional Council

June 4, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Recalling the clippings with reference to the SRC which were posted during our last meeting it occured to me that my editorial of last week may be of some slight value. Also, I shall inclose an earlier editorial dealing in part with the SRC.

I am finding "New South" very profitable. SRC is filling a need long felt by the thinkers of our region.

Sincerely yours,

Philip S. Ogilvie

Philip S. Ogilvie
Executive Secretary
N. C. C.L. A.

A Cop Talks

As a crutch never cured a broken leg neither will recreation parks, pools and teen age centers do the job for youth which was from the beginning placed squarely upon the shoulders of parents. These social helps have become the scape goat by which parents shirk their natural repsonsibility to their own flesh and blood. Parental failure is due to those fathers and mothers who do not take this fact seriously—"For Almighty God and His Law, there is no substitute."

Sounds like something said by a priest at Mass last Sunday, doesn't it? But in content, it was the emphatic expression of a self-styled "cop," who is at the same time an F. B. I. Inspector and a Catholic father of two adolescent sons.

This intimate associate of J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Nation's Department of Justice law enforcement, journeyed from Washington to Cleveland last week to tell Catholic editors of the country, who were assembled there, this simple, unglamorous fact.

This has been the heart of many a Sunday sermon, and it is accepted as 'natural' coming from the priest. Now, a conviction of an F. B. I. agent who throws his tremendous weight of actual experience in support of moral and religious training as an absolute, must cause parents to examine their conscience.

Suffice it to be said that when a government man constantly involved in major crime issues, drops everything and takes three days out to tell somebody that for "God and His Law there is no substitute in the training of youth," he just didn't do it to beat the air for the benefit of 300 newspaper men and publishers.

Housing Down South

"New South," publication of the Southern Regional Council, devoted a recent issue to the housing conditions in our region. Having restated the deplorable situation of 1940, it makes an interesting comparison with the conditions of 1948.

According to Bureau of Cenus reports for 1940, ten and a half million families lived in the South prior to World War II, and more than seven milion of these families lived in houses that did not meet minimum standards of comfort, health and safety. All sections of the Nation had some poor housing, but the South's record was the worst. In the rest of the Nation one out of every three houses fell short of minimum standards; in the South, two

Imitation Of Christ

Chapter Six

When a man desires a thing too much, he at once becomes ill at ease. A proud and avaricious man never rests, whereas he who is poor and humble of heart lives in a world of peace. An unmortified man is quickly tempted and overcome in small, trifling evils; his spirit is weak, in a measure carnal and inclined to sensual things; he can hardly abstain from earthly desires. Hence it makes him sad to forego them; he is quick to anger if reproved. Yet if he satisfies his desires, remorse of conscience overwhelms him because he followed his passions and they did not lead to the peace he sought.

True peace of heart, then, is found resisting passions, not in satisfying them. There is no peace in the carnal man, in the man given to vain attractions, but there is peace in the fervent and spiritual man.

Chapter Seven

Vain is the man who puts his trust in men in created things.

Do not be ashamed to serve others for the love of Jesus Christ and to seem poor in this world. Do not be self-sufficient, but place your trust in God. Do what lies in your power and God will aid your good will. Put no trust in your own learning nor in the cunning of any man, but rather in the grace of God Who helps the humble and humbles the proud.

If you have wealth, do not glory in it, nor in friends because they are powerful, but in God Who gives all things Who desires above all to give Himself. Do not boast of personal stature or of physical beauty, qualities which are marred and destroyed by a little sickness. Do not take pride in your talent or ability, lest you displease God to Whom belongs all the natural gifts that you have.

Do not think yourself better than others, lest, perhaps, you be accounted worse before God Who knows what is in man. Do not take pride in your good deeds, for God's judgments differ from those of men and what pleases them often displeases Him. If there is good in you, see more good in others, so you may remain humble. It does no harm to esteem yourself less than anyone else, but is very harmful to think of yourself as better than even one. The humble live in continuous peace, while in the hearts of the proud are envy and frequent anger.

Chapter Eight

Do not open your heart to every man, but discuss your affairs with one is wise and who fears God. Do not keep company with young people and strangers. Do not fawn upon the rich, and do not be fond of mingling with the great. Associate with the humble and the simple, with the devout and virtuous, and with them speak of edifying things. Be not intimate with any woman, but generally commend all good women to God. Seek only the intimacy of God and of His angels, and avoid the notice of men.

We ought to have charity for all men, but familiarity with all is not good. Sometimes it happens that a person enjoys a good reputation among those who do not know him, but at the same time is held in slight regard by those who do. Frequently we think we are pleasing others by our presence and we begin rather to displease them by the faults they find in us.

(Published by courtesy of Bruce Publishing Co., from Croft-Bolton translation.)

The Question Box

Q. The following question has often occurred in my mind, and, therefore, I am writing to you for a reply: How can the Blessed in Heaven be happy if they see those whom they loved on earth suffering from eternal punishment?

A. The happiness of those in heaven is not marred by the sufferings of those who were their companions on earth. The friendships of this life are not proofs the obstinacy and black ingratitude of the sinner; they will see how he spurned God's graces and how he hardened his heart against the sufferings of Christ; they will behold him after death with his will set in eternal hostility to his Creator; and to the very thought of retaining any vestige of friendship for such a one will seem to them to be an insult to the very God they love. They will be united

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The 1947 reports show that the average family today lives in a slightly better house than in 1940, but they also show that the South's housing has not improved as rapidly as that in the rest of the United States. In fact, the South lags farther behind today than it did in 1940.

We dont pretend to speak with authority on the causes of this situation. Probably some of them are incomprehensible to the untrained layman in the field of social statistics. Nevertheless, we can advance some possibilities of explanation. It would seem to us that migration from rural areas to urban centers is a major factor. Low salaries, too, might be listed as a cause, and the financial drain brought on by our pattern of segregation and duplication of facilities cannot be overlooked.

However, the mere citing of possible reasons for the housing lag in our South will accomplish little. The basic cause of our failure to cope with the situation is bigger than any of the possibilities suggested. It is a failure to live up to the Christian teachings so widely professed and so little practiced by us. Complete re-dedictaion to those Christian principles that we profess is the only thing that can remove the basic causes of our difficulties.

Thoroughgoing Christianity would put an end to low wages, to crooked politicians, to high rents, to crowded tenements, and to numerous other reasons for the disgraceful cnditions that encompass us in every section of the South. The responsibility is ours. Ours is not to cry for help, but to help ourselves by living up to the Christianity we profess.

NORTH CAROLINA CATHOLIC

OFFICIAL WEEKLY PUBLICATION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA CATHOLIC LAYMEN'S ASSOCIATION, INC.

Editor ..... Rev. Frederick A. Koch
Associate Editor ..... Philip S. Ogilvie
Associate Editor ..... Virginia Sobotka
Business Manager ..... Jeanne M. Stearns

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NORTH CAROLINA CATHOLIC RECEIVES NCWC NEWS SERVICE

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If you have wealth, do not glory in it, nor in friends because they are powerful, but in God Who gives all things Who desires above all to give Himself. Do not boast of personal stature or of physical beauty, qualities which are marred and destroyed by a little sickness. Do not take pride in your talent or ability, lest you displease God to Whom belongs all the natural gifts that you have.

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The Question Box

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A. The happiness of those in heaven is not marred by the sufferings of those who were their companions on earth. The friendships of this life are not proofs against grevious wrong. If, for instance, a man learns that his parents have been robbed and murdered by one whom he thought his dearest friend, does not the entire friendship cease? Such a crime we recognize as destructive of friendship and affection; but the crime of one who dies as God's enemy will appear far more heinous to the Blessed in Heaven; for then it will bear the character of a most grievous personal wrong, utterly extinguishing every claim to their regard. They will perceive the obstinacy and black ingratitude of the sinner; they will see how he spurned God's graces and how he hardened his heart against the sufferings of Christ; they will behold him after death with his will set in eternal hostility to his Creator; and so the very thought of retaining any vestige of friendship for such a one will seem to them to be an insult to the very God they love. They will be united to God more closely, more lovingly than a child is united to its parents. His honor will be their honor; His friends their friends; His enemies their enemies; His affections will be their affections, and they will see things with His eyes.

Q. Who was present when our Lord ascended into Heaven? (b) Where did the Ascension take place?

A. The Apostles were with Him. This is related in St. Mark (16:19), St. Luke (24:51), and also in the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. (b) To all appearances it took place on Mount Olivet, since, after the Ascension, the Apostles are described as returning from that place to Jerusalem (Acts 1:12). Tradition holds to this site, and Christian piety has erected a magnificent basilica commemorating this event on Mount Olivet. Then, too, it is reasonable to believe that our Divine Savior should will to bring his earthly mission to so glorious an end on the same Mount where he began His agony and Passion.

Q. Kindly inform me what is phrenology. Is it wrong to believe in it?

A. Phrenology is the theory that a man's mental and moral qualities can be detected by the size and shape of his head. It contains little truth and much falsehood. There have been sterling characters with peculiar heads and home-

(Continued on Page 8)

Missionaries All

By Virginia Sobotka

A few days ago I returned from a short visit to my home town, Washington, D. C. While there I was, as usual, impressed by the contrast between the churches there and those here. The Catholic churches in the nation's capital are big and there are plenty of them. I often wonder, when I see the people pouring by the hundreds out of my parish church how many of them realize that hardly 200 miles away in North Carolina there are Catholics who have the privilege of assisting at Mass only about once a month and often have to travel 20 or more miles to get there.

Although I had been told that North Carolina had fewer Catholics than any other state it was just another cold statistic to me until I came here. Now I know what it means to live in mission territory. I can't help wondering if some of the Catholics here can fully understand what it would be like to live where there are plenty of other Catholics. If some of them could change places with those in heavily Catholic areas for a while it might be an eye opener for all concerned. Being so much in the minority seems to have made some of our Catholics here a little timid. Others it has made militantly Catholic.

On the other hand too many of those who have lived all their lives in heavily Catholic areas seem to have become a little too complacent as though the world were already won for Christ. Actually growth of the Church throughout the U. S. has been slow, extremely slow as compared with its growth in the early days of Christianity.

Lately I have been reading a good bit about the early Church. Even allowing for exaggerations and idealizing by historians the behavior of the early Catholics puts that of us moderns to shame. Here in North Carolina many people regard the Catholic religion as just one more obscure little sect.

This fact was brought to our attention last fall when clergymen from various towns in North Carolina assembled in Raleigh for a two day broadcast workshop entitled, "Religious Radio Institute". A minister referred to the Catholic Church in his town as being no problem since it was 'insignificant.'

In the early days it *was* just an obscure little sect, suffering far more misunderstanding than it does today. Yet people were converted by the hundreds. They were not converted by Catholics who tried to be as unobtrusive as possible about their religion. They were not even converted by being talked into giving instructions.

They were converted by the heroic example of those early Catholics whose Christianity was so uncompromising that they were willing to and often did give their very lives for it.

The modern world is so rapidly slipping back into paganism that the Holy Father and the whole hierarchy are alarmed about it. We can never bring the world back to the faith by being either timid or complacent in the practice of our religion. The only way we can do it is by being as exemplary in courage and charity as our forefathers were. Until the last soul is won for Christ whether we live where there are many Catholics or few we are *all* missionaries.

Real Patriotism

Patriotism has always been expected of Catholics, and the history of that expectation is one of glorious fulfillment. Catholics in the United States have never failed to answer the call of patriotism even beyond what might be termed proportional obligation.

But, patriotism is more than a war-time virtue. Defense is not its only expression. Loyalty to and support of peace-time endeavors to make our land a better place in which to live is likewise an expression of real patriotism, and Catholics have the moral obligation of lending some cooperation to such endeavors.

While there are many such deserving Catholic support today, our greatest possibilities for cooperation are with those patriotic organizations nearest to us, organizations whose success or failure will touch our lives or the lives of our children.

To name three we mention the North Carolina Catholic Laymen's Association, the Catholic Committee of the South, and the Southern Regional Council, all of which are non-profit, non-political and bi-racial.

As you know, our own North Carolina Catholic Laymen's Association exists to unite the scattered Catholics in the vast Diocese of Raleigh and to further the good relations now generally existing between ourselves and our non-Catholic neighbors. Our history has been one of steady progress and our outlook is bright.

The Catholic Committee of the South was established seven years ago when our late President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, called the South "the Nation's economic problem No. 1." It has made history in its endeavors to bring to bear the teachings of Christ and the Papal Encyclicals on the problems of our South.

The Southern Regional Council was organized in 1944, to get at the facts of many of the South's problems and to mobilize the people of the South to solve these problems. Its present president is an outstanding Catholic layman of Richmond, Virginia, Paul D. Williams. The Catholic Committee of the South is an affiliate of this organization.

While there are some other organizations working in our Southland that we either do not recommend at all or hesitate to recommend, for example, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, because there is some question as to their complete adherence to the principles of the American Constitution, we do not hesitate to recommend the N.C.C.L.A., the C.C.S., and the S.R.C. as deserving of your wholehearted support. They are worthy channels for real patriotism in peace-time. Your interest

St. Francis de Sales

A LESSON FROM THE CRIB

Believe me, my dear daughter, it is a great comfort to me to receive your letters and to send you mine. You are in the presence of this holy crib in which the Saviour of our souls teaches us so many virtues of His silence. For what does He not say to us by His silence? His little Heart beating with love for us ought surely to kindle the same fire in our hearts! See how lovingly He has inscribed your name in the very inmost recesses of His Divine Heart which is throbbing there upon His poor couch of straw with passionate longing for your spiritual advancement and which does not breathe one single sigh to the Eternal Father in which you have not a part nor one thought nor desire which is not for your happiness. The loadstone attracts iron. Amber draws straw and hay to itself. Whether we are iron in hardness or straw in foolishness, we must unite ourselves to this little Infant Sovereign who is a true magnet of hearts. Do not let us return into the country from which we came forth. Let us leave forever behind us Arabia and Chaldea at the feet of this Saviour.

Letter to a Nun

The Question Box

What is the proper way to greet the Bishop in public?

When greeting a Bishop in public, one should genuflect on the right knee and kiss the Bishop's ring. This procedure is to be followed not out of deference to the Bishop's person as an individual, but because he is a successor of the Apostles, bearing the highest priestly power given to man

The act is not ordinarily proper, however, except in at least semi-privacy, as persons who do not understand it might scoff. If a Bishop does not wish his ring kissed, he turns his hand.

Kissing of the ring is an acknowledgement of spiritual authority. It follows the same logis as is used by a soldier when he salutes a superior or the flag. There is no debasement when one acknowledges proper authority.

I am a non-Catholic and my husband is a Catholic. Can we get a dispensation allowing us to have a non-Catholic act as sponsor for our child at Baptism?

There is no one who could give you a dispensation to have a non-Catholic as a god-parent for your

low non-Catholics to assume this responsibility

All that is absolutely required is one sponsor and we believe that you will be able to find one friend who is a Catholic to assume this responsibility.

If both you and your husband do not know any Catholics in the city, we would advise you to get in touch with the pastor of the parish in which you are living and we are sure he will contact someone willing to assume this obligation.

Are Catholics prohibited from marrying in Advent and Lent?

There is no season during the year in which Catholics may not be married.

However from the first Sunday of Advent until Christmas day inclusive, and from Ash Wednesday until Easter Sunday inclusive, the solemn nuptial blessing is not given.

May "I Love you Truly" and other such songs be sung at Church weddings?"

A Catholic church is an edifice devoted to the worship of God. The ceremonies and devotions

founded by Our Divine Lord as His means of continuing the work of salvation. The actual establishment did not take place at one momentous occasion, but was rather the cumulative effect of a mounting series of events. These events from a distinct and precise pattern.

He first chose and trained a separate group of men. He conferred on them the mission He had come to accomplish, John: 20, 21, "As the Father has sent Me, I also send you." He gave them teaching authority, "Teach ye all nations . . . whatsoever I have commanded you," Matt: 28, 19-20. He gave them power to sanctify, "Baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," Matt.: 28, 19; to forgive sin, "Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them," John: 20, 23; to offer sacrifice, "Do this for a commemoration of Me," Luke: 20, 19. He gave them disciplinary and legislative power, "He who hears you hears Me, and he who despises you despises Me," Luke: 10, 16

He gave St. Peter the primacy, "and upon this rock I will build

lies in the United States have never failed to answer the call of patriotism even beyond what might be termed proportional obligation.

But, patriotism is more than a war-time virtue. Defense is not its only expression. Loyalty to and support of peace-time endeavors to make our land a better place in which to live is likewise an expression of real patriotism, and Catholics have the moral obligation of lending some cooperation to such endeavors.

While there are many such deserving Catholic support today, our greatest possibilities for cooperation are with those patriotic organizations nearest to us, organizations whose success or failure will touch our lives or the lives of our children.

To name three we mention the North Carolina Catholic Laymen's Association, the Catholic Committee of the South, and the Southern Regional Council, all of which are non-profit, non-political and bi-racial.

As you know, our own North Carolina Catholic Laymen's Association exists to unite the scattered Catholics in the vast Diocese of Raleigh and to further the good relations now generally existing between ourselves and our non-Catholic neighbors. Our history has been one of steady progress and our outlook is bright.

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We urge you to make 1948 a profitable year for the South by looking into the organizations recommended and lending them your support. We will be happy to send you further information about each of them.

Open or Closed

State-wide attention has been given by the Piedmont newspapers to the issue of the Sunday question. The city government and the ministerial association of Raleigh debated over an "open" or "closed" Sunday.

The Catholic Church is explicit in teaching that there are duties for the Catholic on Sunday. They are assisting at Holy Mass and refraining from servile work. Other than these two directives, the manner in which the day is spent after these precepts have been fulfilled is left to the individual conscience which presupposes decent, moral recreation.

The Church directs pastors to exhort their people not to spend Sunday playing out-door games at the expense either of hearing Mass or being present at instructions. However, no one is begrudged his necessary, reasonable or enjoyable recreation even on Sunday. For Sunday as well as every other day should be filled with the joyful service of God in prayer, work when not forbidden, and play. Sunday cannot be godless but it need not be funereal.

NORTH CAROLINA CATHOLIC

OFFICIAL WEEKLY PUBLICATION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA CATHOLIC LAYMEN'S ASSOCIATION, INC.

Editor ..... Rev. Frederick A. Koch
Associate Editor ..... Philip S. Ogilvie
Associate Editor ..... Virginia Sobotka
Business Manager ..... Marie A. Smith
Advertising Manager ..... James P. Mallette, Sr.

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Opinions expressed in this column are those of the editor and do not necessarily represent the views of the Bishop of the Diocese of Raleigh.

NORTH CAROLINA CATHOLIC RECEIVES NCWC NEWS SERVICE

it is a great comfort to me to receive your letters and to send you mine. You are in the presence of this holy crib in which the Saviour of our souls teaches us so many virtues of His silence. For what does He not say to us by His silence? His little Heart beating with love for us ought surely to kindle the same fire in very inmost recesses of His Divine Heart which is throbbing there upon His poor couch of straw with passionate longing for your spiritual advancement and which does not breathe one single sigh to the Eternal Father in which you have not a part nor one thought nor desire which is not for your happiness. The Whether we are iron in hardness or straw in foolishness, we must unite ourselves to this little Infant Sovereign who is a true magnet of hearts. Do not let us return into the country from which we came forth. Let us leave forever behind us Arabia and Chaldea at the feet of this Saviour.

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I am a non-Catholic and my husband is a Catholic. Can we get a dispensation allowing us to have a non-Catholic act as sponsor for our child at Baptism?

There is no one who could give you a dispensation to have a non-Catholic as a god-parent for your expected child. We have god-parents in the Catholic Church because they promise that they will see that the child will be educated and brought up in the Catholic religion.

Our attitude in not allowing non-Catholics to act as sponsors is not that we do not believe that they would carry out these promises in the event of the death of one or the other parent but rather that we do not allow non-Catholics to take any official part in any Catholic ceremony.

Since sponsors are required for the public administration of baptism, we are not permitted to allow non-Catholics to assume this responsibility

All that is absolutely required is one sponsor and we believe that you will be able to find one friend who is a Catholic to assume this responsibility.

If both you and your husband do not know any Catholics in the city, we would advise you to get in touch with the pastor of the parish in which you are living and we are sure he will contact someone willing to assume this obligation.

Are Catholics prohibited from marrying in Advent and Lent?

There is no season during the year in which Catholics may not be married.

However from the first Sunday of Advent until Christmas day inclusive, and from Ash Wednesday until Easter Sunday inclusive, the solemn nuptial blessing is not given.

May "I Love you Truly" and other such songs be sung at Church weddings?"

A Catholic church is an edifice devoted to the worship of God. The ceremonies and devotions conducted there, the sermons preached and the Sacraments administered, all have for their purpose the closer union of each soul with God. *I Love You Truly* is a very fine ballad and expresses a beautiful and tender sentiment —the consolation and confidence arising from the near presence of one's beloved. There are times and places for the expression of this personal and tender feeling. During a religious ceremony and in a church building is neither the time nor the place.

At what time did Christ found His Church?

The Catholic Church was founded by Our Divine Lord as His means of continuing the work of salvation. The actual establishment did not take place at one momentous occasion, but was rather the cumulative effect of a mounting series of events. These events from a distinct and precise pattern.

He first chose and trained a separate group of men. He conferred on them the mission He had come to accomplish, John: 20, 21, "As the Father has sent Me, I also send you." He gave them teaching authority, "Teach ye all nations . . . whatsoever I have commanded you," Matt: 28, 19-20. He gave them power to sanctify, "Baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," Matt.: 28, 19; to forgive sin, "Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them," John: 20, 23; to offer sacrifice, "Do this for a commemoration of Me," Luke: 20, 19. He gave them disciplinary and legislative power, "He who hears you hears Me, and he who despises you despises Me," Luke: 10, 16

He gave St. Peter the primacy, "and upon this rock I will build My Church." He later repeated and confirmed this promise, as told in the twenty-first chapter of St. John, when, by a threefold reiteration, he told St. Peter to feed His lambs and sheep. Finally, His promise to send the Paraclete, "the Spirit of Truth," was fulfilled on Pentecost when the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles and released the tremendous energy of the early Church. While it is common to refer to Pentecost as the birthday of the Church, it is evident that previously there were present, inchoatively, all the potentialities of the full-blown Catholic Church.

Holy Night

By Virginia Sobotka

Along about this time a lot of us who, through all the rest of the year say, " I love Christmas," will be so shopping-worn that we will be having that, "Oh, I wish Christmas was over," feeling. Christmas Eve will probably be an especially hectic day with last minute shopping for gifts and groceries and making what preparations are possible for tomorrow's banquet. Dad is likely to get nervous and irritable trying to get the tree to stand up and the Christmas lights to work. Everything will eventually get done as it always does but by the time we must get ready to go to Midnight Mass most of us will probably feel more like going to bed.

Fresh air may revive us somewhat, but our irritation is likely to start all over again when we see how crowded the church is with "Christmas Catholics" who are never seen in church except on Christmas Eve and come only for "the show." However, the beauty of the church decorated with evergreens and poinsettias, rich with color and candlelight, almost takes our breath away and we are somewhat mollified as we crowd in with the rest of the people.

We have come a little early in order to be sure of a seat (and we just do get one) so we have a little wait. The church is a little stuffy because of the crowds and because it is already past our bed-time and we have been fasting for a little while for Communion we feel a little drowsy and empty and we think longingly of a good, hot cup of coffee. Just when we think we shall surely go to sleep, the choir starts singing Christmas carols.

Christmas carols are like magic. Of all the songs in the world there are none that can touch the heart so quickly and one must be a veritable Scrooge if he can remain ill-humored when he hears them sung at Midnight Mass.

By the time the altar boys file out of the Sacristy in their freshly laundered and starched surplices, looking as innocent as angels with their clean, shining faces we need no more inducement to enter into the spirit of Christmas. It is hard to believe that these are the same boys, who, dirty - faced, were pummelling each other on the vacant lot this morning. They looked more like little imps then.

Behind the altar boys come the priests in their beautiful, rich, white vestments and the Mass is under way. When the choir sings the Gloria we are enraptured. When the priests cense each other and the altar boy in turn censes the congregation we are filled with a feeling of oneness — oneness in Christ, and the aroma of the incense seems like a breath from Heaven itself.

The moment of the Consecration and Elevation of the Host seems more Sacred than ever and our thanksgiving after Holy Communion is more fervent than it has been for a long time. When the Mass is over and the choir is singing the last carol we are loathe to leave. As we leave the

(Continued on Page 11)

27-0-
Ogilvie

June 29, 1948

Mr. Philip S. Ogilvie, Associate Editor
The North Carolina Catholic
Nazareth, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Ogilvie:

I have been cheered and gratified by the two editorials from the North Carolina Catholic, which you so kindly sent on June 4.

Editorial notice of publications such as the housing pamphlet is just what we are most pleased to get.

I send along our latest pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights." It is not an easy one to summarize, but I am sure you will find it a handy fact book for discussion of the whole problem of civil rights as the controvery unrolls in months and years to come.

I daresay you already are frequently in touch with Dr. Harold Trigg, the new President of St. Augustine's College (Episcopal) in Raleigh. He is a fine person, our former Associate Director, and one who would enjoy your friendship, I am sure.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure
: The Condition of Our Rights

GSM:eb

4511

Form 1510—Original
Part I

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

Post Office at Atlanta 4 Ga.

ADDRESSEE:

Date JUN 19 1948

Please state in the spaces below whether the article described on Part II has been delivered to you and then return this form in the enclosed OFFICIAL SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE WHICH REQUIRES NO POSTAGE. Your response will help to improve the postal service. L. F. LIVINGSTON, POSTMASTER.

REPLY OF ADDRESSEE:

My records show that the article was:

Check one { ✓ Not received. ____ Received with contents intact.
____ Received with these contents missing: _____

Value, $

(Date of reply)

16—2338

Lucalie V. Oakes
(Signature of addressee or authorized agent)

SENDER:

After investigation of your inquiry concerning the {~~letter~~ / parcel} mailed by you on 6-3-48, 19_____, addressed to Miss Rosalie Oakes, Berea, Ky.

you are advised in accordance with the paragraph checked below (see reverse side):

( ) ~~The mail has been located by the addressee.~~

(x) The mail cannot be located, but the matter has been referred to a post office inspector for consideration; unless an inspector communicates with you, it will be understood that further investigation was not successful. (See note below.)

If a money order or a postal note was enclosed, an application may be made at the post office for a duplicate.

L. F. LIVINGSTON, H/ POSTMASTER.

GPO 16—23385-3

NOTE.—Insure parcels; indemnity up to $200. Register valuable and important mail; indemnity up to $1,000. Purchase postal money orders or postal notes as a safe, cheap, and convenient method of mailing remittances. All reports by the public of loss, rifling, delay, or damage of mail are of the greatest value to the Post Office Department in locating and correcting faults in the Postal Service.

27-Misc.-O-
Oakes, Rosalie

August 5, 1948

Mr. Lon Livingstone, Postmaster
U. S. PostOffice
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Ligingston:

This is to advise that the lost shipment addressed to Miss Rosalie V. Oakes at Berea, Kentucky, has been retrieved. Thank you very much for your efforts in behalf of finding this package.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

27-0-Misc.-
Ottenheimer, Gus

January 26, 1949
Dict. January 24

Mr. Gus Ottenheimer
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Ottenheimer:

In conversation the other day with Mr. Edgar Stern in New Orleans, I found him reading with much interest a recent article by you pointing out that fair and equal treatment helps solve the race problem.

We are doing a Council pamphlet on the general movement in favor of fair employment in the South. It would help us a lot if we might have a copy of your article.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

cc: Mrs. M. E. Tilly

rec'd — JPS has it

27- O - Misc
Ottenheimer, Gus

LEONARD J. OTTENHEIMER • GUS OTTENHEIMER

OTTENHEIMER BROS.

MANUFACTURERS, WOMEN'S APPAREL

LITTLE ROCK
ARKANSAS

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

January 29, 1949.

RECEIVED
JAN 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am pleased to inclose herewith an extra copy which I happen to have of the November-December issue of "Partners" which contains the article by Mr. Harold Sherman on our operation here in Little Rock.

I received a letter from Mr. Stern about this article, and I was very glad to know of his approval of what we are doing here because he is the son-in-law of Mr. Julius Rosenwald. Mr. Rosenwald, you know, did a world of good in advancing the economic status of the negro, and incidentally he endowed some of the negro educational facilities here in Little Rock.

Sincerely yours,

Gus Ottenheimer

GUS OTTENHEIMER

GO:VF

See Materials file -
11 - Fair Employment

27- O- Free -
Settle, George

To file

March 2, 1949

Mr. George S. Settle
Box 190
Metuchen, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Settle:

Thank you for your letter, now so long unanswered that I am embarrassed to refer to its date. Heavy vicissitudes have befallen our tiny staff, but we are at last beginning to catch up with our correspondence.

Please let me relieve your mind at once, by telling you that not one issue of New South has been missed by any of your friends in South Africa, to whom you have so generously given subscriptions. We did bill two of them, but we are now making them our apologies as you will see by the attached correspondence.

In reallocating your check sent us on January 4, we have credited $1.50 (new subscription rate for New South) the the subscription of the South African Institute on Race Relations, expiring in January 1950; $1.50 to the Honorable L. M. N. Hobson, M.L.C., subscription expiring in June 1949; and $1.50 to the subscription of W. E. Bond, Esquire, also expiring in June 1949. If you would like us to do so, we could credit an additional $1.50 each to the subscriptions of the last two named friends, making their subscriptions expire in June of 1950. That would still leave $3.00 for your own dues, plus $9.50 contribution to the general budget. Won't you let us know what you would like us to do about this?

Please be assured that we have now posted such notes to ourselves that renewal notices of these subscriptions will indeed be sent to you.

Thank you so much for your good wishes and for your kind words.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s
Enclosures

Box 190, Metuchen, New Jersey. February 5th, 1949.

Mrs Agnes McKay,
Secretary-Treasurer,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs McKay,

Thanks for your receipt of the 3rd inst. There seems to be a little misunderstanding about my "special contribution"

Reference to mine of the Year-end '48 letter will find that there was a different allocation. Someone in your office has evidently overlooked that I asked for your "New South" to be sent to friends in Southern Africa and naturally when the subscriptions fell due I would make myself responsible therefor: see last line of the second paragraph of letter.

RECEIVED FEB 8 1949 Southern Regional Council

I would hate to find that someone has slipped up and that my friends, including the Inter-Racial society (S.A.Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg) are no longer receiving your "New South" monthly.

Perhaps you will kindly look into the matter and straighten things out: Thanks.

Life is full of interesting contrasts, and yet it is not polite to make comparisons - so they say. I much appreciated your friendly letter of the 6th ult. The anti-climax came with your Director's note: yours so human, his so formal.

Wishing you continued success to eradicate injustices to all sections of the Southern Communities, sincerely, yours truly,

George S. Dette

P.S. I cannot recall whether when I asked for copies of the "New South" to be sent to friends mention was made that the renewal slips should come to me: it may be my fault in the first instance.

Rec'd 1/4/49 — 20.00
Credited — 3.00 dues
17.00 Cont

17-0-Mix-O'Connell, E. T.

March 15, 1949

Mr. E. T. O'Connell
P. O. Box 588
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ed:

I have read with the greatest interest and admiration Volume 1, Number 1 of Southern Labor.

Do hope you can keep it going for good and all.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

O-Misc

May 12, 1949

Mr. Frank J. Leahey, Treasurer
Intergroup Council
Oswego State Teachers College
Oswego, New York

Dear Mr. Leahey:

We are delighted that you are interested in the work of the Southern Regional Council, and are glad to hear of the activities of the Intergroup Council.

I am enclosing two leaflets which explain the origin, aims, and function of the Southern Regional Council. Also enclosed is a complete publications list. We would be happy to receive your order for any of our material which might look promising to you.

I am sorry to say that we do not have any films, and our speakers are not often in your area. However, it may be that one of our officers or well-informed members will find it possible to combine a trip to New York with a visit to Oswego State Teachers College. If that develops, we will be in touch with you.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:t

MAY 11 1949
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Intergroup Council
Oswego St. Teacher's Coll.
Oswego, N.Y.
May 9, 1949

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen;

We of Intergroup Council are interested in your very fine work and would like to know more about it.

So please, if you have any booklets, films or speakers available to us, kindly let us know. We do have a small budget to work on if there is any charge.

We have already done some spade work here in college. We have shown the films BOUNDRY LINES, BROTHERHOOD OF MAN, and MAN-ONE FAMILY. On May 20th, we are showing the feature film MR. EMMANUAL. (We are interested in brotherhood of all peoples as is The Bible.)

Very truly yours,

Frank J. Leahey

Frank J. Leahey
Treas. Intergroup Council

27- O- Misc
O'Daniel, T. B.

The Fort Valley State College

Fort Valley, Georgia

ENGLISH DEPARTMENT

July 15, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I wish to thank you for your second letter of July 11, which contained additional information regarding your visit to our campus on July 22, 1949.

The Assembly Committee is happy to know that you can spare the time to lecture to another group of students after your Assembly address, and it welcomes this opportunity to present you to a class or a combination of classes.

The Committee will arrange for you to meet this class or several classes combined, during the period which follows the Assembly exercises. Since our class periods, in the summer, extend for one hour and forty minutes, you will not only have ample time for your lecture, but there should be time left for questions and discussion.

Very truly yours,

T. B. O'Daniel

T. B. O'Daniel, Chairman

Assembly Committee

RECEIVED
JUL 18 1949
Southern Regional Council

27- O. Trice
O'Daniel, T. B.

July 11, 1949

Mr. T. B. O'Daniel, Chairman
Assembly Committee
The Fort Valley State College
Fort Valley, Georgia

Dear Mr. O'Daniel:

The talk I would most like to make to some of the students at Fort Valley is one called the "Map of the South", and it takes a little more than thirty-seven minutes. So, it would not be suitable for your Assembly. I am planning something as a brief talk to the assembly.

Meanwhile, it has occurred to me that it might be feasible to bring together a couple of classes at some other time in the day (either before the Assembly or after) when I could talk more in detail and with a smaller group.

But, if schedules don't permit, never mind.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

27 - O - Miss
O'Connell, Father Vincent

September 16, 1949

Father Vincent O'Connell
Notre Dame Seminary
2901 South Carrollton Ave.
New Orleans, La.

Dear Father O'Connell:

If, in your busy life, you can take five good minutes to look at this little pamphlet, you will see it possesses a real opportunity for a lot of good to be done.

There is already a movement tolerably started in the South for better behavior on this point by the papers.

This pamphlet can speed and steer the movement.

We sell it at fifteen cents a copy.

The Southern Newspaper Publishers Association has agreed to mail it out to all the association's members. Also, one of the big Negro life insurance companies (North Carolina Mutual) has bought a thousand copies and sent the check. They will mail it out to policy holders.

I have written Bishop Waters and I have sent Paul Williams ten copies and asked him to consider writing to any others he thought were suitable.

I am also pushing for help from the various Protestant denominations.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

June 6, 1949

Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S. M.
Catholic Committee of the South
2901 South Carrollton Avenue
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Father O'Connell:

That was kind of you to write about my small part in the excellent meeting at Lexington.

I appreciated the honor of talking to the body, and enjoyed particularly the flight down with you and the opportunity it gave Alice and me to see something of you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

27 Q File
O'Connell, Vincent J.

The Catholic Committee of the South

REV. VINCENT J. O'CONNELL, S. M.
CHAIRMAN

2901 S. CARROLLTON AVE. NEW ORLEANS 18, LA.

June 1, 1949

RECEIVED
JUN 6 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

In the name of the entire Committee, I want to express our sincere thanks for your outstanding contribution to the success of our Lexington convention.

I need not tell you of the pleasure and admiration with which your talk was received. The audience's reaction was clearly manifested by the storm of applause which followed your presentation. Your unassuming wholehearted cooperation, both before and during the convention, inspired us with sentiments of brotherly devotion.

Let me take this occasion, also, to express my sincere appreciation of your extraordinary, homely hospitality. I shall always keep an affectionate memory of you and Alex for the thoroughly Christian way in which you harbored the harborless upon my arrival in Atlanta.

With every best wish, and a promise to keep you in my prayers.

Sincerely,

Father O'Connell

Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S.M.

VOC:mnw

27 O'Connell
O'Connell, Father
Vincent J.

April 22, 1949

Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S.M.
Catholic Committee of the South
2901 S. Carrollton Avenue
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Father O'Connell:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 21 to Secretary Brannan inviting me to attend the 1949 convention and participate on a panel on Wednesday, May 11.

Because of the work connected with Secretary Brannan's recent recommendations for a price support program I have been unable to make any definite plans for the immediate future. However, if we can get together on an appropriate subject on which I could contribute something to your group I think that I might be able to attend.

You have suggested the topic "Can the Industry Council Work?" Although this is of interest to me personally I do not feel that I could contribute much on it and I would be very reluctant to represent the Department of Agriculture on a subject apparently out of our field. Perhaps agriculture is not on the agenda for this year's convention, but if it is, will you please write me further about the possibility of my participating on that subject?

I am taking the liberty of enclosing a copy of Secretary Brannan's farm program as it was presented to Congress recently. I am also sending a copy of this letter to George Mitchell because of the fact that he has introduced us.

Secretary's Records Section

Very truly yours,

Wesley McCune

Wesley McCune
Executive Assistant to the
Secretary

Enclosure

cc: George Mitchell, Exec. Dr.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

WMc:mal

22-O-Misc —
O'Connell, Rev. V.J.

April 22, 1949

Rev. Father V. J. O'Connell, S. M.
2901 South Carrollton Avenue
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Father O'Connell:

I thought you might usefully dispose of some ten copies of this latest pamphlet describing the Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

27- O-Misc
O'Connell, Vinc.

March 24, 1949

Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S. M.
2901 South Carrollton Avenue
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Father O'Connell:

Here is the nice letter I had back from Charlie Brannon.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

The Catholic Committee of the South

REV. VINCENT J. O'CONNELL, S. M.
CHAIRMAN

2901 S. CARROLLTON AVE. NEW ORLEANS 18, LA.

March 21, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

This is just a note to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter of March 8th, and to express our sincere appreciation for your generous intersession on our behalf with the Secretary of Agriculture.

I have written to Secretary Brannon requesting the services of Mr. McCune on our Wednesday night panel.

Within a month you should be hearing some very encouraging news from the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations.

With every best wish,

Sincerely,

Father O'Connell

Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S.M.

VJO:mnw

RECEIVED
MAR 23 1949
Southern Regional Council

27-0-Misc. -
O'Connell, Father V. J.

March 8, 1949

Reverend Father Vincent J. O'Connell, S.M.
2901 South Carrollton Avenue
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Father O'Connell:

I remember my undertaking to be in touch with Charlie Brannon about your probable need for an agricultural speaker at the meeting in May of the Catholic Committee of the South. I haven't been in Washington and haven't seen Charlie Brannon. So I wrote him a letter today, copy enclosed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

22 - O-Misc
O'Connell, Vincent J.

January 12, 1949

Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S. M.
2901 South Carrollton Avenue
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Father O'Connell:

Thank you for getting us straight on Father Fichter.

Of course I will be delighted to come to Lexington and give the map speech. Charles Smith has done a lot of work on polishing it up, and it should be better. I have written down the 10th, but could change to suit what you may need.

Paul and I are both to be in New Orleans the 18th and 19th, and will look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

The Catholic Committee of the South

REV. VINCENT J. O'CONNELL, S. M.
CHAIRMAN

2901 S. CARROLLTON AVE. NEW ORLEANS 18, LA.

January 5, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for the copy of the list of SCR Fellows for Louisiana. I think the final choices are very good. By the way, I think that we must have made a mistake in the spelling of one of the names. You have listed Rev. Joseph Victor, S.J. of Loyola University. I'm certain that you mean the Rev. Joseph Fichter, S.J., since Father Fichter is the one who is most active in interracial education. Futhermore, I'm quite certain that there is no Father Victor in New Orleans.

May I take this occasion to ask you a favor? I think you know that we are having our CCS Convention in Lexington on May 10th, 11th, and 12th. We would be very grateful if you would consent to take part in our program. We want you to demonstrate your artistic ability in drawing maps, and giving your running commentary on the development of the southern regions. I'm sure that by this time you must be one of the most proficient cartographers in the region.

As it looks at present, I think the best spot on the program for your presentation will be on the night of Tuesday, May 10th.

With the hope that you will find it possible to accept our invitation and with every best wish, I remain

Sincerely,

Father O'Connell

Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S.M.

VJO:mnw

~~HCF~~
~~2. FS.~~
~~3 File~~
97 - 0 - misc.
O'Flaherty, D. C.

December 10, '49

Mr. D. C. O'Flaherty
5400 Willow Lawn Road
Richmond 26, Va.

Dear Mr. O'Flaherty,

I hasten to get off an answer to your letter of yesterday.

We have quite a lot of material that will bear on your question, and I have sent up a bundle. Among the things particularly recommended are Honest Answer in Civil Rights Controvery, Race in the News, and Wanted, the South's Future for the Nation. Observe that the pamphlet on the Negro Press is largely the work of Mr. P. B. Young, of Newfolk, though for odd reasons Mr. Durr gets the credit!

On statistics, everyone is hovering for the results of the 1950 Census, and it is hard to get fresh material. If you will dig about in what I have sent, and let us know the particular gaps that you need to have filled, we will try to get together what you need.

Do you think you could join the Council? Only costs 3.00 (about cancelling the pamphlets!), and will bring you New South straight along.

We will be glad to help further if you need it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

5400 Willow Lawn Road
Richmond 26 Va.
Dec. 9 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3 Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

As an occasional contributor to Collier's, I have interested Mr. John Lear, the new article editor of the magazine, in an article by me on the Negro press and its relation to the nation's racial problem.

It is my intention to point out that a little self discipline on the part of the Negro press would do much to ease the tension which exists, since a large part (though not all) of the colored newspapers tend to exaggerate incidents in the news which rub the Negro reader on the raw. The constant harping on Negro martyrdom, and the fostering of racial hatred, are in my opinion responsible for keeping hundreds of thousands of urban (and rural) Negroes in a state of sullen hostility toward the whites which makes a genuine meeting of the minds almost an impossibility.

I intend to quote Negro leaders who have deplored this same fact; and I wish to bolster the thesis that the Negro is gradually acquiring his natural rights in this country despite propaganda to the contrary.

I would like very much to compare the situation of the Negro in the United States just after World War I with his situation today, and emphasize the improvement in his position in a scant quarter of a century.

Here in Richmond I was discussing source material with my old friend and one time editor, Virginius Dabney, and he suggested that the Regional Council might be willing to provide me with the facts and figures, which, by contrast, would show the overall gains which the Negro has made since the first war. If you could supply me with some material showing how the picture has brightened, or if you would be willing to prepare a special roundup on the subject for a Collier's article, I would be very happy to see to it that the Southern Regional Council gets top credit for its endeavors in this field.

Any phase of Negro betterment, of course, would be grist for the mill.

Incidentally, I intend to contrast the Negro's position in the American economy with that of the Negro in some of the British possessions where he is quitebaldly denied the right to vote with no such subterfuge as a poll tax.

V. Dabney thinks well of this article and I am hoping to get it ready for Collier's by Christmas. I shall appreciate any help you can give me and I trust it will result in beneficial nationwide publicity for the Regional Council.

With all best wishes,

Cordially Yours,

D. C. O'Flaherty

D. C. O'Flaherty

Alcorn A. & M. College

W - Misc

ALCORN, MISSISSIPPI

PHONE - PORT GIBSON - 2400

LORMAN, MISS.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR PASSENGERS, FREIGHT AND EXPRESS

October 6,1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council,Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter addressed to Dr. Otis will receive his attention upon his return to the campus. He is presently attending the American Council on Education meeting in Washington, D.C.

Very truly yours,

R V Bates

Secretary to
J. R. Otis

b

RECEIVED
OCT 9 1950
Southern Regional Council

O, misc.

October 23, 1950

Mr. J. R. Otis
Alcorn A & M College
Alcorn, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Otis:

Harry Wright's address is 2171 Madison Avenue, Apt. 5-E. I know he would like to see you. No telephone at his apartment, but he can be reached through the kindness of neighbors at FO 8-1816.

That was mighty nice of you to send out so good a letter to your friends.

I look forward to being in Jackson the 26th.and hope the meeting will give me a glimpse of you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Alcorn A. & M. College
ALCORN, MISSISSIPPI
PHONE - PORT GIBSON - 2400
LORMAN, MISS.
FOR PASSENGERS, FREIGHT AND EXPRESS
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 19, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I was glad to have your letter of October 3. I hope that we will have a favorable response on the part of our teachers here. The attached letter is for your information.

I have heard that I am distantly related to Mr. Wright and hope to become better acquainted with him. If you have his address I will appreciate if if you will send it to me as it is quite possible that I will be in New York before many weeks. In the event I am, I will make it a point to look him up.

Yours very truly,

J. R. Otis

J. R. Otis
President

JRO:rrb

Attachment

Alcorn A. & M. College
ALCORN, MISSISSIPPI
PHONE - PORT GIBSON - 2400
LORMAN, MISS.
FOR PASSENGERS, FREIGHT AND EXPRESS
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 19, 1950

Dear Co-worker:

The Mississippi Division of the Southern Regional Council is attempting to become organized and is making a special effort to get members from people who can contribute to the program. This is an organization for good. I believe numbers of our faculty should become members. If you can see your way clear to become a sustaining member as well as becoming active in the organization, it will be to the advantage of our group.

Perhaps you know that there will be a meeting held in Jackson on the 26th. I would like for as many of you to go as can attend without discontinuing your classes. Attendance at this meeting, however, will not entitle persons to official travel.

Very truly yours,

J. R. Otis
President

JRO:rdb

6-Miscl

January 16, '51

Dear Mr. Cyler,

Thank you for sending in your correct address, and for the other names.

Actually we send out only a handful of complimentary subscriptions (and in our present financial stress ought't to do that). So I can't get the magazine for free to Dr. Berry and Dr. Molyneaux. But I've written each of them, and said you suggested their names as proper ones to receive New South, and I've suggested each join the Council, and so get the maggie straight along.

If you could become an associate member, or even simply subscribe to New South, it would help, but we won't cut you off if you can't!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

November 23, 1953

Mr Nathaniel Olaku
611 West 113th Street
New York 25, New York

Dear Olaku:

Nice to have your letter and to know that you and Victor are in agreement. I hope he gets along all right.

Come to see us whenever you can. I will always follow your career and Victor's with the deepest interest.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

RECEIVED
NOV 18
Southern Regional Council

611, West 113th Street,
New York 25, New York,
November 16, 1953.

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

I am sure you must have been wondering about my silence since there has been an altercation between Bola and Dr. Johnson which ended in Bola not returning to Atlanta to the Johnsons.

I must confess that Bola at first did not give me the "dope" of the whole thing until after the affair had exploded and he has abused me in several of his letters which I patiently ignored, which led to our meeting face to face and the ironing out of the differences. I can assuredly say that since the dispute was settled we have met again, this being yesterday, while returning from a conference he attended. He stayed overnight with me.

His mother who was worried about the whole thing, has been assured. In my last letter to him, I told him to write and to let you know that my letter will be forthcoming. I adopted this method in order to assure you that we have one mind about the whole affair.

I have to continue this letter at home, hence the change in the types of the typewriter. It is my opinion that all is well with the Mitchell family. Please extend my best regards to them. My job at the National City Bank of New York is progressing and my studies are doing just that too.

I am planning to visit Atlanta sometime in Spring, and as soon as it is getting nearer and nearer, I shall acquaint you with my plans.

In conclusion, I have to thank you greatly for the fine help you rendered Bola which was very instrumental in landing him at Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa. May the Good Lord reward you in copious measures.

Sincerely yours,

N. Oluwole Olaku

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
EXTENSION DIVISION
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

COMMUNITY SERVICES

January 14, 1954

RECEIVED
JAN 18
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

KS.

Dear George:

Herewith is enclosed a check for $1.18, Grand Total.

It doesn't tell of the affectionate gratitude for the prompt and efficient service.

Nor yet of our wishes for a swell New Year. More power to you.

Jess

Jean and Jess Ogden

/eh

Enclosure

To KS
no need reply
(I wasn't trying
sale of lit)
GSM

February 2, 1954

Mr. N. Oluwola Olaku
611 West 113th Street
New York 25, N. Y.

Dear Olaku:

Many thanks for your letter. It gave me a twinge of conscience because I was in New York most of last week and didn't get hold of you, mostly because I thought you were so busy with school and a job that I wouldn't have found you if I had got myself up to 113th Street.

I will write to anybody you want me to at any time, of course. Congratulations on new job, which will be good.

We look for you here in the Spring.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

RECEIVED
JAN 29
Southern Regional Council

611, West 113th St.,
New York 25, N.Y.,
January 26, 1954.

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
63, Auburn Avenue,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

Thanks for your last letter and the contents. Hope you had, with the family, a nice and happy New Year. I wish you a prosperous New Year.

I hasten to write you in order to keep you au fait of the developments as to my plans. I used you and Dr. L. D. Reddick as my references in the job which I applied at Socony-Vacuum Oil Company, here in New York, but to return to Nigeria and work in their Nigerian Office. They job has been given me, but I do not know when I would start the Excutive training program. What is holding them up is to get things cleared with the people in Lagos, Nigeria.

I do not know if they would write you again, however, I feel I should let you know about this.

My regards to Miss Stoney and other members of the staff. Hope to see you sometime in Spring in Atlanta, when I plan to come and see many of friends and pack my books before returning to Nigeria.

Best wishes from my friends around here,

Sincerely yours,

N. Olumole Olaku

Rev. Vincent O'Connel
St. Paul, Minn.

April 9, '54

Dear Father Vince,

The papers on Sunday will have news of a grant to SRC from the Fund for the Republic. They gave us April 1 an initial 240,000, to enable us to get started with paid personnel in each of 12 Southern States (we couldn't stretch to Oklahoma), and the ultimate amount contemplated over a period of a little more than three years approaches 500,000.

I know this will rejoice you as its does us.

More work, but more to get done.

Our warm gratitude to you for your years of pulling with us and for us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

611 West 113TH ST.
New York 25, N.Y.
May 5, 1954.

RECEIVED
MAY 7 1954
Southern Regional Council

My dear Dr. Mitchell,

Thanks for the fine gesture extended to me during my short visit to Atlanta. I have not been able to see the Tajuwas since my arrival.

Hope everything is getting on very well. I was not able to meet Lotan when I arrived, but I think I should be seeing soon in about a week or two from now. I greatly appreciate your trouble in helping the African students, the Good Lord will reward you in copious measure.

Best regard to the family and your employees.

Sincerely yours,

N. Olanrole Olatu

December 13, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED DEC 15 1955

Dear George:

Very many thanks for your mighty helpful letter on the status of the Negro voter to-day in the Southland.

I am inclosing the clipping you sent me from the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION.

COMMONWEAL magazine will publish my short article some time after Christmas. I will send you a copy of the issue in which the piece appears.

The Washington front is quiet at the moment but there is a lot of activity just across the river in Northern Virginia. A considerable number of people are registering and will speak out when the time comes to vote next month on the school system in that State.

You are doing a grand job. More power to you!

With kindest regards and all good wishes for a jolly Christmas and a more integrated New Year.

Cordially yours,

John

John J. O'Connor
5115 Moorland Lane
Bethesda 14, Md.

75 West St -
N.Y.-6 -

November 19, 1956

Mr. Stan Opotowsky
339 Audubon Boulevard
New Orleans, La.

Dear Stan:

Enclosed you will find the material you requested.

Again a word of caution, which I am sure is unnecessary, as to your discretion in using any material which might later cause repercussions to individuals in the region.

We enjoyed the conversations and will look forward to receiving your notes and related information.

Yell if we can be of more help.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony

PA:mbo
Enc.

Oglethorpe University

Oglethorpe University, Georgia

February 17,1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta,Georgia

Dear Emory:

Many thanks for the AFL-CIO pamphlet on federal aid to state and local governments and the states' rights movement.

The pamphlet was quite useful in analyzing federal aid and I was able to incorporate some of the information in my discussions of federal aid to state and local governments.

Hope that everything is going well with you, and that this cold wave isn't too uncomfortable for you.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Shanley

Division of Citizenship
Oglethorpe University, Georgia

November 19, 1958

Mr. E. R. Officer
820 W. Johnson Street
Madison 5, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Officer:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, a copy of our latest report on the Negro voter.

We plan a more detailed voting report in the near future but the exact date is quite indefinite at this time.

Thanks for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/bcc

820 W. Johnson St
Madison 5, Wis
Nov. 16

Dear Sirs,

I was very grateful for your sending to me, a short time ago, material on the number of Negro Voters registered in the Southern States.

There was partial information for Mississippi and North Carolina, and none for Tennessee. Is such material now available from yourselves for these states in a more complete form? If not could you advise me as to where it might be obtained.

As before I am happy to pay for material which you provide.

Yours truly,

E. R. Officer
(E. R. OFFICER)

May 1, 1959

Father Patrick O'Donnell
Editor of GLENMARY'S CHALLENGE
Glendale, Ohio

Dear Father O'Donnell:

Enclosed are two copies of the script of FACE OF THE SOUTH for which you asked.

If we can be of additional help, please let us know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosures

April
29
1959

Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We would like to publish a summary of the famous George S. Mitchell talk which made up the movie produced recently by your office.

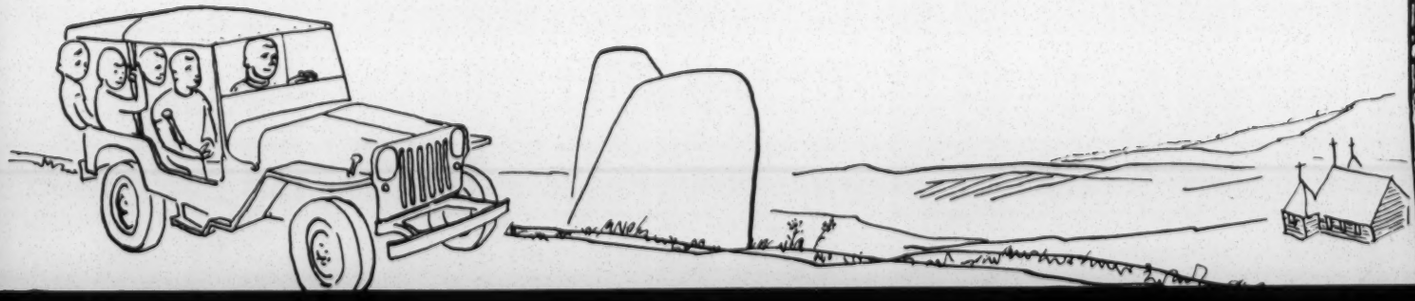
Does such a summary already exist? Would it be possible to obtain a copy of this summary or of of the original talk?

Sincerely yours in Christ,

F. Patrick O'Donnell

Father Patrick O'Donnell
Editor of GLENMARY'S CHALLENGE

PO'D/mbl



May 11, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432--63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia,

Dear Mr. Constable:

Sincere thanks for the two copies of the script of FACE OF THE SOUTH which we have received. We are grateful for them.

With every best wish.

Sincerely yours,

Father Patrick O'Donnell/mbl

Father Patrick O'Donnell
Editor of GLENMARY'S CHALLENGE

PO'D/mbl

"O" Gen. Corresp.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

ODUM, Howard W.

REGARDING:

Tribute by Gordon B. Hancock
(Journal & Guide article published July 4, 1959)

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Hancock, Dr. Gordon B.

August 19, 1959

Mr. Bill O'Malley
Box J-1
Carmel, California

Dear Mr. O'Malley:

Thank you for letting us consider your cartoons. They were passed on to me since I now edit New South.

The cartoons are good, but we no longer use materials of this type. In fact, New South has carried only a couple of cartoons since it began publication.

Again, thank you for letting us see your work; and best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/mf
Enclosures

Bill O'Malley

BOX J-1
CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA
CALIFORNIA

Harold C. Fleming
Editor
New South
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.,N.E.
Atlanta 3,
Georgia

Dear Mr.Fleming;

Would you like to publish my cartoons in your NEW SOUTH ?

Some of my ideas are herewith for you to look over..I hope there is something here that fits in with your present needs.

My rate for these is $5 per cartoon on a non-exclusive use basis.

regards

Bill

August,1,1959

January 28, 1960

Mr. Fletcher E. Campbell, Jr.
Burton Hall
Oberlin College
Oberlin, Ohio

Dear Mr. Campbell:

My apologies for this delay in replying to your letter of January 8.

We were glad to have your clear explanation of the role of the Georgia delegation in the mock convention. This organization's interest, as I explained to Miss Ferguson, would lie in the educational value of your exposition, both of the traditional point-of-view and of the newer attitudes that are coming increasingly to the fore in the school desegregation debate. Accordingly, we are enclosing our check for $50.00 payable to Oberlin College for the Georgia delegation.

It is my understanding that Ralph McGill plans to send a contribution of $25.00; I trust that your efforts and those of Miss Ferguson and the other delegates will enable you to secure the remaining funds needed.

I am also enclosing several pieces of material that will make clear the position of Atlanta's Mayor Hartsfield and "HOPE" (Help Our Public Education), Inc., the citizen organization championing open schools. You will note that "HOPE" is not merely an Atlanta organization, but also speaks for a growing number of Georgians

elsewhere in the state who prefer some desegregation to the closing of the public schools.

If we can supply further information that will be helpful, don't hesitate to call on us. With good wishes for your project, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

Check No.1146; $50.00
News clips - Atlanta World; Jan. 5, 1960
Atlanta Journal; Dec. 3, 1959
"HOPE" brochures

Burton Hall
Oberlin College
Oberlin, Ohio
January 8, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Methodist Church
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I wish to thank you for the kindness and generosity which you showed my treasurer, Miss Carol Ferguson. We are especially gratified at your promise to give us money. This, as you know comes hard and goes easy, and we are very much obliged for any help that can be given us. The minimum amount assigned to us by the Oberlin Mock Convention is $110. This we must raise. Any in excess of this must be shared with the convention as a whole.

Lest you misunderstand what we are and what our intentions are, I shall endeavor now to make our stand clear.

We are one of fifty-four self-supporting, semi-independent organizations whose sole purpose is collectively to nominate Democratic presidential and vice-presidential candidates, and to adopt a platform for them to run on. In these capacities all delegations are absolutely bound to follow the political philosophy of their states. The actual convention will take place on May 6 and 7.

Oberlin's Mock Convention originated in 1860, when as a Republican Convention, it nominated Lincoln. It is today the largest and most important of the numerous collegiate mock conventions.

Georgia, as in the real convention, has thirty-three votes, twelfth in importance, and will probably cast them all for Senator Johnson at the most crucial moment. We must also die hard for segregation. This is unavoidable.

However, I shall attempt to publish a minority report on the position of Atlanta in the school dispute. In essence this is, I believe, that Atlanta would sanction token integration rather than see its schools closed. Could you please send me a statement of this position for me to publish?

Finally, I should tell you where the money you have promised will go. Our expenses include a float to be built for the pre-convention parade, traveling costs, publicity costs, and a two-dollar-per-delegate entrance fee to the convention. I am not now certain of the exact amount this will reguire, but $110 is the Mock Convention's estimate.

With genuine appreciation of your kindness, I am

Sincerely yours,

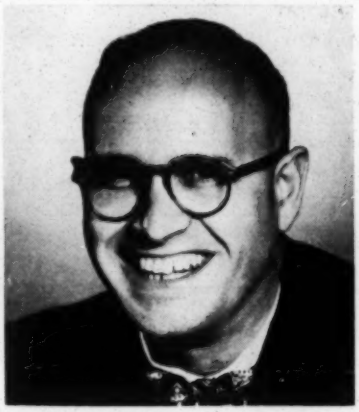
Fletcher E. Campbell Jr.

Fletcher E. Campbell, Jr.,
Chairman, Georgia Delegation,
Oberlin Mock Convention

FEC:crd

Enclosure

Oberlin Mock Convention Outlook for 1956



Gov. Meyner, Sen. Neuberger Accept Key Posts As Students Prepare for May 4 - 5 Convention

Twelve hundred Oberlin students, delegates to the College's 24th Mock Political Convention, will convene May 4-5 to prepare a platform and name their choices to head the Democratic Party ticket in the 1956 presidential election campaign.

United States Senator Richard L. Neuberger (D.-Ore.), above right, and Governor of New Jersey Robert B. Meyner, above left, will address the convention and its 3000 spectators.

Governor Meyner, minority leader in the New Jersey State Senate before he became chief executive of that state in 1953, will be keynote speaker. His address will open the convention on Friday evening, May 4, just previous to the platform debates. These will be concluded in a Saturday morning, May 5, session.

Neuberger To Chair

Senator Neuberger, an active advocate of student participation in politics and author of such books as Adventures in Politics—We Go to the Legislature, will be permanent chairman. He will deliver the opening speech on Saturday evening, May 5, and preside over the nominating and balloting for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. His wife, a member of the Oregon State Legislature, also will appear.

Three of the leading Democratic figures, Averill Harriman, Estes Kefauver and Adlai Stevenson, already have hailed the value of the convention.

1500 Participants

Including the administrative staff, the convention encompasses 1500 members of a student body of 1800 and climaxes a full year of preparation. The purpose is to aid in preparing for citizenship. Intelligent participation in a democratic society requires an understanding of the methods of democratic government, formal and informal, and with the current national issues.

It was with this in mind that the Oberlin students instituted the nation's first mock convention in 1860. It has provided a vehicle for the study, debate and voting on presidential nominees and national issues ever since.

The heritage of this oldest mock convention, which is organized, financed and presented independently by the students, led Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Earl Warren, then Governor of California, to say in 1952:

"With a tradition dating back almost as far as that of the Republican Party itself, the influence of the Oberlin Mock Convention is felt far beyond the boundaries of the Oberlin campus. In this crucial year in the life of our Nation, it can help people gain a clearer understanding of the processes upon which our Nation relies for stability and through which it has become great. Those having a part in it will be better citizens for the experience."

Rather than attempt to predict whom the national nominating convention will choose, the stress is on achieving realistic duplication of the practices and principles of American political parties. That realism has led nine times to the identical choice of the national convention (see back page for history).

Each year the college draws students from close to 40 of the 54 states and territories. The many sectional interests of the nation are, therefore, represented and many of the state delegations are formed by students who actually hold political views similar to the real views of that state.

But the convention is realistic in yet another way. Far from being all serious hard work, the convention includes the hoopla of its national counterpart, with demonstrations as the individual candidates are nominated. The nominating and seconding speeches sound like the real McCoy. A mile-long parade and delegation float contest, which becomes a gigantic rally for candidates and issues, precedes the Friday session.

But what about '56? How do the plans stand now?

The student body voted October 20 for a Democratic convention, breaking a Republican string begun in 1936.

Pressure Groups

Pressure groups, formed in part by the numerous politically-minded clubs on campus, have begun operations, contacting national parent organizations and preparing to battle for their interests in the platform debates. These groups include many of the Congressional lobbies and those national pressures which will be brought to bear on the national party convention.

The groups now in operation include AFL-CIO Labor Unions, American Civil Liberties Union, American Legion, American Medical Association, Americans for Democratic Action, Chamber of Commerce, "China Lobby", Farm Bureau, Farmers' Union, Friends Committee on National Legislation, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Association of Manufacturers, Private Power and States' Rights, and United World Federalists.

In April, the resolutions committee will hold hearings. The pressure groups and representatives of the state delegations will attend and argue for their planks. The resolutions committee will write and publish a platform to submit to the convention and the minority will publish and present its amendments.

An executive committee chose the 54 delegation chairmen after extensive interviews in which the 144 applicants were

Convention Hall will be Jones Memorial Field House.

required to show a knowledge of the political views dominant in the state or territory they wished to represent. The chairmen presently are contacting State leaders for information on current political issues and views. The next step is the forming of the body of the delegations, to take place in February.

To present the issues to the student body and to stimulate discussions, the convention and the student forum board cooperate to present a series of political symposia. Already Erwin Canham, editor of the Christian Science Monitor, has spoken on the press in an election year and J. Austin Ranney, University of Illinois expert on party politics and public opinion, has spoken on voting behavior in the last ten years.

List of Speakers

Tentative speakers for the future symposia include Prof. Hugh Borton of Columbia, speaking on Japan, Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau of Chicago University on Germany and Robert Nathan, director of Robert Nathan Associates, an economic advising firm, on the underdeveloped countries, Feb. 9-10; Frank Graham, United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan, and another speaker on political implications of integration, March 8; Jack Kroll, CIO Political Action Committee Chairman, on labor in politics, March 15; Prof. Charles Hardin of Chicago University on agriculture, and Prof. Eugene Rostow of Yale Law School on government control of industry, April 5-6.

Scenes from 1952 show the construction of a delegation float and Wisconsin's finished product; Permanent Chairman Wayne Morse, U.S. Senator from Oregon, chatting with Fritz Harshbarger, student chairman, and J. J. Auer of the speech department; the Kansas delegation hailing its favorite son.

Jones Field House, 1948 — The Convention in Session

The Nation's First - 1860

It was in 1860, on the eve of the Civil War, that students at Oberlin College conceived and held the nation's first mock political convention.

Throwing their support strongly behind the newly formed Republican Party, the students formed a platform and named, so tradition has it, Abraham Lincoln to head the ticket.

Republicanism held sway for the next 72 years as the mock conventions represented that party every fourth year with the exception of 1912, when no convention was held. They were resumed in 1916.

Nine Correct Choices

During that 72-year period, the Oberlin convention anticipated the decision of the national party nine times. In addition to Lincoln in 1860, the students chose Ulysses S. Grant in 1868 and again in 1872, Benjamin Harrison in 1892, William McKinley in 1896 and again in 1900, Theodore Roosevelt in 1904, William H. Taft in 1908 and Herbert C. Hoover in 1928.

But as the convention grew in size, adding the female half of the campus in 1920 after a stubborn Ladies' Board finally had to yield to the political rights of women, the student body began to waver from its Republicanism and in 1932 the student vote took the convention into the Democratic camp. Owen D. Young gained the nomination.

Role of Challengers

The role of challenger for the White House appealed more to the students after that and throughout the Democrats' 20-year hold the vote was for a Republican convention, except in 1944. Government regulations barred a Navy V-12 unit at Oberlin from political party activities that year, but a Republican, Wendell L. Willkie, received the nod of a non-partisan convention. The 1952 convention named Earl Warren to lead the Republicans.

As the present school year opened, the new Democratic role as challengers paved the way for another switch—back to the Democrats. After a month of debates between Democratic and Republican factions, a near-record 83 per cent of the students cast ballots on October 20. The result was an 885 to 670 vote for a Democratic mock convention in 1956.

GEORGIA STATE DELEGATION

1860 — OBERLIN COLLEGE MOCK CONVENTION — 1960

9 South Main Street, Oberlin, Ohio

February 16, 1960

Telephone 4-8572

Fletcher Campbell
Chairman

Peggy Taylor
Vice-Chairman

Carol Dunn
Secretary

Carol Ferguson
Treasurer

Beth Stokes
Float and Research Chairman

file

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of January 28 and especially for the contribution of $50 toward the defrayment of me delegation's expenses.

My entire delegation has just been formed and it is my intention to set up within it a minority to speak for the Atlanta position, and to advance the cause of H.O.P.E.

I shall keep you informed as to what concrete progress has been made along this line.

Ever grateful, I am

Sincerely yours,

Fletcher E. Campbell Jr.

Fletcher E. Campbell, Jr.

FEC:crd

February 4, 1960

Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ralph:

You will recall the two young ladies from Oberlin who visited you and, at your suggestion, talked with me about the forthcoming mock political convention.

I found $50 to contribute to their costs as the Georgia delegation, and I wanted you to know that it has been sent. In case you are still planning to contribute, checks should be made out and sent to Oberlin College "for the Georgia delegation, mock convention."

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

March 11, 1960

Miss Peggy Taylor
Vice-Chairman, Georgia Delegation
Oberlin College
9 South Main Street
Oberlin, Ohio

Dear Miss Taylor:

Thank you so much for your recent letter and the clipping from the Oberlin Review. It is good to learn that the battle which obsesses us here is being fought there, too, on more favorable ground.

As you probably know, the issue is being debated in Georgia in lively fashion. The Legislature's School Study Commission is touring the state and holding hearings to ascertain public opinion on closed schools versus some desegregation. Although the hearings are staged in a biased fashion, the proponents of open schools are beginning to come through loud and clear. There is increasing evidence that HOPE-type sentiment is by no means limited to Atlanta, or even the large cities of the state. You and your fellow delegates may feel quite justified in portraying this schism as an important one in the life of the state.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

GEORGIA STATE DELEGATION

1860 – OBERLIN COLLEGE MOCK CONVENTION – 1960

9 South Main Street, Oberlin, Ohio

February 29, 1960

Telephone 4-8572

Fletcher Campbell
Chairman

Peggy Taylor
Vice-Chairman

Carol Dunn
Secretary

Carol Ferguson
Treasurer

Beth Stokes
Float and Research Chairman

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

HOPE's horizons broaden, and we here in the Georgia Delegation are very pleased to be a part of it.

We have launched a full program to inform the campus of HOPE, and, as well as attempting to sponsor Mr. McGill for our civil rights symposium, we are debating the issue in our meetings, writing a column for the Review, and, simply but effectively, distributing signs saying HOPE in conspicuous spots about the campus.

Our meetings and interest are taking on an exciting, varied flavor because of your organization, and we are indeed grateful for not having to be tied down, as it were, to the one-sided stand of defiance and segregation as most deep Southern states are.

We will be keeping in touch with you as we become more and more involved, and would appreciate receiving from you any additional information to help further our work.

Again, we are very happy to be a junior chapter of HOPE.

Sincerely yours,

Peggy Taylor

Peggy Taylor,
Vice-Chairman, Georgia Delegation

PT:crd

Oberlin Review

OBERLIN, OHIO, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1960

Faction Splits Georgia, Takes Moderate View

By DAVID ZIEGLER

The Georgia Delegation has split. The splinter group, representing urbanized Atlanta, will publicize the moderate Southerner's approach to school integration.

Rather than representing a rebellion, however, the split is part of the delegation's effort to illustrate the complexity of the contemporary South. Chairman Sandy Campbell appointed the six members of the Atlanta moderates; Vice-Chairman Peggy Taylor heads the group.

The primary purpose of the moderate group, as formulated at a meeting yesterday afternoon, is to publicize the new outlook of Southern states resulting from growing populations and increased industrialization. The Southern Regional Council, which has given the delegation $50 for publicity, and the HOPE (Help Our Public Education) organization, are two Southern organizations indicative of the viewpoint that the splinter group hopes to represent.

The group will work to bring Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution and winner of the Pulitzer Prize for his editorial on the bombing of an Atlanta synagogue, to the Civil Rights symposium. McGill is the leading spokesman of the Georgia moderate movement.

But an effort to give a representative view to the Mock Convention limits the activity of the Atlanta moderate group. In Atlanta, buses and golf courses are integrated, and the citizens see clearly that the alternative to integration is the end of public education. But Atlanta represents only 13 percent of the Georgia population and under the county unit system of voting is even more heavily outweighed by the 158 other, less progressive rural areas.

For the Atlanta moderates, success in winning sympathy from other delegation members would mean failure to duplicate the Georgia political scene. Already, with six members, the faction is disproportionately large, Miss Taylor stated.

The 1959 Hi-O-Hi, edited by Lee Roth and Bunny Lester, has received first class rating in national competition from the Associated Collegiate Press of the University of Minnesota. This is the third year in succession that Hi-O-Hi has achieved this ranking.

6831 Norman Drive
Melbourne, Florida
October 17th, 1960.

My dear Mr. Constable.

May I thank you for the privilege you gave me of meeting the members of your staff and the all too brief but satisfying talks I had with you and Mr. Rilling.

In the afternoon I had a good visit with Mrs. Knox at the Georgia Council Office and was able to see the little we do here in better prospective. I was pleased

to learn of the Alan Paton meeting and was glad to see the type and size of the audience you were able to draw in a city the size and character of Atlanta.

Visited Spelman College and visited the Quaker House which I hope will be a great help in increasing understanding.

Yesterday I learned that Bill Williams is to be here Friday of this week.

Please tell Mrs.

Filley I was sorry
not to learn more
of her works. Mrs.
Knox told me some-
thing of it. At least
I can visualize your
staff and office which
gives ~~you~~ me a better
foundation for the very
little we accomplish
locally.

Sincerely.
Anna Owens.

July 15, 1960

Dr. Perry Ottenberg
111 North 49th Street
Philadelphia 39, Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. Ottenberg:

The list of school superintendents, as we have it on stencils, runs to approximately 600 names. As I wrote you, our list includes superintendents only in counties and cities over a certain size; a complete list would be much larger.

If we can assist you by supplying this list on tape, or in any other way, let me know.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

H.C.F.
app. 600 or stencils
The list would be large if it included all in book addresses come from -

JC - Please return with number noted hereon.
HCF

PERRY OTTENBERG, M. D.
111 NORTH 49TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 39, PA.

GR 2-1226

July 6, 1960

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your kind letter in response to my note about "Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation". Your offer to have the stencils of the names and addresses of the superintendents of schools in southern towns and cities run off on tape is a very kind one. Rather than put you to this trouble, can you give me some idea as to the number of names this involves. I am in touch with other members of my committee and I think this would be an invaluable group to circularize if we could obtain further support and necessary funds providing the group is a large one.

Sincerely yours,

Perry Ottenberg

PERRY OTTENBERG, M. D.

PO/ep

April 19, 1963

file "O" gen Corresp.

Mrs. Grace Gill Olivarez
Careers for Youth
128 North First Avenue
P. O. Box 2326
Phoenix 2, Arizona

Dear Mrs. Olivarez:

Your letter to Mr. Dabbs has been referred to me for reply. I would first like to thank you for the vivid enclosures on Careers for Youth. It is a most worthwhile undertaking, and you must indeed take pride in your accomplishments.

Regarding the inter-state clearing house on Mexican-American problems in the Southwest which you are planning, we are pleased to be of any assistance that we can in sharing with you our own organizational structure, methods of operation, aims, etc. The enclosures will give you a general idea. The Reports of the Executive Director, for 1962 and 1961, will give you an idea of our yearly program, which changes emphasis with the current needs as we see them.

Although our staff at present includes about 25 persons, the Council began with a much smaller staff and budget. It has grown with the times, and with the funds available.

Regarding the state councils on human relations, they are now autonomous, electing their own officers and managing their own affairs and programs. This is

because a local group is more able to judge what it can do and how it can best accomplish its objectives. The Council maintains liaison with the state councils through a field representative and periodic meetings of the state directors. The Council also assists them financially, and they in turn make financial and program reports each quarter.

After you have had a chance to look over these materials, if you have any questions, please write again.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures: SRC Board List
BY-LAWS
"The Southern Regional Council - Its Aims and Origins"
Congressional Record Reprint of the above(inserted July 16, 1957
Congressional Record Reprint of Richmond Times-Dispatch of Aug. 21, 1958: "A Race Agency and the Facts"
Proposed 1963 Budget for SRC
Executive Director's Reports: 1961-1962

CAREERS for YOUTH
A PHOENIX COMMUNITY PROGRAM

128 NORTH FIRST AVENUE • P. O. BOX 2326
PHOENIX 2, ARIZONA

MRS. AGNES LABELLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MB - Jim Dabbs forwarded this. Please prepare a reply for my signature

April 12, 1963

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
President
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. nw
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

A recent workshop on the problems of the Mexican-American in the Southwest brought the resolution to seek the establishment of an inter-state clearing house similar in general purpose to your organization.

We of Mexican heritage are perplexed where we sprang from, where we are now, and where we are going. Every state has different terms for those of Mexican heritage. The laws are different, the customs are different, and the educational outlook is different. We hope to improve upon the situation.

If we are to establish an inter-state organization, it would greatly benefit us if you would allow us to see your constitution, your by-laws, your board structure, and your means of working with various communities on various problems.

Although I am not too familiar with the work of your organization outside of your printed reports, I would appreciate a description of the interests of your organization and its methods of operation.

I realize this entails work. But we need your advice and support if we are to bring about a similar effort here in the southwest.

Respectfully,

Grace Gil Olivarez

Mrs. Grace Gil Olivarez

P.S. I enclose a report on the activities in which we are presently engaged.

Board of Directors of Careers For Youth:

Mr. Walter A. Biddle
Mr. Orville L. Buchanan
Mr. Robert B. Choate, Jr.
Mrs. Gussie B. Edwards
Dr. Jack Z. Eliez
Mr. Cecil J. Goff
Mr. Lester Goldberg
John R. Kelly, D.D.S.
Mr. Eugene Marin
Mr. Louis McClennen
Mr. Elias Schlossberg
Mr. Harold L. Tarr
Mrs. Grace Gil-Olivarez
Mrs. George Ullman
Dr. Morrison Warren

December 16, 1963

Professor John Osgood
Department of Psychology
Mt. Holyoke College
South Hadley, Massachusetts

Dear John:

Did I ever answer this letter? I found it while making up this year's Christmas card list.

Merry Christmas.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Merry Christmas, Dunbars!

This letter will serve, I hope, as the Osgood's Christmas card to you for 1962. There just seemed to be too many little details to include in a card, and furthermore, we have not yet bought any Christmas cards.

By the time that this letter arrives, Les, you will have met Dr. and Mrs. Kgware, from the University of the North, at Turfloot, South Africa. How do I know? Well, we met the Kgwares, Mary Alice and I, when we were over in Africa this summer, and we are hoping to see them when they get up to Northampton in February. We have been quite remiss about letting all of our friends in on the past several months' news, chief of which was our six weeks in Africa. I went over on the Comparative Education Society's tour of schools and educational systems south of the Sahara. Mary Alice would not let me goalone, for she had done her M.A. work at Pennsylvania on the Boer Wars. All in all we had a wonderful time, which included a visit to Victoria Falls, and ten countries. Of course, that makes us "Africanists" and experts on all phases of life on that continent! 57 people went along, and everywhere we received the royal-carpet treatment.

Second item: my brother Tony is now living, at least for a few months, in Atlanta, with Bobbie Jean's folks. Her father's name is James Carroll, 502 North Highland Ave., N.E. I know that they'd like to hear from you.

Third item: you may recall that I asked you, several months ago, if you were going to make up another county-by-county map of the southern states, indicating the percentage of Negro population. I have found that map most useful in teaching about the segregation problem. In fact, I am in the process of making up a series of overlays for an overhead projector, to demonstrate these variations. You may have read in the paper some time last year that Mount Holyoke got some Ford money--quite a lot, as a matter of fact--and one of the projects our department undertook was to set up a Technifax lab (i.e., a place wherein we can make up our own "projectorals" for use in our classes). We've had a lot of fun, and of course have wasted a lot of materials, but we're learning, and these visual aids are really beginning to pay off.

Fourthly, or rather, a qestion: Some where, several years ago, I read a paragraph or two demonstrating the legal differences in the states of Alabama, Miss., La., and Georgia, I believe, in what mixtures constitute a white or a Negro. I have stated the thing badly, but I can recall how weird it all was--one could legally be married in one state; but if the man and wife moved to another state, their marriage would be regarded as a criminal act, or some. thing like that. Well, if you can think of a good commentary on this problem, I'd sure appreciate your letting me know.

Mary Alice, Whit, and Toni are all fine. Whit is now in third grade and last month, for the first time, he promoted all B's. He has definite athletic tendencies, and may turn out to be a guard or tackle on the South Hadley High School team one day.

During these holidays, Minnie Lobl, who is an assitant in the German department (you may have known her and her husband, who is now dead; he and I used to play chess) will be visiting Erika Meyer and her husband.

Last summer, and the previous summer also, I taught at the Univ. of Massac usetts, during the month of July. During June, the rest of the family went home to Alabama. The last time we took the car down was 18 months ago, and the old crate broke down on the Jersey Turnpike on the afternoon of Labor Day, when the temperature was over 100. Distributor points got stuck. Something teells me that until we get a new car we won't be doing any more long driving, and therefore won't be able to stop off and see all of our friends en route. But: don't give us all up for lost!

This letter is the first of this year's crop of Christmas cards. Actually, last year, we were still sending out Christmas cards and notes up until the first of February. Mary Alice and I have simply given up trying to get every little detail done before Christmas and then becoming completely exhausted. Or perhaps that all is a massive rationalization. At any rate, our warmest greetings come to all of you with this note. And we surely hope that it will not be too many more months before we can get together again.

A joyful Christmas to all of you from all of us.

John
Mary Alice
Eli
Toni

ARIZONA:

POINT WEST

HOW TO MANUFACTURE DREAMS

THE STORY OF "CAREERS FOR YOUTH"

BY JOSEPH STOCKER APRIL 1962

"Career" groups are exposed to as many of the Valley's cultural opportunities as possible. Here a group visits at the Sombrero Theatre.

St. Joseph's hospital offers not only a trip through the hospital, but a possible source of future employment for these young people.

■ The scene is the office of the FBI. A heterogeneous-looking group of youngsters—both boys and girls, Negroes, Spanish-American and white-Anglo, ages 12 to 14 or thereabouts—is being shown around by the agent in charge. He invites the boys to heft a sub-machine gun, and he tells them what it takes to become an FBI man. He asks the girls if they wouldn't like to sit at the secretaries' desks. See, he says, there's a place in the FBI for women, too.

The scene changes. . . It's a hospital. A similar group is being shown through. Young eyes glisten at the sight of spotless operating rooms, massive X-ray equipment, figures in white gliding down silent corridors. The eager questions. . . "How long does it take to become a doctor?" "What do you have to do to be a nurse?"

Once again a change of scene. It's the auditorium of Phoenix Union High School. An evening of ballet. There on the main floor, in orchestra seats, sit a handful of kids, their faces —white, brown, black, and in-between—magnificently scrubbed and alive with excitement. They've never seen ballet before. Never seen it? Never knew the meaning of the word. really.

Behind these seemingly unrelated happenings lies an extraordinary organization known as Careers For Youth. (It was Careers, Inc., until recently.) And behind Careers stand some extraordinary energetic people. They're practical people, too—practical people who believe in dreams.

There's Bob Choate, for one. Robert B. Choate, Jr., to give him his full name. A civil engineer by profession. Tall, sinewy fellow, in his mid-30's, with a crew cut, a crisp manner and an accent straight out of Faneuil Hall and Boston's back bay.

And there's Eli Schlossberg, a hospital pharmacist, and his wife, Betty, who like people and believe in them. And there are a number of educators—Gussie Edwards, Arlena Seneca, Gene Marin, Dr. Morrison Warren, Neil Sherman, and O. L. Buchanan. And a few dozen other intrepid citizens who have given money or time or work or simply their names, which, in certain contexts, can be worth more than money.

Well, we've laid the scene, or rather scenes. And we have a partial cast of characters. To get on with the story. . .

It begins really in Boston, with Bob Choate. He was born and brought up there, the son of the publisher of the Boston *Herald-Traveler* and member of a family that traced its aristocratic lineage back a hundred years before the Revolution. It bothers Bob Choate to have his affluent beginnings mentioned in print. Few members of well-to-do families are less inclined to trade on their names than he is. But all of this has a bearing on what came later, 2,500 miles away, in a desert city called Phoenix, and Bob Choate is the first to admit it.

"I was brought up," he says, "in a home in which Catholics, Jews, Negroes, and foreigners—just about everybody, in other words, except white Anglo-Saxon Protestants—were spoken of with derision by my grandfather. Yet, at the same time, his wife—my grandmother—was on the board of directors of the Elizabeth Peabody House, which was the local settlement house. Every week, week in and week out, she went down to the Peabody House, and now and then she would take me with her, and that way I saw the slums of Boston."

His grandmother did something else. She implanted in him the concept of *noblesse oblige* . "Those who have money," she said, "owe something extra to those who don't."

In the 1930's he first came to Arizona, to attend a private school in Tucson. When the war broke out, he went into the Navy, and when it was over, he pursued the construction busi-

ness from one coast to another and back again. He supervised construction for the Navy of a high-altitude biological laboratory in the California Sierras. At last he found himself in Phoenix, possessed of a not-too-well-defined notion of doing something a little more purposeful than just accumulating more and more worldly goods.

He had already become interested in the work of the Urban League, a national organization dedicated to improving the lot of the American Negro, especially in the fields of employment and housing. In 1958 he had a bout of hepatitis and was laid up for a year. It gave him a chance to do some reading and thinking. He read everything he could find on the Urban League. He was particularly intrigued by one of its projects known as TST—Tomorrow's Scientists and Technicians. It was a vocational guidance program for Negro children.

When he recovered from his illness, Choate went out on the town and talked to 150 people about starting a project something like TST. He came home from that formidable job of pulse-taking convinced that such a project was badly needed. Moreover, he decided, it should involve not just Negroes but Spanish and white-Anglos as well. In short, it should take in all the kids who lived on the wrong side of the tracks, actually or figuratively, and were doomed to stay there the rest of their lives unless they got some special lift and encouragement.

And so was born Careers For Youth.

But it wasn't just another vocational guidance thing. The kids who live in the depressed parts of town—out on East Jefferson, for instance, or West Buckeye Road or East Broadway—need more than vocational guidance. They need inspiration—something to aspire to. They need to think there's a chance for them to have something more in life than their fathers and grandfathers have had. They need to break out of the vicious circle of despair-leading-to-failure-and-failure-leading-to-despair. In other words, they need to be able to hope.

The problem goes even deeper, as Choate soon discovered. Before you can hope to have something, you must know what there is to be had. And many of Careers' children simply don't know. Only a few blocks separate them from the middle-class sections of town, but it might as well be an ocean.

"Many of them, having grown up in poverty, have no understanding at all of what constitutes normal middle-class living—of the rudimentary things that we take for granted," says Choate. "Many of them have never eaten off plates, or used forks and knives. Things like indoor plumbing, a quiet room in which to study, a bicycle ride to the library, are completely strange to them."

Choate also learned that in some areas as many as 85 per cent of the youngsters do not finish high school. Principals of schools in that part of town told him that most of their kids never had met a lawyer or an engineer and only had the skimpiest notion of how lawyers and engineers made their livings. Was it likely, then, that they would ever think of becoming lawyers or engineers?

"They never met people whom they could really admire for their achievements," says Choate. "They needed something to get them into another world. Their world was a 20-square-block area south of Van Buren, and some of them had never even been north of it."

What could be done for them? How do you infuse ambition into the ambitionless, hope into the hopeless? How do you show them why they ought to study and work and finish school? And how do you help them if they need help?

That was the challenge of Careers For Youth.

Choate started rounding up co-workers. Right behind his little band of organizers—Mrs. Edwards, Miss Seneca, Marin, the Schlossbergs, and the rest—came others: Dr. John R. Kelly, a dentist; Walter Biddle, an engineer; Cecil Pine, supervisor at an electronics plant, and Dr. Lewis Allbee, assistant superintendent of Phoenix high schools. Still others lend their good names and moral encouragement—people like Mrs. Grady Gammage, widow of the late president of Arizona State University; Walter Bimson, the banker; Raymond Rubicam, the retired advertising man. And later came Agnes Labelle, blonde, pretty, efficient, and *simpatico*. She had a secure, well-paying job as a legal secretary and cheerfully chucked it to answer Bob Choate's call for somebody "with executive ability and a social conscience" to serve as executive director of Careers.

The Careers people approached the schools, especially schools in and close to the depressed sections of town, elementary schools mostly but a couple of high schools, too. With the sanction of the school officials, they organized Career Clubs. Membership was open to teen-age youngsters having marked potential. Object: To show them why they should stick it out, finish school, maybe even try to go to college, and what kind of opportunities awaited them if they did.

People in various pursuits—architects, electronics experts, engineers, lawyers, businessmen, a bit of almost everything—visited the Career Clubs and told the kids about their work. There were tours. Careers rented busses and drove eager youngsters by the dozens to factories, hospitals, the courthouse, the FBI's offices. Professional men, skilled technicians, public officials, business and industrial executives stopped what they were doing long enough to speak to the young people and answer their questions and—it was hoped—fire up their ambitions.

During fallow summers kids lose heart, begin to figure that school has no purpose, decide not to go back in the fall. And so, during the summer, Careers paid a high school counselor $500 to talk to a lot of them about the importance of staying in school. The counselor had to go to their homes to find them.

An Arizona organization demonstrates to the world a way in which private enterprise can help solve social ills.

"He told me afterward," says Bob Choate, "that he'd had no idea of the conditions they lived in. He said that every counselor working with youngsters in those sections of the city should make home visits, that this should be a required part of his training. It staggered him that counselors were working with kids of whose backgrounds they knew so little."

Meanwhile, there began a systematic exposure of those deprived youngsters to Life As It Is Lived in the Middle Class. They were taken to visit model homes. Some had never seen a house with a toilet.

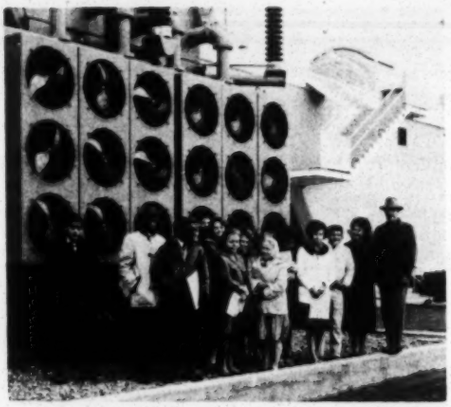
The Schlossbergs took them to visit a book store in Scottsdale. Several had never been in Scottsdale.

They were taken to dine at decent restaurants. These, remember, were children unfamiliar with even the most elementary amenities. Therefore odd and poignant things sometimes happened, as when several of the children dining out one evening ate everything on their plates except the roast beef. Why not the roast beef? "I'm not sure," says Choate, "but I think because all their lives they'd never had meat that you cut with a knife and fork. They'd had

beans, stew—that sort of thing—but never 'cuttable' meat. They just didn't know what to do with it."

Careers gave them also a glimpse of things cultural. They were taken to plays and ballet. They attended symphony concerts. (Asked how he liked what he'd heard, one lad said cautiously, "The music was pretty but kinda long." Asked how his friend sitting next to him liked it, the same lad replied, "I think he kinda fell asleep.")

The Key Club of West High School sponsored one of these cultural safaris. Its members bought a block of 100 tickets to "Oklahoma!" for Career Clubbers and provided transportation. "You know," a Negro girl said afterward, a little wonderingly, "I thought those boys would be sorta stuck up. But they weren't." (One of the West High boys experienced a small revelation, too. "Those Negroes," he said, "were the politest people I ever met.")



The steam plant at Aqua Fria gives this group an opportunity to study a host of technical professions at first hand.

Why these heady flights into the upper realms of Culture when most of the kids involved rarely even have enough money for a movie? Bob Choate explains:

"Simply to show them our middle-class standards of living. Once again, to give them something to aspire to."

And Eli Schlossberg:

"We feel that it's just as important as helping the kids find their way into worthwhile vocations. Being qualified to do some particular job is only part of it. Being able to get along with others in your profession or vocation—with others of your class—is also important. Besides, we want these young people to get out into the community and see that such things—concerts, ballet, plays and so on—have public acceptance and that people consider them important enough to want and to work for."

Careers For Youth doesn't just dangle goodies under kids' noses and then go off leaving them with their mouths watering. It lays hard cash money on the line. "Our primary aim," says Bob Choate, "is to get them through high school." And so Careers gives high school scholarships to young people who need them and deserve them. The scholarships are usually for buying textbooks. Arizona is one of the few states that do not provide textbooks in the high schools, and this is probably the largest single factor in the high drop-out rate among youngsters from poor families. A year's textbooks can cost as much as $50, and $50 comes hard to slum families.

Careers also has helped several youngsters in college. As of this writing, for example, it is lending a hand to the daughter of a Mexican wetback. Her father was caught so often slipping over the border that she missed the first three of her eight elementary grades. Then the father died and her mother disappeared, and the girl came to live with a relative in a rural section of Maricopa county.

She did poorly in her freshman and sophomore years in high school. In her junior year she caught fire, and as a senior she held offices in three of the five clubs she belonged to and was valedictorian of her graduating class. She desperately longed for a chance at college. Her sights were set on becoming a chemist.

Well, she has a chance to make it. With a boost from Careers For Youth, she's going to ASU. She still lives with her relative and commutes to the campus. How's she doing? Not badly at all. In a recent chemistry exam, in which the highest grade was 74 and the average was 44, she made 69.

There's a Pygmalion quality to some of these cases, and Careers is quick to admit it.

"We took them on to find out what problems we might face when youngsters from radically different circumstances than the norm want to go to college," says Dr. John Kelly, who is scholarships chairman for Careers.

Careers has its critics. Social movements usually do. A woman acquaintance of Choate's concisely voiced the criticism that he and his cohorts most often hear.

"Why go to so much trouble to get those kids interested in careers?" she asked. "The community won't hire them anyway."

She was assuming that most of the young people involved are Negroes and Spanish-American. Actually white Anglos account for a full one-third of those being helped by Careers.

So far as the minority youngsters are concerned, however, the Careers people are not unrealistic. They know there is discrimination. But along with being realistic they are optimistic. They believe that discrimination is breaking down, albiet with exasperating slowness. One way to hurry the process, they reason, is to get Negro and Spanish young people qualified for jobs, as and when the jobs come along. It's a kind of chicken-or-the-egg situation. Discrimination bars minorities from certain jobs. Therefore minority youngsters are discouraged from going to school and preparing for those jobs. Then, when some employers *are* disposed to hire regardless of race, color or what-have-you, qualified mem-

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POINT WEST MAGAZINE

1944 E. CAMELBACK ROAD, PHOENIX

JOSEPH C. LINCOLN
PUBLISHER

RICHARD L. GILBERT
EDITOR

bers of minorities are hard to find.

Eli Schlossberg remembers when a friend of his came to town looking for engineers.

"Would you take a Negro engineer?" asked Schlossberg.

"Sure—anybody," said the friend.

But when Schlossberg inquired around, not a Negro engineer could he find.

Bob Choate believes—and says it in so many words—that prejudice and discrimination "have no place in a community." He also believes that, by its very nature, and without going on an anti-discrimination crusade, Careers For Youth will help lessen discrimination. It will do it by bringing businessmen and others out to speak before the various Career Clubs and taking Career Clubbers to visit places of employment. All this will mean direct people-to-people contact of employers with young Negroes and Spanish-Americans. And the implication cannot help but register with the employers: Those youngsters some day will be just as employable and just as useful as members of the white-Anglo majority.

Choate, Schlossberg, Labelle & Co. aren't being bleeding-hearts about this Careers thing. It's more than just compassion that moves them (although compassion certainly figures in it). There are some very practical considerations.

"As life becomes more and more complex," explains Choate, "the uneducated will ever more surely become committed to a life of unemployment, public dole, and community dependency. Crime, ill health, and social irresponsibility are likely by-products. Is it not cheaper to exert a maximum effort on a person between the ages of 6 and 16 than to care for him during the next 50 years of his life? The answer is obvious. We can neither afford the luxury of wasted minds nor the expense of the caretaker role."

Eli Schlossberg looks upon Careers as something to give unmotivated kids a dream.

"That's what it adds up to—giving them a dream," he says. "If a youngster thinks he can become a doctor or an engineer or whatever, as long as he holds on to that dream, he has a chance. This is still an open society."

Bob Choate, possibly remembering the Boston grandmother and her concept of *noblesse oblige*, sees also a philosophical involvement.

"It's a highly moral issue," he says. "Do you help people who are different than yourself? And how much do you help them over and beyond just helping them across the street, or something of the sort? And isn't there a moral obligation imposed on the successful person in the free enterprise system—an obligation to turn around and give a hand up to those less successful?"

A short time ago Choate went east to call on some prominent men and (he hoped) get backing for a pitch to the big foundations to help expand the Careers idea nationwide. The men he called on were mostly presidents and board chairmen of large firms. They said Careers was a sound idea and a needed thing. And one of them said something else.

"The unusual things get done in this country," he observed, "when one watches the tide, and when the tide turns, you jump in and swim like hell."

It was another way of saying, as somebody has, that "nothing is as powerful as an idea whose time has come." The people behind this project for giving dreams to the despairing and hope to the hopeless think that Careers For Youth is just that kind of idea. THE END

CAREERS FOR YOUTH NEEDS YOUR HELP IF IT IS TO CONTINUE GROWING

WHETHER YOU DONATE YOUR TIME OR YOUR DOLLARS
YOUR COMMUNITY NEEDS YOUR HELP .....

CAREERS NEEDS –

VOLUNTEERS, MALE AND FEMALE
CAREER CLUB SPEAKERS AND PUBLIC SPEAKERS
BUS TRIPS AND PLANT TOURS
TICKETS TO CIVIC AND CULTURAL EVENTS
OPERATING FUNDS AND SCHOLARSHIP FUNDS
SPECIAL PROJECTS BY ORGANIZATIONS AND CLUBS
SUPPORTERS FROM EVERY RACE, CREED, AND COLOR

CONTACT
MRS. AGNES LABELLE
ALPINE 4–0538
OR
P.O. BOX 2326
PHOENIX 2, ARIZONA

PLEASE KEEP THIS PROGRAM GROWING !!!

"CAREERS FOR YOUTH is a sterling example of free enterprise tackling community problems with private drive and initiative. Good luck."

Senator Barry Goldwater

"The CAREERS FOR YOUTH organization is an outstanding example of the best way we can keep America strong and free. Through their voluntary efforts, the participants prove that the United States is still the land of opportunity for all. I have noted the recognition you have so deservedly accrued, and I congratulate you for your achievements in encouraging talented youngsters to aspire to, and to move toward, goals worthy of their abilities. Keep up the good work."

Senator Carl Hayden

"HELP US HELP THEM"

MAKING DREAMS COME TRUE — One of the important p
cadia Woman's Club of Scottsdale is supporting Careers, Inc. which takes
non-profit organization whose "only aim is to give all talen little ef-
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Career Education Encouraged By Arcadia Group

By SY

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Careers Inc. Speakers Helping Pupils, Students Pick Vocations

By JERRY EATON
Republic Education Editor

Careers Inc. of Phoenix is operating an expanded program this year that brings speakers from many areas into 11 elementary schools and two high schools.

Eaton

The objective of the non-profit educational enterprise is to acquaint students and pupils with many occupations, one of which they may choose for their life work.

Interest in a vocation also motivates many to continue school and receive a diploma.

YOUNGSTERS in Valley elementary schools have heard several speakers this year, including a doctor, medical technologist, secretary, x-ray technician, engineer, lawyer, and a newspaper reporter.

The Career Club at Bethune School in the Phoenix Elementary District visited the Arizona Supreme Court and was counseled by Judge Lorna Lockwood.

South Mountain High School and Phoenix Union also are participating in the program.

The program, designed to acquaint students with more pleasing aspects of society they seldom see, had a boost from the West Phoenix High School Key Club. It provided 100 tickets for "Oklahoma" presented by the Phoenix Musical Theater.

"MEMBERS of Career clubs at Phoenix Union, South Mountain, and Lowell Elementary School attended this production," said Agnes Labelle, executive director of Careers Inc. "For most of our club members this was the first time that any had seen a live stage production."

Many other students and pupils will attend cultural events this school year, such as the Phoenix Symphony, other musical theater offerings, Little Theater productions, and art exhibits.

Arizona State University also has provided 300 tickets to two Sun Devil football games.

CAREER CLUB members also have toured the Motorola Semiconductor Plant, and will visit ASU as guests of Mrs. Grady Gammage, wife of the late president of ASU.

School officials point out that without the help of Careers Inc. the students and pupils would seldom have the chance to tour industries, and attend cultural affairs.

They say that Careers Inc. shows youngsters that life can be productive and rewarding, and perhaps more happy than they ever dreamed possible.

Now, Careers Inc. is organizing adult volunteer workers and conducting a fund raising drive to expand its program.

Televi

TV Screenotes

Patrick's P Tackle School 'Ot

Joe Patrick's Arizona Roundtable discussion topic for tomorrow night on KPHO-TV will be "Analysis of the Work of Careers, Inc."

The show will be Bob Choate, Dr. Morrison Warren, Mrs. Eileen Mains and Eugene Marin. Main concern of the panel will be to discuss the dropout problems in

Sunday night Round-
ing a worthy
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ools.

Talented Young... Get Lost In Shuffle

By BERT FIREMAN

ARIZONA

ENGINEER · SCIENT

What made you choose yo
er? Was it an interested F
ted uncle, or your own cu

Good Morning!

Careers Unlimited Organizes In Phoenix

Walter Bimson, Robert Choate Jr., Mrs. Grady Gammage, Raymond Rubicam, Organizers

An 'American First' Idea Tackled By Phoenix Group

By MAGGIE SAVOY

Savoy Fare

We wax poetic over a rose that is born to blush unseen, wasting its fragrance . . .

Yet what a greater tragedy is the bright mind of a child, capped and trapped by an uncaring society which takes little effort to find it, less to nuture

that has come from the first year's efforts of Careers, Inc.: A bright-eyed little Spanish-speaking boy's talent for art was dis-
ered. Several peo
advertising
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him

lisher of the New York Times; Donald K. David vice chairman of the
Foundation.

One man
Wriston
Ar

PHOENIX ACTION

GIVE THEM A DREAM

Last spring, a group of honor roll students toured a development of model homes in the $13,000 price range. Several in the group had never been in a home with indoor toilet facilities. Others in this same above-average group lived within 12 blocks of Van Buren Street yet had never been north of this dividing line.

These were bright students — students with the capabilities of going to college and becoming useful citizens. Yet, when they were quizzed about college plans, over half of them did not know what a college was.

Impossible, you say, for something like this to happen in Phoenix? Not at all, if you talk to any of the volunteer workers of Careers, Inc., a self-supporting, non-profit organization whose "only aim is to give all talented young people, from all walks of life, a fair and equal chance at a full-fledged career and a fulfilling life."

Careers, Inc., is the brainchild of Robert B. Choate, Jr., a young civil engineer from Boston who believed that some of America's best potential brainpower was being untapped in the lower economic areas where incentive and motivation were almost totally lacking.

He enlisted the aid of such Phoenix civic leaders as Cecil C. Pine, Dr. John R. Kelly, Orville L. Buchanan, Walter A. Biddle, Mrs. Gussie B. Edwards, Elias Schlossberg, Mrs. Grady Gammage and many others. A pilot program was run in the late spring of 1960. Then, in September 1960, the first full year's program was begun.

Some 15 to 20 of the brightest 7th, 8th and 9th grade students were selected from each of ten schools. Career Clubs were organized and officers elected. Meetings were held twice a month featuring guest speakers from various fields. Bus trips were made once a month to businesses, colleges, hospitals, cultural activities and sports events. The objective, always, was to offer them motivation — to make them want to aspire.

This school year, the 10th grade will be added, and the 11th and 12th grades will be included in 1962 and 1963, respectively. The ultimate goal is to have 500 students in organized Career Clubs in the six pre-college grades. Thus, a bright child who participates for the full six years will be exposed to 108 career talks on business, scientific or technical fields.

The parents of these children are included in the program; because, without their interest and cooperation, it is difficult to stimulate the children's ambitions.

In the areas where Careers, Inc., works, drop-outs at the high school level are extremely high due to economic reasons; so a high school scholarship fund is being accumulated for use. Careers, Inc., also administers the Louis Jordan Fund for college students. Two such scholarship loans were made last year.

Last spring, a 19-year-old girl graduated from a Phoenix high school as the valedictorian of her class. She was the daughter of a Mexican wetback who had been shuffled back and forth across the border so many times she had missed three of her first eight years of schooling. She was interested in chemistry and wanted to go to college, so Careers, Inc., arranged for a college entrance exam at Arizona State University. She scored a whopping 122 on her IQ test and, this fall, enters ASU with a special scholarship granted by Careers, Inc. ASU educators say that "the girl has the intelligence to go just as far as she wishes."

"One of our greatest needs is for more Phoenix businesses and industries to open their doors to us," Choate said.

"Put it this way. How can a child with a high mathematical aptitude aspire toward being an engineer unless he can see with his own eyes what an engineer does? If you take that child into a plant and let him hear the chief engineer tell of the opportunities for qualified young men, he gets the idea — but quick!"

In essence, Careers, Inc., has only one goal — to make gifted young people aspire. "Give them a dream, and they will make that dream come true."

Gazette

Don Dedera

Careers, Inc., Really Invests In The Future

A LID on a bright kid, frustrate him, and he
ome a public liability.

ybe he will just be a bad neighbor. Maybe he will
r a political subversion. Or maybe he will turn to
, and if he does, he will be a smart, hard-to-catch
.

But give a bright child a chance, and he can become
community's finest citizen."

imising prospects Bob Choate and his Careers,
work in Phoenix two years ago. The effort was
the several elementary districts that feed into
and South Mountain high schools.

dents are participating.

'5 of Phoenix's more responsible and
surgeon, dentists, architects, sci-
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SATURDAY, APRIL 22, 196

Career CORNER

By Careers, Inc.

A career as a beautician appeals to the 10th
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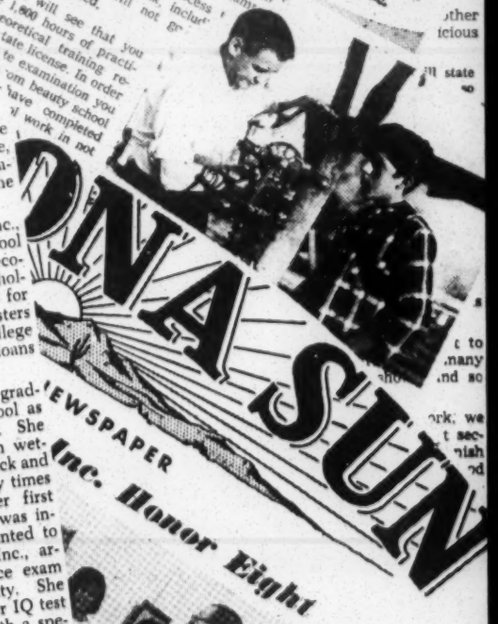

Inc. Honor Eight

Congratulations, Careers, Inc.

the forward-looking sponsors of Careers, Inc.
A SUN offers hearty commendations. This recen
on-profit group will certainly prove a worthwhile b
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Knowledge, Not out of Ignorance" is the Career
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The sponsors of Careers, Inc. h
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Careers, Inc. 128 North 1st Ave., Phoenix, Arizona - AL 4-0538

1961

CAREERS, INC.: Something is being done to overcome this problem in Phoenix. A young engineer, Bob Choate, 5525 N. Quail Pl., Scottsdale, has organized Careers, Inc., to give guidance to youngsters with talents who merit guidance, direction, and help.

Because youngsters from neighborhoods of lower economic wealth drop out of school earlier and readily settle for any old job instead of a career, Choate has directed his first efforts into those areas. With co-operation of school authorities, a dozen after-school clubs have been organized of a dozen youngsters each. The program began at the 7th grade level and now includes 8th and 9th grade students. Each year new 7th graders will be incorporated in the program. Eventually students in the top six grades will be ... g career possibilities before graduation.

mphasis in the program is placed upon echnical education and careers rathe emanding vocational training.

y two weeks each career club is v in the expanding scientific and indu fies, or by volunteers from various p opportunities and needs of the particu f by student questioning.

ited into the career clubs, Choate explained, "usual nd talented youths who are drifting through school, sometimes neglected as emphasis and attention is mplishments of the upper two or three per cent nding." Just below them are countless above- who may not qualify for top college scholarships at potential if it can be discovered, encouraged,

ying students toward careers, the or- any remain in school with financial Pine, electronics supervisor at resident of the organization.

e organization has some unfilled need. experts in every scientific and technical a few hours a month with ... rs, might fill the ... ts to ...

SOUTH PHOENIX

Today's TV Tips

ERTAINMENT
p.m. (12)—"The World of ...ne." One show like this ... series, and ated by rare old film clips of the greats of yesteryear, you'll love this show. Much of it is "live" as Joan Crawford takes you on a tour of the Ziegfeld Theater which belongs today to ...d Perry Como.

Noon (10) Foot ... New York.
Noon (12) Pro ... Pittsburgh Steelers ... Francisco 49ers.

he Arizona Republic, Phoenix, Arizona

Profession Finder

Careers, Inc., Vocational Youth Aid, Seeks Worker

By ROBERT B. CHOATE Jr.

One of the great advantages of living in America is the relative freedom with which one may choose his niche in life. The doctor's son may become a poet, the ditch-digger's daughter a nurse. One is fairly free (by laws at least) to select the economic and challenge level that one prefers. Hard work is the main key to admission.

A non-profit organization by the name of Careers, Inc. has set itself the task of keeping this freedom. Privately run and financed, it seeks to take the most capable youth from difficult circumstances, and to raise the motivations and ambitions of this youth to a point where he or she can have a chance of succeeding in a career or profession.

THERE ARE shortages in most technical fields today. ... unmet demand for ... ...

CAREERS, INC. forsees helping 400 to 500 students as its eventual goal. This would produce yearly approximately 75 more talented youngsters to enter the career and professional pool. Career, Inc. wants to help those that need it; it does not want to become the vocational baby - sitter of the lazy parent.

However, the lessons it learns as time progresses will be made available in booklet form so all parents can learn the rudiments of vocationally boosting their children here in Phoenix.

Can you help in a small or a major way? "Yes!" is the shout of Careers, Inc's 12-member board of directors which for reference, includes honorary chairman Governor Fannin, Engineer Cecil Pine, Dentist John Kelly, School Principal Sidney Anderson, Teacher Gussie Edwards, as well as Dr. Lewis Albee, Orville Buchanan, Eugene Marin, Elias Schlossberg, Neil Sherman, Harold Tarr, Eldridge Gonway Jr., and Robert ...

Career Club Organized To Aid Bright Children

5/5/60

A Career Cl... has been formed for girls in the area of Mary Bethune Sch... 10 S. 15th Ave. The girls range in age from 12 to 14.

The ... recently listened to a talk on nursing as a career. Such was the case of Doris Meador. "The ... gives me an opportunity to ... different careers, and decide which one ... she said.

Don Dedera

Manpower Shamefully Wasted In City, State

TEST your IQ.

From the three words offered, choose the one which completes this statement of elementary logic:

Pan is to *casa* as *bollo* is to ———

1. burro

Rio Vista, Julian Schools Form Career Clubs To Help Students

Rio Vista and Julian are the first South Phoenix schools to become members of a new organization which is intended to help students find the career to which they are best suited.

The schools have Career Clubs whose aim is to better acquaint children with the characteristics of various technical and scientific fields. Capable students who perhaps might be overlooked as a potential source of talent are inspired to pursue careers in the fields in which they are interested.

The parent group known as Ca... Inc., is guided by a 12 man ...ry board made up of educa... ...d professionals.

...e a month the clubs are ... by a visiting profes... career-minded person ...s the characteris... ...rticular career.

Details about the club may be received by writing Careers Inc., P. O. Box 2326, Phoenix. Contributions for scholarships and operating funds also are welcome. The scholarship fund is administered by the Phoenix Union High School and Phoenix College system under the name of Career Club Trust Account.

Officers of the Rio Vista club are Helen Aguilar, president, Sharla Bailey, vice president, Yvonne De La Torre, secretary, and Maura Macaraeg, treasurer.

Officers of the Julian club are Howard Kirk, president, Cynthia Bell, vice president, Alva Watkins, secretary, and Gertie Oliver, treasurer.

Next y... to exp... elem... the group has plans ... include sever more ...ols plus several ...

It operated out ... of a post office box. Now its office is in the Arizona Title and Trust Building on N. First Avenue, donated rent-free by the owners. A local bank gave furniture.

...dy to ... ...ld Choate. "I am ... time when our country needs to ... ces, we are allowing some of ... Well over 100 people have addressed the career clubs. Members have toured Arizona State University.

THE MAIN idea is to impart to ...d on the south side you can ...ot have a single child with ...se teachers would perform ... than their own—say the children of promise the simple fact that hard work, applied with imagination, does pay off to get ... the so-called unmotivated ones to ... the American dream.

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...t-shooting teachers. ...ckering. He doesn't ...ill listen, that 25 ...on High School ...tricts, he has ... cent of the ... because of ... school or ... of compli- ...ix neigh- ...

Helping Youngsters Brings Happiness To Phoenix Pair

By MARY LEONHARD

ELI SCHLOSSBERG came West and found the Fountain of Youth.

Turns out it isn't something you drink in.

It's what you give out: interest in the young ones, hope for their future.

Eli and Betty Schlossberg, married 31 years now, left Brooklyn back in 1936 because arthritis was crippling him.

"I don't know what it was, maybe having been sick," Schlossberg said. "But after I came out here, I saw things differently, not just my own life, but what was happening to other people, good and bad things."

SCHLOSSBERG and his wife have lived for the past 20 years in a cottage on the grounds of the Arizona State Hospital, where he is a pharmacist. They've traveled a lot and they have an enviable collection of hi-fi records. They enjoy life for themselves, but not just for themselves.

In their early years here, they became volunteer workers for their community, and particularly for its children. They organized a Girl Scout troop at the hospital.

Schlossberg worked for B'nai B'rith, Jewish fraternal order. He took special interest in its vocational service committee, focusing attention on the importance of career selection. His wife worked for the Mental Health Association.

A FEW YEARS back, Schlossberg helped plan a local TV series for young people, "The Future Is You." By this time, he was tabbed. Community organizations knew him as one of those can't-say-no-to-a-telephone-plea types.

So two or three years ago when they were organizing, Schlossberg got another phone call.

Careers, Inc., was formed by men who wanted to get the kids in Phoenix "gray area" to stir the dreaming. They aimed to stir the young ones from neighborhoods where aspiration collides with the buff into striving harder than the kids who have things easy.

THE SCHLOSSBERGS joined and took an active part in book store. They took care clubs were set up in ... elementary schools. They ... two downtown high schools. They encouraged professional-technical people to reveal their philosophies ... the bright children chosen for the clubs. They tried to acquaint ... employers with the training the youngsters were getting.

Meantime, they got acquainted ... themselves with some shining ... eyes, smiling young faces that tugged at the hearts of a childless couple.

They took out a young girl who walked most strangely, leaned forward, weaved a little. She had ... on her first pair of high heels, was starched, brushed and scrubbed to the hilt.

"We kept her with us as long as we could. Took the other kids in our party home first. Oh, she was appealing!" said Mrs. Schlossberg.

They introduced other youngsters to fine music. They had planned an hour and a half recorded program for them, but had to urge them to go home after four hours of repeats and requests for more.

Mrs. Schlossberg cooked what she calls a career lunch. It went so well that she had to slip out to the kitchen and go through the process again, so everybody could know how seconds.

They took a carful of eighth graders to a Scottsdale book store to discovered that some of them unless special effort is made, that had not only never been in a book store before, they'd never been to Scottsdale.

THE SCHLOSSBERGS have introduced South Phoenix teenagers to world-prominent actors, using performance tickets. Like ... by Phoenix theaters. Like San Diego, they've had their first looks at painting. A woman inside of major area industrial plants.

They've had a guided tour of the Phoenix FBI office, where it was the girls, not the boys, who welcomed the chance to pose with submachine guns.

They've seen community interest in Careers, Inc., grow. The first few months, it operated out of a post office box. Now its office is in the Arizona Title and Trust Building on N. First Avenue, donated rent-free by the owners. A local bank gave furniture.

THE MAIN idea is to impart to children of promise the simple fact that hard work, applied with imagination, does pay off to get ... than their own—say the so-called unmotivated ones to ... the American dream.

Well over 100 people have addressed the career clubs. Members have toured Arizona State University.

...ot have a single child with ...se teachers would perform ... than their own—say the ...

...ll listen, that 25 ...on High School ...tricts, he has ... cent of the ... because of ... school or ... of compli- ...ix neigh- ...

...ou ...od

...u are a ... school; ... go on to ...ed.

...eful waste

... a language ... standards of ... middle- ...

...t-shooting teachers. ...ckering. He doesn't ...ill listen, that 25 ...on High School ...tricts, he has ... cent of the ... because of ... school or ... of compli- ...ix neigh- ...

...ld Choate. "I am ... time when our country needs to ... ces, we are allowing some of ... Well over 100 people have addressed the career clubs. Members have toured Arizona State University.

THE MAIN idea is to impart to ...d on the south side you can ...ot have a single child with ...se teachers would perform ... than their own—say the

file "gen" O.O.

file

OAK RIDGE ASSOCIATED UNIVERSITIES
INCORPORATED
P. O. BOX 117
OAK RIDGE, TENNESSEE 37830

February 13, 1967

AREA CODE 615
TELEPHONE 483-8411

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

field in Research

Dear Paul Anthony:

Enclosed is a copy of "Manpower for Development", a report of the 1966 summer student internship programs conducted by Oak Ridge Associated Universities and sponsored by three federal agencies.

During the summer of 1966, 39 students served as interns in eight southern states, and 30 additional interns have been appointed during the academic year. We anticipate appointing 70 to 100 students this summer to work as resource development interns in at least 10 states.

Interns are assigned to existing development organizations to carry out tasks identified by the local group. Each intern works with a project committee comprised of a university counselor, technical advisor, and local person. These 12-week projects result in a written report to the local organization for which the project was designed. Appendix H lists these reports and their subject matter. Limited copies of each report are available upon request.

In view of increasing interest in a national voluntary service corps and student commitment to the development of this country's human and natural resources, I believe these internship programs offer new opportunities for university and college resources to focus on area needs and problems.

I would appreciate receiving your critical comments about this program and any information that you can send me regarding student organizations or development agencies which might be interested in resource development internships.

Sincerely,

Robert L. Sigmon

Robert L. Sigmon
Internship Coordinator

RLS:jh

Enclosure

June 25, 1969

Dr. John B. O'Hara
Director of Continuing Education
California State Polytechnic College
Kellogg West f
3801 West Temple Avenue
Pomona, California 91766

Dear John:

It's good to hear from you and to know of your ambitious undertakings. Do keep us informed.

In that regard, we are adding you to our mailing list.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

CALIFORNIA STATE POLYTECHNIC COLLEGE

KELLOGG WEST

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

In April of 1968, the California State Polytechnic College Foundation, Pomona, received a $3 million grant from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, Battle Creek, Michigan. Kellogg West, as the Center for Continuing Education will be known, will be constructed on a hill overlooking the Kellogg Campus.

As you may know, Kellogg West is one of the nine Centers for Continuing Education partially financed by the Kellogg Foundation. Kellogg West will be the first such Center for Continuing Education west of the Great Plains and the only one of its type on a campus of a college or university in California. Moreover, Kellogg West will be established as an integral part of the California State College system.

We hope to start construction this summer and be ready for full operation in the Fall of 1970. I have enclosed a brochure which describes the project in some detail.

If we may be of service to you in scheduling and assisting your organization's continuing education activities, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

How are you?

John B. O'Hara
Director of Continuing Education

Enclosure

help others to help themselves

ANNUAL REPORT

OASIS

Organizations Assisting Schools In September

ROOM 813, 50 WHITEHALL STREET, S. W. • ATLANTA 3, GA. • JACKSON 5-8469

7 pages

file

GENERAL CHAIRMAN
Mrs. Philip Hammer

CIVIC & SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS
Joe Scott, Chairman

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS
Reverend Norman O. Shands, Chairman
Reverend Nat Long, Co-Chairman

YOUTH-SERVING ORGANIZATIONS
Mrs. John Finn, Chairman
Mrs. John Steinhaus, Co-Chairman

SPEAKER'S BUREAU
Warren Jones, Chairman

August 25, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Because of the role you have played in Atlanta's preparation for peaceful desegregation, your name appears under "A List of People You May Want to Interview", in the enclosed pamphlet.

Although Background: Atlanta was prepared primarily for reporters, we hope you will find it interesting and helpful.

Sincerely,

Judy Neiman

Mrs. David Neiman
Public Information Chairman

jn/acs
encl.

January 8, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum,
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Dear Dr. Odum:

Thank you for your letter of January 4 and for your copy of Dr. Cole's report. I have also received Dr. Alexander's copy, as well as Dr. Johnson's, which has been edited a little by Dr. Cole.

I am very happy to know that you are enthusiastic about the prospects. Dr. Alexander told me that the Rockefeller group seemed to be in a "receptive mood." That sounds encouraging.

On the same day that your letter arrived, I had a long-distance call from Dr. Alexander, who was in Chicago. He did not tell me of your plan to visit us shortly, but he did ask whether I had received from you the release together with a covering letter for the Commission members and others. When I replied that I had not, he said he understood that you would send these so that we could get them out from our office, and he suggested that I write to inquire about them. Is this a statement which will announce that Dr. Cole has been invited to become our Executive Director (since we cannot announce his election until after his Board of Trustees' meeting next month), that Dr. Alexander will become Chairman of the Board, and that Mr. Eleazer has retired, and will it go to the Associated Press as well as to the Commission members? We shall be glad to get to work on this as soon as you are ready.

Yesterday I received the resolution which the Executive Committee requested Dr. Clement to prepare for Mr. Eleazer. I am sending this to Mr. Eleazer and am enclosing a copy for you. Mrs. Ames had expected to use Dr. Weatherford's statement about Mr. Eleazer in the January FRONTIER, but we have decided that this should not be done until after the Commission's release is given publicity. She is, therefore, holding it until next month. I am wondering whether you would approve of our carrying the Committee's resolution at the same time.

Since Mr. Eleazer vacated his office on January 5, we have been in a state of confusion -- moving our stock room, which has been released to the Y.M.C.A. to reduce our rent, and rearranging the remainder of our space to take care of the stock-room equipment. It has been quite a job -- something like squeezing a stout man into a thin man's suit! But we shall soon be able to settle down again. Meanwhile, we have not yet been able able to get started on duplicating Dr. Cole's report, but when we talked over the 'phone Tuesday Dr. Alexander said that there was no great rush about it. We shall do our best, however, to complete the job next week. We shall make an original copy for Dr. Alexander to send to the Rockefeller Foundation and shall probably use the mimeograph to dup-

licate the report for the Commission members.

In your letter of January 4 you said "I think that what I told Mrs. Tilly about developing our funds for use in her field will prove to be reliable." I showed this to Mrs. Tilly and we are wondering whether you intended to say Mrs. Ames, rather than Mrs. Tilly, or were you referring to Mrs. Tilly's plea for continued support for the field work which has been under Mrs. Ames' direction?

Mrs. Ames and I enjoyed Dr. Guy Johnson's visit to our office yesterday. It had been a long time since we had had the pleasure of seeing him.

I shall look forward to your visit, and if you can conveniently do so I shall appreciate it if you will let me know a day or two in advance of your coming.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

January 4, 1943

Dear Miss Clay:

I am sending you under separate cover, at the suggestion of Dr. Alexander, my copy of Cole's report. This, I believe, you are to send on to one of the Rockefeller groups.

I believe also Dr. Alexander has already suggested that you reproduce this report for wider distribution. I hope you will reproduce it in whatever way seems best, whether mimeographed or photostated. If possible, see if you can bring out the charts on pages 63 and 64 as clearly as possible.

I recently had some delightful talks with Dr. Alexander, and I imagine he has already telephoned you that I will be visiting Atlanta shortly. I am very enthusiastic about the prospects, and I think that what I told Mrs. Tilley about developing our funds for use in her field will prove to be reliable. ?

Cordially yours,

HWO-m HOWARD W. ODUM.

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

January 11, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum,
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Dear Dr. Odum:

This morning I have been doing a little checking to find the least expensive method of reproducing the photostatic copies of the charts accompanying Dr. Cole's report. I find that it will cost about $50.00 to get 150 additional photostatic copies of each of the two charts, and they may not be very clear. (We actually need about 140 copies for the Commission members.) The price will be the same if we have the charts set up in type and then reduced and photographed, but they will be somewhat clearer. The printer tells me, however, that the results will be much more satisfactory and the price much less (perhaps $30.00) if I can get the originals from which these photostatic copies were made.

Do you think that we could possibly omit the charts from the reports going to the Commission members, to save expense? If not, do you have the originals and could you send them to me?

Enclosed is a copy of the resolutions on Mr. Eleazer, which Dr. Clement prepared at the request of the Executive Committee. The original, signed by Dr. Clement, was sent on to Mr. Eleazer last week.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

G2AX

-17-

AMS

ATLANTA, Dec. 24--(AP)--A program aimed at development of a "better South with a better balanced economy and a more equitable participation by all the people of both (negro and white) races" was announced today by the Commission of Interracial Cooperation.

The Commission, which is made up of educational, religious and business leaders representing both races, has operated for several years seeking to improve racial relations in the South.

Its new plan, the announcement said, seeks to make the organization "a more effective all-southern institution committed to regional development as well as to better race relationships."

This program has been under study for a year. Its adoption by the Commission's executive committee was announced by Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina economist, president, and Dr. Will W. Alexander, chairman of the board.

"The work of the Commission will not only continue in one of its main programs of improving race relations," Dr. Odum explained. "It will also seek to develop a better South with a better balanced economy and a more equitable participation by all of the people of both races."

more

interracial x x x races."

Members of the executive committee who were present it was announced when the new plans were voted included Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Dr. David D. Jones, Dr. M. Ashby Jones, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Miss Florence M. Read, Dr. W.A. Smart, Dr. R.L. Russell, Mrs. M.E. Tilly, A.T. Walden, Forrester B. Washington, Kendall Weisiger, Dr. Alexander and Dr. Odum.

"The plans of the commission will look to the future even more than the present," Dr. Odum said. "The next six months will be devoted almost entirely to the development of the best possible southern institution for the improvement of race relations and for regional development.

"To this end, Prof. William E. Cole of the University of Tennessee, former president of the Southern Sociological Society and chairman of the Conference on Children of Tomorrow, has been appointed director and is charged with the development of future plans. To aid him, an associate directorship has been offered to Prof. Ira Reid of Atlanta University.

"To strength a better balanced program," Dr. Odum continued, "a more equitable representation of the two groups has also been sought. Prof. Charles Johnson, head of the division of social sciences at Fiske University, has been made chairman of the executive committee. A special advisory committee is also being formed to assist the directors and the executive committee in developing the best possible program for the South in the next few years.

more

interracial x x x years.

"It is recognized," Dr, Odum concluded, "that at this time the South, wishing to do its part in the present crisis and to be ready to take its greater part in the post-war reconstruction, is eager to devote its best intelligence and emotions to its problems of bi-racial civilization."

HO449PRW

(copy:rw, 1/21/43)

January 26, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum,
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Dear Dr. Odum:

This month I have had to use the last check which was countersigned by you for transferring funds to the operating account. Will you, therefore, please affix your signature to the enclosed checks, so that I shall not have to bother you with this for several months. (The indistinguishable signature is the one on file at the bank!) I shall appreciate your returning these checks at your convenience.

Dr. Alexander, Dr. Cole, and I had two fine days - Sunday and Monday of last week, working on the statement which is to accompany our financial appeal to the foundations. It should be in shape soon now, and we are hoping that it will bring us the needed financial assistance.

By this time you have received a copy of Dr. Alexander's letter to the Commission members, with the Associated Press release concerning the Commission. Unfortunately, the release did not appear in the Atlanta papers, but through our clipping service we have received a few clippings from other papers in theSouth. The one which I had copied came from one of the New Orleans papers and seemed to be the most complete of the lot.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

Better Balanced South Is Goal Of New Program

ATLANTA, Dec. 24.—(AP)—A program aimed at development of a "better south with a better balanced economy and a more equitable participation by all the people of both races" was announced today by the Commission on Interracial Co-operation.

The commission, which is made up of education, religious and business leaders representing both races, has operated for several years seeking to improve racial relations in the south.

Its new plan, the announcement said, seeks to make the organization "a more effective all-southern institution committed to regional development as well as to better race relationships."

This program has been under study for a year. Its adoption by the commission's executive committee was announced by Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina economist, president, and Dr. Will W. Alexander, chairman of the board.

Members of the executive committee who were present, it was announced when the new plans were voted, included Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Dr. David D. Jones, Dr. M. Ashby Jones, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Miss Florence M. Read, Dr. W. A. Smart, Dr. R. L. Russell, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, A. T. Walden, Forrester B. Washington, Kendall Weisiger, Dr. Alexander, and Dr. Odum.

"The plans of the commission will look to the future even more than the present," Dr. Odum said. "The next six months will be devoted almost entirely to the development of the best possible southern institution for the improvement of race relations and for regional development.

"To this end, Prof. William E. Cole, of the University of Tennessee, former president of the Southern Sociological society and chairman of the conference on Children of Tomorrow, has been appointed director and is charged with the development of future plans. To aid him, an associate directorship has been offered to Prof. Ira Reid, of Atlanta university.

"To strengthen a better balanced program," Dr. Odum continued, "a more equitable representation of the two groups has also been sought. Prof. Charles Johnson, head of the division of social sciences at Fisk university, has been made chairman of the executive committee. A special advisory committee is also being formed to assist the directors and the executive committee in developing the best possible program for the south in the next few years.

"It is recognized," Dr. Odum concluded, "that at this time the south, wishing to do its part in the present crisis and to be ready to take its greater part in the post-war reconstruction, is eager to devote its best intelligence and emotions to its problems of bi-racial civilization."

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

January 14, 1943

Dear Miss Clay:

It will be quite satisfactory for you to make any adjustments about the charts that you wish. I am sure, however, if you reproduce them, it will be better to type the charts off and then reproduce them. Whether you print them depends on whether Professor Cole would like to have his chart included. I do not think they are essential to the report, although there is considerable valuable material.

Cordially yours,

HWO-m

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

January 11, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Clay:

The release that Dr. Alexander referred to was the one appearing in all the papers in the South and nation and sent out by Mr. Caldwell of the Associated Press in Atlanta. Our Mr. Madry sent it to him. I enclose a copy, but I would be glad if you would have this photostated and send all members of the Commission a copy. I suggest that you write a letter and say that you suppose they have seen the enclosed release, but in case they haven't you are sending it along.

Then you can do whatever Dr. Alexander and Mr. Cole think best about sending out the mimeographed report to members.

I did not make any announcement about staff members, except the election of new members, since we will leave all the internal announcements to Mr. Cole.

To sum up, then, all future announcements will be made by Dr. Cole, and I am now asking you to have photostated or reproduced in some form one of the standard releases sent out by Mr. Caldwell, or have it mimeographed, as you think best, and send to all members of the Commission.

From your letter, apparently you have not seen the Atlanta release. Do you suppose the Atlanta papers did not run it? I have had copies from a number of states, and I understand that it ran in the New York papers and the Washington papers.

I assume that you had copies of it, and it was self-explanatory.

I will write you about the North Carolina members to be invited to the conference shortly.

My reference to Mrs. Tilly was to her very justifiable plaint that just as she was getting ready to do things in Georgia we withdrew funds. All of this, of course, is being worked out through Dr. Cole and not through me. As a matter of fact, it will be better for me not to write about any details, since all these will be handled by Dr. Cole, and there will be no chance of misunderstanding.

I suggest, therefore, that you handle all things through Dr. Cole and not through Dr. Alexander or me.

Cordially yours,

HWO-m HOWARD W. ODUM.

ENCLOSURE:
Statement Re: Commission

January 29, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum,
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Dear Dr. Odum:

Here is a small supply of the reprints of our announcement. If you find that you need a few more, please let me know and I shall be glad to send them.

Thanks for your postscript! I told Dr. Alexander the other day that it seemed from your recent letter that you did not want me to continue to confer with you and him on matters relating to the Commission, but that I was just going to continue to write both of you, anyway, whenever I felt that your advice was needed! Was that sassy?!

Dr. Alexander, Dr. Cole, and I had two fine days working together on the statement to go to the foundations. I enjoyed it thorougaly, especially Sunday, when we were able to work without interruptions. Each time I see Dr. Cole I like him better, and I feel more and more that we are exceedingly fortunate to have "found" him.

Things are running along very smoothly here, but my duties seem to have multiplied to such an extent that I wonder when I shall dig out. Mr. Eleazer has come in to see us several times recently. He is helping with a legal aid case in which we have been interested for about four years. We are trying to save the life of a man who has been sentenced to be electrocuted next Thursday and whom we believe to be innocent of the murder of which he has been convicted. It doesn't look very hopeful just now, but we shall exert every effort to save him.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

January 27, 1943

Dear Miss Clay:

Will you send me at your convenience a little supply of the reprints of our announcement of the "Program Aimed at Better South Mapped by Group."

I saw Dr. Alexander in Washington the other day, and we had some good talks.

I hope everything is going fine.

Cordially yours,

HWO-m

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

PS. You understand that my statement that I am not to have anything to do with the administrative side of the Commission does not mean less interest; it means more. This is now one of the most important of all of the fields of work in the South. HWO.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

January 30, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Clay:

Here are the checks.

In time I wish we could make some arrangement, so that the president would not have to sign them; all of that can be worked out, however.

Greetings and best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Howard W. Odum

HWO-m

HOWARD W. ODUM.

April 2, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum,
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Dear Dr. Odum:

A small supply of stationery was sent to you several days ago, and I hope that it reached you promptly. Please let me know when you want more. I waited until our old supply was nearly exhausted and then decided that I would either have to order some letterheads or stop writing letters. Instead of having them lithographed, as usual, I ordered only two thousand printed. The printing isn't as pretty as lithographing, but it is neat and by the time this supply is exhausted maybe we shall know definitely what Dr. Cole is going to do and whether or not we can add Dr. Reid's name to our letterhead.

I understand that you and Dr. Alexander are planning to be here for the meeting next week. Dr. Cole will be in the city, also, and I hope that the three of you can put your heads together and help him decide what to do! If he could have some assurance as to the continuation of this work after 1943, I think he would not hesitate to resign his position at the University, but I cannot blame him for not wanting to do that in the present state of uncertainty.

It will be fine if Dr. Alexander succeeds in getting a contribution from Captain Trew, as a result of your letter.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

March 25, 1943

Sent 3/26/43

Dear Miss Clay:

As soon as your new stationery is made out (or if you are not making any I can use the present form), won't you please send me some letterheads. I find I have nothing whatever to indicate that I have any relation or connection with the Commission, and when I write letters such as the enclosed and many like it, it doesn't look very impressive to use Institute stationery. I suspect you think I have been pretty negligent, and that is exactly the size of it.

Cordially yours,

HWO-m

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

ENCLOSURE:
Copy of letter to Captain Trew

COPY FOR MISS CLAY

March 25, 1943

Captain Bartus Trew
Office Chief Chemical Warfare Service
War Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Captain Trew:

I am asking Dr. Will W. Alexander, chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, to see you, if he has not done so, with reference to a contribution to the Commission. I believe that this is one of the most important agencies in America, and it qualifies exactly in your field, since a little money from you would serve as a fine leverage towards raising a much larger fund.

Cordially yours,

HWO-m

HOWARD W. ODUM.

April 13, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum,
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Dear Dr. Odum:

Mr. Ivey paid a brief visit to our office Monday morning, but promised to return sometime in the summer to spend a longer time with us. I assured him that we would be glad to cooperate in every way possible by making our materials available to him. I hope that we shall be able to give him some assistance in the inquiry.

I was glad to have a copy of Mr. Herbert's letter, commenting on the South Carolina Committee meeting and on Dr. Gibbes' growing interest in interracial work. Dr. Cole told me something of the meeting, which he also thought was very good. He was rather disgusted, however, at being so grossly misquoted by Mr. Ball in his editorial concerning Dr. Cole's address. That poor old man seems to have a sort of phobia on the race question. I think we receive more clippings from his paper than almost any in the South, and they are always of the type mentioned above.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

P.S. I had an interesting conversation yesterday afternoon with a Negro preacher from Arkansas who attended a Japanese propaganda school in Chicago last year. I wish that some of your students who have been working on rumors might have been here to hear his story. He has twenty "propositions," or lessons, on various questions - segregation, etc. - and is endeavoring to get outstanding white Southerners to prepare answers to each one, which he hopes to make public along with the "propositions" in an effort to counteract the insidious propaganda of our enemies.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

April 9, 1943

Box 24 Chapel Hill

Dear Miss Clay:

This will introduce to you Mr. John E. Ivey, Jr., who is undertaking an important inquiry into the wider use of available regional materials for educational purposes. I am sure that you have materials there that will be of interest and that you would like to have considered in the collections and annotations that are being made preparatory to their wider use.

The inquiry is under the auspices of the American Council on Education; with a committee, of which President Rainey of the University of Texas is chairman. I am sure the Committee, as well as all of us, will appreciate such courtesies and cooperation as you may extend.

Our greetings and best wishes,

Cordially yours,

HWO-m

HOWARD W. ODUM

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Clay.

C O P Y

HERBERT & DIAL
Attorneys at Law
310-312 Palmetto Building
Columbia, S. C.

April 2, 1943

Dr. Howard Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

Dr. Cole came and made the address at our meeting. We had by the way the best interracial meeting we have ever had.

At the time I was persuaded to take the chairmanship of the South Carolina Committee, I succeeded in getting Dr. J. Heyward Gibbes of this City to take the chairmanship of the Committee for Columbia. He has gotten very much interested in the matter and has prepared really a most excellent statement setting out the negro problem in the South. I am calling this to your attention, as I believe Dr. Gibbes would make an excellent impression on any group he talked to.

Yours very truly,

R. B. Herbert.

May 7, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum,
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Dear Dr. Odum:

Thanks for the letter to accompany the reprint of Dr. Cole's article in SOCIAL FORCES. It is ready to go now; one of the typists got to work on it immediately and has finished the whole list. There will be no delay, therefore, in getting the reprint out as soon as it arrives.

I wish that I could do a good job of forging your signature, but I'm afraid the effort will not be very successful!

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

WILL W. ALEXANDER
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

WILLIAM E. COLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

M. ASHBY JONES, HONORARY PRESIDENT
HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
MRS. W. A. NEWELL, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-COMPTROLLER

KENDALL WEISIGER
TREASURER

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING

Atlanta, Georgia

MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES
DIRECTOR OF FIELD WORK

May 3, 1943

Dear Miss Clay:

Is this little letter about what you want? If you would rather write each one personally, you can sign my name, and you can vary it in any way that you think best.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

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Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING

Atlanta, Georgia

MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES
DIRECTOR OF FIELD WORK

May 3, 1943

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION:

We are sending you a reprint of Dr. Cole's article recently printed in SOCIAL FORCES. We hope you will enjoy this excellent little statement and will write to Dr. Cole any suggestions which you may have to make with reference to any matters relating to the Commission.

Our best wishes,

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM.

April 30, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum,
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Dear Dr. Odum:

As you perhaps know, we are planning to send reprints of Dr. Cole's SOCIAL FORCES article to the Commission members, and Dr. Cole has suggested that it would be more appropriate to have the accompanying letter go out over your signature rather than over his. If you agree, and I hope you will, please let me have the letter as soon as possible so that I may have it ready to mail when the reprints arrive.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

May 12, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

We are sending you herewith a copy of the revised edition of UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS.

We should like to send this pamphlet to the members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the Southern Sociological Society, as well as the Negroes who attended the Durham Conference and the white Southerners who attended the Atlanta Conference. With the pamphlet we should like to send a letter over your signature. If you agree, will you approve or change the attached suggested letter, or prepare a new one and send it to Miss Clay as soon as convenient.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Cole

Suggested letter to be sent with UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS

To the Members of the
Southern Sociological Society
(Durham Conference)
(Conference of White Southerners)

Dear ____ _____

Because of your interest in the South and the problems of minority groups in particular, we are sending you a copy of the revised edition of the Commission's publication UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS.

We should like especially to call your attention to three new features of the revised edition:

1- The statement regarding the international implications of race (Foreword)

2- The Durham Conference Statement (Page 31)

3- The Statement prepared by the Conference of White Southerners in Atlanta (Page 38)

We shall appreciate any suggestions you may have as to the effective distribution of this pamphlet.

Cordially yours,

Howard W. Odum

May 13, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

When Dr. Cole was here yesterday, he and I talked about his connection with the Commission after June 1. As you will recall, it was our hope that he would come on our staff on a full-time basis at that time. However, in view of the fact that he did not succeed in getting a leave of absence from the University of Tennessee, this will not be possible. It would be necessary for him to resign from the University in order to accept a full-time position as Executive Director of the Commission, and this he cannot do unless he has some assurance that our organization will continue for a period of four or five years.

Dr. Cole has suggested two alternatives, both of which seem to me to be most generous.

First- He has offered to go on from June 1 to perhaps October 1 serving entirely without remuneration;

Second- He would serve for one-half of his present part-time salary, or for less if that should seem desirable.

In either case, he would give the same time and service that he has given since January 1, and it may be possible for him to spend more time on our work. It is necessary, however, for him to have additional remuneration during the summer, and he has been urged to take a position with the TVA. Fortunately for us, it is a position which would enable him to devote some time to the Commission — perhaps more than in the past.

I told Dr. Cole that in my opinion it would be a great mistake for him to go completely off our payroll, for various reasons, but that I would be glad to write you, sending a copy of my letter to Dr. Alexander and Dr. Johnson, to ask what you three would think of accepting his second suggestion. He feels some embarrassment over not having been able to give more time to our work and over his inability to get the leave.

Please let me have your instructions, and I am sure that Dr. Cole would appreciate having a letter from you, Dr. Alexander, and Dr. Johnson on

the subject. He feels sometimes, I think, that maybe the Commission members do not really was him as the Executive Directory, anyway -- he so seldom hears from any of them! He is "sold" on the work, though, and feels that it is so important that some way must be found to finance it. We are trying now to work out a plan for raising some money from interested individuals and shall welcome all suggestions.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

Copy to-
Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson

WILL W. ALEXANDER
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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KENDALL WEISIGER
TREASURER

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING

Atlanta, Georgia

MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES
DIRECTOR OF FIELD WORK

May 19, 1943

Dear Miss Clay:

The letter that Mr. Cole has suggested for sending out is, of course, just about right. I have no suggestions or amendments.

Cordially yours,

HWO-m

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

ENCLOSURE:
Suggested letter

WILL W. ALEXANDER
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

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Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

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Atlanta, Georgia

MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES
DIRECTOR OF FIELD WORK

May 12, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

We are sending you herewith a copy of the revised edition of UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS.

We should like to send this pamphlet to the members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the Southern Sociological Society, as well as the Negroes who attended the Durham Conference and the white Southerners who attended the Atlanta Conference. With the pamphlet we should like to send a letter over your signature. If you agree, will you approve or change the attached suggested letter, or prepare a new one and send it to Miss Clay as soon as convenient.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Cole

Suggested letter to be sent with UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS

To the Members of the
Southern Sociological Society
(Durham Conference)
(Conference of White Southerners)

Dear _____

Because of your interest in the South and the problems of minority groups in particular, we are sending you a copy of the revised edition of the Commission's publication UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS.

We should like especially to call your attention to three new features of the revised edition:

1- The statement regarding the international implications of race (Foreword)

2- The Durham Conference Statement (Page 31)

3- The Statement prepared by the Conference of White Southerners in Atlanta (Page 38)

We shall appreciate any suggestions you may have as to the effective distribution of this pamphlet.

Cordially yours,

Howard W. Odum

WILL W. ALEXANDER
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TREASURER

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING

Atlanta, Georgia

MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES
DIRECTOR OF FIELD WORK

June 24, 1943

It occurs to me that members of the Commission will be happy to know of the very cordial reception and high commendation of UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS which Miss Clay recently sent you. It is clear that Dr. Cole and the staff have rendered a very timely service in revising this brochure, which had already been very effective. In my own opinion, this is one of the best things that I have seen.

Professor Lowry Nelson of the University of Minnesota, who is teaching in the South during the summer, in requesting a copy for himself, writes that he has just seen a copy and that he is "very much impressed with the manner in which the subject has been handled . . . While the problem is especially important in the South, it is scarcely less so in the North and we in northern universities must do what we can to create understanding and a sensible attitude regarding it."

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

WILL W. ALEXANDER
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

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Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING

Atlanta, Georgia

MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES
DIRECTOR OF FIELD WORK

June 1943

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE
COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION, INC.

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the revised edition of the Commission's publication UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS. We should like especially to call your attention to three new features of this edition:

1- The statement regarding the international implications of race (Foreword)

2- The Durham Conference statement (Page 31)

3- The statement prepared by the Conference of White Southerners in Atlanta (Page 38)

We shall appreciate any suggestions you may have as to the effective distribution of this pamphlet.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

July 14, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

You will notice that your suggestion relative to Dr. Johnson's title has been followed! Fortunately, I was able to get in touch with the printer before he started running the letterhead, so it was not difficult to have the change made. I am glad that you mentioned it to me.

A supply of AMERICA'S TENTH MAN has just been delivered to us, and I am sending you a copy herewith. This pamphlet, you will recall, was edited by Dr. Reid and, at your suggestion, we have expressed appreciation on the inside front cover. Since you wrote the letter to go out with UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS, I am assuming that you wish to do the same for the new pamphlet. If so, please let me have the copy as soon as possible, so that we can begin to get it out to the Commission members and others.

A letter has come today from Mr. David Jones, in which he says, "The revised booklet which the Interracial Commission has just put out seems to me excellent. I wonder if you would send me about two dozen of these booklets and send me the bill for them. I want to put them in strategic places." One of the girls had time to copy a few of the letters which have come in, commenting on this booklet and on Dr. Cole's article. I am enclosing them, as I am sure they will interest you.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

P.S. Do you need another supply of letterheads, and would you like to have copies of AMERICA'S TENTH MAN?

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

July 21, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Clay:

Thank you very much for your letters and enclosures. I'll be writing you shortly and sending you a copy of letters that I have written.

Cordially yours,

Howard W. Odum

HWO-m HOWARD W. ODUM.

July 23, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

Yesterday we mailed you a dozen copies of AMERICA'S TENTH MAN and shall be glad to send more whenever you need them.

I hope that Dr. Cole will feel that he can sign the letter to accompany the new pamphlet. His reason for not wanting to do so when UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS was sent out was that the University, as you know, had refused to grant the leave which would have enabled him to become active Executive Director of the Commission, and he feared that he might be "put on the spot" by having a general letter go out over his name.

Dr. Alexander wrote last week, just before leaving to join Dr. Johnson and Mr. Embree on a trip to California, saying that he was planning to attend the meeting here on August 4-5, as Dr. Johnson was anxious to have him present. I am awfully glad that you, he, Dr. Johnson, and Dr. Cole will all be here and I hope that you will be able to guide the program in the right direction. I have heard that the Negroes resented Dr. Ashby Jones' statement at the Richmond meeting and felt that, if his remarks reflected the attitude of the Commission, this organization was not sufficiently progressive to carry out the kind of program they want. It seems to me, though, that their program is right in line with what you had planned for the Council on Southern Regional Development.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

July 21, 1943

My dear Miss Clay:

Nope, I haven't the least idea of writing a letter to go with it, since I am sure Dr. Cole ought to write it. I am sending him a copy of this little letter, which, therefore, urges him to send out through you a little letter accompanying America's Tenth Man.

As I told you before, I was under the impression that the letter which I approved was to be signed by Cole, although it was certainly my oversight. Anyhow I enjoyed writing both of the others and I'll enjoy seeing Cole's letter.

E.K. 7-22-43

I'll be glad to have several copies of America's Tenth Man.

Cordially yours,

Howard W. Odum

HWO-m HOWARD W. ODUM.

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

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Dixie Interrace Group Formed For Good Will

White and Negro Leaders Attend Session at Atlanta University.

Organization of a Southern Regional Council to promote interracial co-operation and good will in the United States was announced here yesterday by Dr. Howard W. Odum, of the University of North Carolina, co-chairman, following a meeting of southern white and Negro leaders at Atlanta University.

Proponents said they hoped the organization will be a forerunner to a nation-wide movement, a formal statement of the group having called on President Roosevelt to set up a national council.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, of Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., is the other co-chairman. The two educators will serve as presiding officers until the organization is perfected.

New Declaration.

Purpose of the council, Dr. Odum explained, is to carry out what the conference adopted as "a new declaration of American principles and a new dedication of ourselves to the task of covenanting together with all regions and all races for the continued better order of our society."

Dr. Odum said the southern council is to be composed of representatives of both races and private and public groups.

A meeting of Negroes in Durham, N. C., in October and a conference of white leaders in Atlanta in April preceded the organization of the council.

In the organization statement, it was declared: "We propose to substitute the measures of the good society for the old biological struggle of physical survival . . . we must dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now."

31 Attend.

Sixteen white and 15 Negro committee members attended the initial meeting. Besides Dr. Odum and Dr. Johnson, they were:

William E. Cole, professor sociology at the University of Tennessee; E. A. McDowell, of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.; J. McDowell Richards, of Atlanta; Mrs. M. E. Tilly, secretary, Christian social relations, Women's Social Christian Service, southeastern jurisdiction of the Methodist church; Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch; Homer P. Rainey, president of the University of Texas. Miss Josephine Wilkins, director of the citizens' fact-finding movement in Georgia; Francis R. Bridges, chairman of the Florida state parole board; Mrs. Henry H. Havens, chairman of race relations for the province of Sewanee in the Episcopal

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church; Goodrich C. White, president of Emory University; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of the Methodist church; Philip Shulhafer, of Atlanta; Monsignor T. James McNamara, of Georgia; C. H. Gillman, of the CIO in Atlanta; Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, Atlanta; Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute; Dr. Horace Mann Bond, president of Fort Valley State College, Fort Valley, Ga.; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, where the meeting was held; Dr. B. E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, Atlanta; P. B. Young, editor-publisher, Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.; Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Virginia Union University, Richmond; Dr. Luther P. Jackson, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.; Carter Wesley, editor-publisher, the Informer, Dallas Express and New Orleans Sentinel, Houston, Texas; Ernest Delpit, president and business manager, Carpenters' Local (AFL), New Orleans; Z. Alexander Looby, of Tennessee; Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, president Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, N. C.; Grace Towns Hamilton and Ira D'Ea Reid, both from Georgia, and A. W. Dent, of Louisiana.

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August 13, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

Here is our check for $11.43, covering the hotel bill which came with your letter of August 10.

I had intended to write you a more lengthy letter today relating to the new Council. Instead, however, I have had to spend much time with two visitors who were interested in getting information about our work as background for projects in which they are interested. So the afternoon has gone and my correspondence must wait over until next week. Several things are bothering me, though, and I shall pass them on to you, Dr. Alexander, and Dr. Cole next week!

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

P.S. I am enclosing a letter addressed to you, which I opened thinking that it might be a literature request.

The mimeographed statement of the Atlanta meeting were mailed to you Monday. I hope that you received them promptly. We shall have reprints of the statement next week as it will appear in THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER.

The enclosed letter from Gardner Murphy refers to a book which I forwarded to you several days ago. I hope that you have received it, also, and I apologize for not sending the letter sooner.

What do you think of a postscript that's longer than the letter?!

WILL W. ALEXANDER
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

WILLIAM E. COLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

M. ASHBY JONES, HONORARY PRESIDENT
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KENDALL WEISIGER
TREASURER

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING

Atlanta, Georgia

MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES
DIRECTOR OF FIELD WORK

August 6, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

12 sent 8/9/43

Dear Miss Clay:

Will you send me several copies of the mimeographed statement of the Atlanta meeting as soon as they are off your press.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Keep me posted on reactions —

WILL W. ALEXANDER
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

WILLIAM E. COLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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TREASURER

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING

Atlanta, Georgia

MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES
DIRECTOR OF FIELD WORK

August 10, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Clay:

If the Commission can take care of this hotel bill and perhaps a little added for meals as indicated, I will take care of the railroad for the trip. I find myself this summer on no salary of any sort and no expense account, so it adds up.

Cordially and hurriedly yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM.

ENCLOSURE:
Statement

More later

August 13, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

My dear Dr. Odum:

Your letter suggests an idea which I am passing on to you. You know that the Commission is a Corporation owning all the physical equipment in the office, including the literature as well as furnishings. Without official and legal action dissolving or liquidating the Corporation, the Southern Regional Council will not be able to take over the tools of the Commission. The Commission will follow one of three courses. It will vote to dissolve and transfer all property to the Council; it will vote to merge with the Council; it will vote to linger on. If it votes to merge that means that all the members of the Commission automatically become members of the Council. I do not know what action you have in mind to propose to the Board of Directors, what form the resolution to be placed before the Commission will take but I do think it is most important that whatever you, Dr. Alexander and Dr. Johnson decide ought to be done, work should begin at once to secure the enthusiastic support of everyone of the Board and of those members not on the Board whom you may want in the Council.

The entire membership of the Board is not on the Council. Dr. Smart, Dr. Ashby Jones, Dr. David Jones, Dr. R. L. Russell, Dr. Tobias, B. T. Walden, Kendall Weisiger, Tennant Bryan, Clark Foreman, Miss Reid, Mrs. Bethune and Mrs. Newall, eleven out of twenty-one members, are not part of the nucleus of the new movement. If you have not already begun to line them up to support the Council and I am almost sure you have, it occurs to me that this would be your first move. What the Commission does and how it does it may have an effect on the immediate future of the Council.

There may be some hurt feelings not only among the white members but also among the Negro members. The Commission has acquired a great deal of status and much good-will which the Council can ill-afford to lose. Lining up support from outsiders who have never been on the Commission before you have lined up the members may result in this loss. Prompt and enthusiastic support of the Council by the Commission may be given but it may not be wise to take it for granted.

Cordially yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames

August 27, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

The letter to the Commission members went out the same day that it was received from you - August 25. I hope that it will serve to pacify the members who might have been confused or disturbed by the newspaper publicity.

All I know about Dr. Jones' reaction is that Mr. Weisiger said he was disturbed and indignant - or "mad," I think he said - when he read the story in the newspaper, and that he felt that the Commission had been let down. This was no doubt due to the fact that the plan which was adopted had been discussed and approved on two occasions by the Commission, and yet the Commission was not mentioned in the statement. That is why I was so anxious to get some word to the members as soon as possible, so that any ill feeling which they might have would not be given an opportunity to ferment!

I had not thought of the division of work for the new Council, but I assure you that I should be glad to do anything possible to help with it. Sometimes I fear that my interest and concern may make it appear that I am trying to inject myself too much into the new program. Of course, I realize that we have no reason to expect full reports on the "comings and goings" of those who are developing the plans, but I'll admit that I look forward eagerly to any news about the plans! I hope that you are making satisfactory progress and that you will let me know whenever you think I can be of assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

WILL W. ALEXANDER
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

WILLIAM E. COLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

M. ASHBY JONES, HONORARY PRESIDENT
HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT AND
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
MRS. W. A. NEWELL, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-COMPTROLLER

KENDALL WEISIGER
TREASURER

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING

Atlanta 3, Georgia

MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES
DIRECTOR OF FIELD WORK

August 25, 1943

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE
COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION, INC.

My dear Friends:

We are enclosing a copy of the findings of the Atlanta Continuation Committee from Durham, Atlanta, and Richmond previous meetings. You will note that we followed two recommendations of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which voted to enlarge the Commission into a Council on Southern Regional Development. As you know, there have been so many difficulties involved that it never seemed possible to carry out these recommendations of the Commission. The prospect now looks better, and I know you will be happy to learn that we are working on this as faithfully as possible and hope to report to you further progress and suggestions at an early fall meeting.

We are working also with a number of southern agencies to see if we can all get together in this one larger group, which will come nearer combining all the interest of all the people than any yet undertaken.

This is just a little letter to report to the Commission and to say that we shall be reporting back to the Commission officially just as soon as any plan is definite enough.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

ENCLOSURE:
Findings

WILL W. ALEXANDER
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

WILLIAM E. COLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

M. ASHBY JONES, HONORARY PRESIDENT
HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
MRS. W. A. NEWELL, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-COMPTROLLER

KENDALL WEISIGER
TREASURER

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING

Atlanta, Georgia

MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES
DIRECTOR OF FIELD WORK

August 23, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Clay:

I wonder if you would be willing to send this letter out for me to all of the Commission people who ought to receive it. I think it ought to go to those who were at the Atlanta conference as well as those who were not.

I never heard anything about Dr. Jones' reaction. I wonder if you would tell me something about it.

Cordially yours,

HWO-m

HOWARD W. ODUM.

ENCLOSURE:
Suggested letter to
Board of Directors
of the Commission

This is Commission work, not Council. I am forwarding the letters to the Atlanta group

WILL W. ALEXANDER
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

WILLIAM E. COLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING

Atlanta, Georgia

MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES
DIRECTOR OF FIELD WORK

August 23, 1943

My dear Dr. Jones:

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Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM. gr.e.

ENCLOSURE:
Findings

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

August 20, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Clay:

We are working hard, and this is just a little note to say that all of the work of the planning council will not be done through your office. Primarily those aspects which have to do with the Commission will be worked out along with the Atlanta office, while many of the special efforts and quiet plannings and contacts will be made as of the first steps of the Council organization and will all be incorporated in our report.

I mention this so that you will understand that the fact that we do not report our comings and goings does not mean that nothing is being done, and also to reassure you that we are not going to load the Commission down with the work of the Council.

Cordially yours,

HWO-m HOWARD W. ODUM.

I'm going to work in Salisbury on Wed. and next Friday

I hope you all will not be worrying or feeling the responsibility of satisfying all people who want to know the answers right now. They are all good folks but impatient. We have many formidable responses.

August 19, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

It was thoughtful of you to write as you did on August 14, especially the personal reference. Naturally, I prefer this kind of work to any other that I know about, and I shall be very happy if it develops that I am needed in the Council.

As you will see by the enclosed copy of a letter which I have just written Dr. Alexander, I have had one or two worries about the new organization. I have thought a good deal about Dr. Jones' reaction to the announcement and have wondered how many other Commission members have a similar feeling. Unless they have an understanding of the plans well in advance of our meeting, I am afraid that we may have a rather chaotic time when we get together. I am thinking particularly of someone like Miss Read, who is not yet a part of the Council and who is very outspoken in the meetings. Do you think anything can be done in advance, or am I presumptuous even to suggest it?

I do wish that a special fund could be provided for the Council expenses. It occurred to me that Dr. Alexander might see a way to do this, since it seems to me that the Commission's funds (especially as limited as they are) probably could not be used for this purpose without Board action. I shall appreciate an expression from you on this, either directly or through Dr. Alexander. Some provision certainly should be made for expenses which you and Dr. Cole will need to incur in perfecting the organization, and I hope this can be done.

Because of some national meetings scheduled for October, I have been asked to suggest October 13-14 as the time for the Commission meeting. What do you think of these dates? Dr. Alexander promised to discuss the time of the meeting with you when he was in Chapel Hill after the meeting here, but I have heard nothing from him. He thought that we might meet sometime the early part of October.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

WILL W. ALEXANDER
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

WILLIAM E. COLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

M. ASHBY JONES, HONORARY PRESIDENT
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KENDALL WEISIGER
TREASURER

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING

Atlanta, Georgia

MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES
DIRECTOR OF FIELD WORK

August 14, 1943

Dear Miss Clay:

Thank you for the copies of the memorandum.

I am working hard on a plan to have this issue in a rather beautiful form with some introductory note and some concluding specifications. Of course, we don't know how fast we can move, but I want to let you know that we are working hard.

With reference to the Commission, just go along as you are, and we will have a conference before too long. It will be sometime, as you know, before the Council can get under way, and you know also that it will take full care of integrating the interests of the Commission.

You know also that you will be very much needed and wanted in whatever direction it turns.

I have quite a dilemma here since I am practically giving full time to this work with no sort of stipend and no sort of travel expenses. It is one of those dilemmas we get caught up in, but it is better to work this way than not at all.

Cordially yours,

Howard W. Odum

HOWARD W. ODUM.

HWO-m

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

September 3, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

A copy of UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS and the pamphlet containing the Durham, Atlanta, and Richmond statements, with the SOUTHERN FRONTIER reprint, were sent to Mr. Frasure in accordance with your request. Included with these were several other pamphlets which I thought might be helpful to Mr. Frasure and his committee.

It is interesting to find that an increasing number of people in various parts of the country are conscientiously trying to find a way to prevent race friction. I get a real thrill from the inquiries which come to us from so many sections, many of them from people who are seriously studying the race problem. So far this year, we have had requests from forty-four states, Canada, Uruguay, Hawaii, and Mexico!

I am sure that you will be glad to know that a check for $5,000 came from the Rosenwald Fund today. I, personally, am very grateful for their continued support, for handling the finances this year, when we have had such a depleted bank account, has been quite a strain.

Let us know if you need additional copies of the SOUTHERN FRONTIER repring. We sent a dozen copies several days ago.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

August 27, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Clay:

Will you send

Mr. Carl M. Frasure
Executive Department
Charleston, West Virginia

a copy of UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS and the little reprint of the three findings of Durham, Atlanta, and Richmond.

I had another good visit to Washington.

You certainly did a quick piece of work on that letter. All appreciation for this. I enclose a copy of a letter from West Virginia, which is typical of many that I am getting. I think we are going to get started soon.

If you have enough of these reprints from The Southern Frontier, please send me a dozen or so. They are easier to mail out than the others.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM.

HWO-m

ENCLOSURE:
Copy of Frasure letter

1 - DeR + SRC
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#3
#51
#39
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52 Ann. with
Sub blank

12 - SRC
to Dr. Odum

E.K. 8-30-43.

STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
CHARLESTON

August 25, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

My dear Doctor Odum:

Governor Neely recently appointed an Interracial Commission for the State of West Virginia and named me as chairman. We are holding our first meeting on September tenth, and I am now engaged in preparing a program for discussion at that time.

Naturally I am very much interested in the meeting which was held in Richmond, Virginia, in June, and the one held in Atlanta early in August which dealt with interracial problems. Knowing that you took an active part in these meetings, I am wondering if you would send me any printed material which may have resulted from them. I would also appreciate any suggestions which you might have to offer to us in getting under way here in West Virginia.

I would be very much interested in knowing about future meetings of your committee. Perhaps we could send a representative who would profit much by your experiences in the southern states.

Thanking you very much for any information which you may be able to furnish us, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

Carl M. Frasure

WORK MEMORANDUM

Howard W. Odum-m
Winter 1943

ON TRYING TO ANALYZE SOUTHERN RACE TENSIONS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE WAR SITUATION AND TO THE TOTAL NATIONAL PICTURE

This is a work memorandum designed to contribute something to the more effective analysis of the situation in the South with reference to race tensions and, therefore, to a better understanding and direction of next steps.

Its special focus is upon the accelerated tensions due to the war situation in America and the influences of global war upon factors of folk and race, and within the six months' period beginning in the summer of 1942 and extending roughly up to February of 1943. The approach to the study provides for inquiry into both the general and specific causes of accelerated tension, the nature of the manifestations and problems, and the cataloguing and classification of situations and reactions.

The range of evidence included visits and conferences on different levels of life, special conferences with educators and leaders, the collection and examination of some two thousand rumors, stories, incidents, and happenings, gathered from the states of the Southeastern Region, together with an examination of current utterances and writings by Negroes and whites in the South and out, interpreted in relation to the regional and national backgrounds.

The effort has been made to look at the scene as objectively as possible with a view to interpreting the South in relation to the total nation and in relation to the prospective trends and ideals of postwar America. In so far as possible, therefore, the work memorandum assumes the past tense, looking at a situation which might be viewed objectively

several years from now, as well as assuming the need for current, realistic, and practical use of data and trends, looking towards the best possible immediate directives.

WHY THE SUDDEN FLAREUP?

One of the first questions commonly asked is why there was this accelerated tension and this sudden flareup of emotions and excitement. The question has often been asked in the South and perhaps more often in the North. There are a number of reasons for this which will be manifest as the study unfolds, but it is well in the beginning to note a few general factors.

A factor in the South is reflected in the somewhat stunned and surprised reaction of the South to so much sudden criticism and such a multiple number of approaches. The South had begun to think that it had made great progress, that scores of situations in the South had been improved, that many things were done now as a matter of fact that a few years ago could not have been considered, and that the old story of the Negro was beginning to unfold toward a better understanding and better race relations.

Then all of a sudden, as the South saw it, there was a widespread attack from many sources which appeared to the South to assume that the South was doing something new and bad in this whole problem of its biracial culture, that it had suddenly initiated backward movements and was headed in the direction of retrogression, in which it was boldly and aggressively challenging the world in new reaches of discrimination and injustice!

From the viewpoint of the outside criticism, the attacks appeared as if a great part of the other regions of the nation, especially the younger generations and intellectuals, had just discovered what the structure

of the South was and what its biracial culture and segregation implied. Many of the editorials and articles and the long list of criticisms were couchod in language which implied that all these things had just been discovered. Much of the same thing happened in both the North and the South in the rediscovery of the South's economic deficiencies and poverty due to the depression and what it revealed in the South.

What the South had done, of course, was nothing new, but a continuation of the economy and culture of its biracial civilization. Due to the war and America's new idealogy for democracy and freedom and to global war, even with progress that had been made in the South, the structure of the South's economy and culture reflected to its critics glaring inequalities that were neither equitable nor necessary. There would be no inclination on the part of many southerners to deny this. The psychology of the sudden impact, however, of criticism and accusation, where the South had thought it was going forward, had a great deal to do with the speed and intensity of reactions.

THE CREDO OF "THE DEEP SOUTH"

One of the first tasks, therefore, essential to the understanding of the situation and preview to the cataloguing of the happenings was to sense the realistic, living credo of the South, especially of what is usually called the Lower or Deep South with reference to the Negro and the understanding of a folk psychology, which is committed to the defense of this credo at any cost. For against this universal credo, then, came assumptions and demands for what seemed to the South to be a complete turn-around, and from the outside regions was reflected the unreasonableness of the South in not being willing to conform to the larger American credo of democracy

and the American dream.

One of the first approaches to this credo was to secure from a group of leading educators from the Southern States a consensus of what the South does actually believe with reference to the Negro. The credo that follows is the result of very careful inquiry and study and summary by such a group of educators in one of the workshops at the Southern Regional Laboratory and Workshop, University of North Carolina, in the summer of 1942. It must be emphasized again and again that this credo is not what these particular educators or any one of them believe or would like to believe, but it is a report and reflection by them of what the South's credo has been and is now as a result of the total cultural heritage and environmental influences.

I, THE "DEEP SOUTH," BELIEVE:

That the Negro is a Negro and always will be that and nothing more.

That, being a Negro and therefore hardly human, he cannot be expected ever to measure up to the white man's standards of character and achievement.

That, being of an inferior race, he should be kept in an inferior place.

That this is a white man's country, and that therefore the white man should dominate.

That political equality and equal educational opportunities given to the Negro would lead to social equality, mixture of races, etc.

That political and social equality would lead to domination of the white South by the Negroes and their northern supporters.

That discrimination and segregation are necessary to keep the Negro in his place and protect the interests and integrity of the whites.

That the Negro, when kept within his rightful sphere, should not be harmed or treated unkindly.

That he should be given fair trials and protected by law.

That he should be paid a living wage. Since, however, his standards of living are lower, he can live on less than a white man can.

That if given too much pay, he will waste the money and get "biggity."

That the Negro is better off in the South where he is understood.

That if the New Dealers, northerners, and "nigger-loving" reformers would let the South and the Negro alone, peaceful adjustments of the race problem could be made.

That those who are inviting the Negro to discontent and trying to force his participation in industry and politics on an equal basis are fomenting race riots which will hurt both whites and Negroes and the nation in the long run.

That, while as a race the Negro is inferior and generally untrustworthy, as an individual he is often honest, loyal, lovable, capable, and even talented and distinguished.

That his music, his carefree, patient disposition, his homely philosophy add interest and color and richness to the culture of the South.

That recognition should be given to the Negro for having made outstanding progress in many fields since being freed from slavery.

VARIATIONS FROM THIS NORM

There are, of course, various self-evident facts with reference

to such a credo. In the first place, there are some variations from the norm as indicated in this credo, yet for all practical purposes this makes no difference, since it is the mode of southern attitude and folkways which gives rise to points of tension, conflict, and the like. This credo is stated not because there is anything new in it, but rather in order to high light and make more vivid the folkways of the South on the Negro. Such a bold and bald statement of a credo is so vivid that it is perhaps surprising to southerners and, therefore, may go a long way toward explaining why the other regions of the nation have rediscovered a level of their own national life with which they were either not acquainted or which they had forgot. The credo is in such complete contradistinction to the urgings and demands that were being made of the South in the name of war and freedom and Americanism that the resulting tensions and conflict are easily explainable. The understanding of the realistic folkways of the South is necessary also to explain the reaction of so many people from other regions to what seems to them arbitrary, unreasonable, and entirely unfair attitudes and procedures in the South with reference to the simplest, most common, everyday reasonable expectations of the Negro for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

That is, unless the full meaning of the southern folkways on the Negro is clearly understood, most of the incidents, stories, and happenings that have been basic to recent race tension and conflict would themselves be unreasonable and unexplainable.

FOUR GROUPS OF SOUTHERN FOLK

In the attempt to estimate the degree to which this credo of the Deep South might be held by all southerners, the group of educators venture some such fourfold analysis of the southern people as follows:

A very small ratio, probably not more than one or two percent of the people of the South, might be found to believe that the Negro should have equal political, economic, educational, and social opportunity with the white race and would be willing to take steps immediately to provide such equality of opportunity, but even here as would be true in the case of many young white college youth, there would still be a level of attitude in the case of social equality implying sex and marriage relationships.

There is a second relatively small ratio of the white people of the South who believe that the Negro has been sinned against from the beginning, has been discriminated against unjustly, and that he ought to have equal opportunity to prove that he is not inherently inferior. Such a group would agree to have equal educational opportunities, privilege of voting, an increasingly approximate measure of economic opportunity, but they are afraid of and violently opposed to social equality.

The largest ratio of the white people of the South, perhaps between two-thirds and three-fourths, think little about the subject and assume as a matter of fact that any matters of equality are out of the question, and that the matters of race relationships have been settled in line with the credo of the great mass of people. They feel proud that the Negro has been given as much opportunity as he has received in education and training and work, and they are as a simple matter of fact opposed to having a Negro participate in political, educational, community, and social activities on the level of equality. Any such demands simply do not register.

Perhaps a fifth of the southern white people then aggressively despise the Negro and feel that all parties concerned would be better off if the Negro could be so regimented as to "stay in his place."

There is, then, of course, a relatively large number, but small ratio, of southern white leaders who, in their professions of church, school, and social work seek ways and means of integrating the Negro in American life in such ways as to give him complete opportunity. Yet such individuals and groups, almost without exception, appear so far from the realistic attainment and advocacy of these ends that they do not have the complete confidence of Negro leadership or white intellectual leadership from the other regions.

Thus, the startling conclusion is reached that there are no southerners who are free to advocate complete opportunity and seek means to accord the Negro such opportunity. There are, therefore, no southerners who really sense and understand the full power and meaning of what America outside the South feels should be accorded the Negro.

Furthermore, there are no southerners, as judged from our consensus of studies and opinions, who do not agree with Mark Ethridge's statement that there are not enough armed forces in the world to force the South to give up its long conditioned and its folk-motivated and regulated segregation culture.

IMPENDING CRISIS OR GROWING PAINS

Whether this situation is one of impending crisis or an inevitable and logical development toward a more complete integration of the southern regions in the national picture remains to be seen. The situations and attitudes reported above, which must be remembered, are strongly reinforced by an inexorable caste system which, although it reflects accumulative racial and economic heritage of the South, is primarily one of sex. Even the most liberal of the college youth who advocate complete freedom and equality of the Negro pale at the very thought of men and women

relationships in the more personal levels of social life. The understanding of this is necessary to the understanding of what so often appears as illogical and unreasonable emotional reaction on the part of southerners. This caste factor also is one which accentuates the element of crisis rather than logical development and evolution, which would clearly be possible and even probable were it not for this elemental factor. This powerful factor of caste also explains the prevalence of so many rumors of particular sorts and makes clear both the individual psychology and the folk psychology underlying many of the rumors and propaganda.

Over against and in the midst of this accelerated tension and multiple conflicts, little of which is new except in specific manifestations, there is a level of southern cultural dynamics which in many respects is new. This is in the vigorous, lusty enthusiasm and aggressive attitude and action of a whole new generation of Negroes, much of which is as spontaneous and inevitable as would be the growth of youth and the increasing education and experience of a race in the midst of a region and nation that are going forward rapidly. A part of this enthusiastic aggressive attitude and action of the young Negroes is due, of course, to the new education and to the leadership and agitation of many of the Negro educational leaders North and South. But even if this were not a great influence, the reaction and responsibility of Negro youth would be an inevitable product of any evolutionary development. To this extent the situation in the South may be one of growing pains and evolutionary development rather than of impending crisis, provided there are regional-national arrangements adequate to take care of the situation.

This relatively new and vigorous aggressiveness of the young Negroes would appear to be something natural, commendable, and promising.

Why, therefore, should that which is so much to be commended and so natural and logical be the cause of impending crisis?

We naturally want equal opportunity to live in this the best land in the world, they say. Well why not?

We naturally want a chance to do the best work and to get the best pay. Well, why not?

We naturally want to express ourselves fully, and as youth in a youthful race perhaps we are considerably bumptious and noisy. Well, it is natural.

We naturally want the right to travel, to trade, to work without embarrassing segregation laws and custom, and we would like to live in communities whenever we can make the grade. That is natural, too.

In more specific instances and cases, we like to go into the drugstores, in the markets, and into other public places as a matter of fact just as other people do; perhaps we want this more because we have not had it, and we are a little immature and naive about it. That is natural, too.

And we like to dream of unreasonable things to be done and ideals to be attained, and we want to do this even as other people do without being considered presumptuous.

In the long life line of human beings waiting their turn for service, achievement, privilege, obligation, we want to take our place regularly and not be always slipping back to the end of the line and giving way always to someone else.

NATIONAL ATTITUDES AND GROUPS

The above general analysis reflects, as will be seen from a study of the many situations and sources, both the attitudes and happenings within

recent months in the South. It must be very clear that the credo of the Deep White South is in complete contradistinction to the credo of the Negro. Conflict, therefore, tends more nearly to point toward crisis than adjustment and evolutionary development which might solve the problem. Human nature and society, however, have always proved capable of making great adjustments and surviving a great deal of conflict and crisis, so that ordinarily since these conflicts are not new we might assume, as has often been true in the past, a certain flaring up of emotion and conflict and then a settling down to more or less normal adjustments.

In the present case, however, issues are raised primarily by great national groups and reinforced by the new ideologies of world democracy and of newer ideals of race opportunity and participation. It is not possible, therefore, for the South to settle its own problems in an abiding way, since the South can no longer be an isolationist region segregated from the rest of the nation or the rest of the world.

THREE LEVELS OF NEGRO ATTITUDES AND ACTION

The range and magnitude of the problem may be sensed in another way by looking at seven or eight groups or segments of the American people most directly articulate in the problem of race. Among the Negroes there may be said to be three major groups that are now becoming more articulate and on the march. The first of these is the great body of Negro leaders who ask that America give them the rights and privileges for which the Constitution stands and which they have been told will accrue to them as soon as they have proved themselves worthy as American citizens. This group is articulate throughout the nation, North and South, and among relatively all classes of Negroes.

There is then a smaller group of Negro leaders, more articulate outside the South, but many of them southern Negroes with northern residence, who are militant in the demand for "all or nothing." There is, then, a great body of Negroes in the South who are, as usual, being pressed between the upper and nether millstone and who are restless in their eager desire to attain more status, to have better work and wages, to have better opportunities for education, and more specifically now to take advantage of opportunities for more work and more privileges.

There is finally then the younger group of Negroes, many of them college youth but not all, who are committed to experimenting with every possible opportunity for equal rights with the whites in whatever fields of endeavor they may be in.

In the midst of all of this the younger Negroes reflect the difficulties, problems, and behavior of the transitional stage, and many of the common folks among the Negroes, through rumors and talks, acquire unrealistic attitudes that add to the complexity of the situation. The reality to his race and to the ideals which have been preached to him from within often conflicts with the bare necessities and reasonable services of workaday occupations and relations with the whites.

In all of these situations there is always a large measure of the Negro folkways and folk culture hidden from the whites and constituting a powerful reserve which, as we shall point out, is also matched by a similar unspoken and hidden reserve conflict among the whites.

LEVELS OF WHITE ATTITUDES AND ACTION

Among the whites there are also several articulate groups. First perhaps is the group of leaders commonly called by the South "northern,"

who, citing the guarantees of the American Constitution and the American dream, feel greatly embarrassed that the nation in times of world conflict for democracy should have entire regions in which there is little semblance of equality of opportunity. This group includes not only the general urban and educational leaders but a majority of the New Deal, who represent what may be termed, in the better sense of the word, the reform group. Although admitting discrimination in other regions, they accurately make the point that discrimination is not in the organic or constitutional set-up of the nation, whereas in the South it is.

There is also in the white North a group comparable to the small group of Negro leaders already mentioned, who insist on "all or nothing." Some of these are liberal and radical leaders, representative of major institutions, and some are "radicals" frankly hoping to start revolution in the South.

In the South there is, of course, the great mass of the white South nurtured and conditioned by cultural patterns of a racial civilization and committed irrevocably to complete segregation, at whatever cost. They are strongly bottomed in the heritage of racial conflict, of slavery in the South, and in the constitutional rights of the states.

There is in the South, then, a limited leadership which may be termed the demagogic politician, who still seeks to make race a major issue in southern politics.

There are then two other major groups: one which may be called representative of the Ku-Klux pattern or its equivalent, advocating exploitation and violence with about the same inexorableness as the communist group. And, finally, there is a relatively small group of white southern leaders who actually seek to bring about a genuine and realistic full-fledged

interracial fellowship with increasing elimination of differentials until full fellowship has been attained in due order and process of regional and interregional accommodation.

In the midst of all of these there are, of course, organizations, agencies, leaders, occupational groups, professions, and organized labor, which reflect a multiple source of changing attitudes and actions. A special level of race relations is that of Negro women who work in homes, and white women whose pattern of life assumes the Negro servant, many of whom now have opportunities for work outside the home at higher wages and less hours. These groups are the basis for many of the rumors and some of the conflicts and injustices.

ALL ARE RIGHT

It has often been pointed out that from their own viewpoint most of these groups are "right" and "reasonable" in their attitudes and advocacy. The Negro is the most "right" from the viewpoint of the good society, of democracy, and Christianity, but perhaps least "right" in the practicability of his attainment of full-fledged equality within the present.

The northern white group is next most "right" in the reasonableness of their advocacy of the American dream in terms of abstract philosophy and righteousness and least "right" in their lack of sensing of the age-long anthropological, biological, cultural conditioning which precludes the possibility of quick, complete change.

The white South is least "right" in terms of the American dream, equality of opportunity, Christianity, and democracy, but most "right" in their recognition of the organic nature of race relations and prejudices and of the constitutional rights of the state to make their folkways and stateways coincide in legal enactments.

Certainly, the thousands of white college youth in the North who come South with the dream of participating in southern culture and reforming the South are "right" in their motivations. Certainly Negro college youth are but carrying out the instructions which they have received in colleges North and South in trying to raise the standards and to guarantee race respect, dignity, and opportunity.

Evidences supporting these generalizations are everywhere apparent in the reality of the present scene, attitudes, rumors, stories, actions, injustices, exploitation, conflict and, on the other, in numerous outstanding examples of courage, patience, action of many Negroes and whites. Manifestly, the solution of the problem must be one of mature relationships between and among the several groups rather than the specific enactment of complete reform; provided, of course, it is understood that in the charter of relationships there will be assumed actual, definite, technical, tangible ways of attaining an increasingly larger amount of equal opportunity.

DISCOURAGING TRENDS

If we try to focus upon two or three of the most startling and discouraging observations, the first would perhaps be a realization that an extraordinarily large number of the "best" southern people haven't the least idea what it is that the Negro wants. The distance between them and the Negro is so unbelievably great that one must despair of much immediate amelioration until this distance has been bridged.

A second conclusion from the evidence gathered is that there may be going on a rather sinister coalition between the unreasoning, reactionary South and the officials of the law resulting in a common pattern of attitude and action which boasts that there must be no extra legal or Ku-Klux type

of action. This means that in so far as that is true there is no redress for the injustices and brutalities visited upon the Negroes.

A third observation is that there is almost a universal assumption that after all nothing can be done about it. The situation is untenable, but, under the circumstances, keeping in mind all the factors involved, et cetera, what else could be expected? It is surprising how many people think that such incidents as that of Roland Hayes are unfortunate, but not particularly bad.

A fourth observation is that there is at the present time a new wave of defense mechanism marshalling most of the "South" against outsiders. This emotional status immediately precludes any actual intellectual looking at the situation and weighing of factors.

There are other discouraging symptoms. For instance, in the midst of seemingly irremediable situations there has been a surprisingly large number of Negro leaders who fear, against all of their previous training and trends, that they may have "to fight it out."

There has been reflected also a surprising and unbelievable residuum of sentiment in the white South that "it looks like we may have to fight it out" again.

There has been a surprisingly large number of utterances in speech, in forum, and in printed articles by leaders of other sections, who conclude sadly that there appears to be only one way to remedy the situation and that is by federal coercion.

There is, of course, the important factor of politics and a considerable tendency to exploit the Negro race tension and the popularity of the subject in unrealistic writing and speaking.

And, as always, there are the extremists and considerable evidence to indicate that neither the South nor the North has learned much from the experience of the Civil War.

THE 1943 EPOCHAL RUMORS

How some of these composite conclusions are reflected in many of the rumors and stories that we have gathered may be seen from samplings from most of the main categories into which they may be classified. We begin with the series the focus of which is upon the caste conflict as it relates to Negro men and white women. We are citing a relatively large number of individual cases, very much alike in general tone and import, but varying in certain details and in wording. One object of citing so many is to indicate the nature and range of the folk psychology here and the power of the folkways. The greater number of rumors and the greater amount of talk in this field may be classified into two main divisions. First, the common rumor that, when the white men have gone to the Army and the Negroes have been left behind, the Negro men will then take care of the white women. The second large group in this field has to do with young Negro boys and men undertaking to "date" white girls. We present two phases of the first category, one in which the mere statement of the rumor is presented and the second those rumors which report the tragic consequences to the Negro.

In these instances, as in many others, there are symptoms of very realistic folk psychology, some of which follows the tone of the Negro's folklore and folk song and some of which, of course, follows the level of the South's folkways on social equality. Comments on all of the cases will be limited primarily to a later division of the report. We must first examine the range and nature of the rumors themselves.

THE NEGRO MEN WILL TAKE OVER THE WHITE WOMEN

The first category of rumors and stories about Negro men and white women is that in which, due to the larger number of white men being drafted, the Negro men will, as soon as the whites are gone, take over, protect, or "have a good time with" the white women. This series reflects the points of tension and caste folk-psychology already described as the set-up of the folkways of protection for white women.

When white men go to the Army, the Negro men will have the white women. South Carolina.

Negro men are all planning to have white wives. North Carolina.

When all the white men have gone to war, the white women will be left for the Negro men. North Carolina.

A Negro made the remark that he had his white girl "picked out" just as soon as the Negroes take over. Virginia.

A pretty white girl was walking along Peachtree Street with two soldiers. Two Negroes said that that was the type of girl they would be going with after the war. Georgia.

Every Negro man will have a white girl when the white boys go off to war. North Carolina.

Two Negro men followed two white girls along the street talking about the good times they would have when the white men were all gone. North Carolina.

One fight between whites and Negroes was supposedly caused by a Negro saying to another Negro who was a soldier, "Aren't we going to have a time with these white women, when all these white men go off to war!" Georgia.

Young Negroes said to young white people you'd better be necking now because after the war we'll be doing the necking. Georgia.

After the war Negroes will marry white girls and run the country. South Carolina.

Negro men posing as delivery boys have entered and tried to enter homes of white women. And some of it isn't just rumor. Louisiana.

Two Negro men were overheard talking. One, it is said, told the other that he would be glad when all the white men had left for the Army, then he was going tofind himself a white women for company. Louisiana.

At the country club a golfer overheard his Negro caddie talking with other caddies about what they would do when all of the white men went off to war. They said that they would really have a good time with the white women. There are about 10 Negroes to every white person around the section. Alabama.

A Negro retorted to an offended white girl: "You'll be glad to have us Negroes love you when the white folks are gone." Alabama.

One Negro was overheard to say to another, "See that white women over there? She's the one I'm going to have when all the white men are away." Georgia.

A Negro, ordered to leave, turned around and said, "That's all right, white lady, but befo' this war is over us Negro men will be protecting and living with a lot of white women." Georgia.

One night a Negro boy walking down the street behind a white girl offered to carry her bag and walk home with her to see that she got there safely. When she refused the Negro boy replied, "You can refuse now, but after the war is over a lot of us Negro boys will be taking care of you white girls." Georgia.

A Negro man is said to have entered a white woman's house and told her that since all the white men had gone off he supposed the colored men would have to take care of the situation. Georgia.

There is a rumor that Negro men are saying they are going to have a good time with the white men's wives when they all get in the Army. Georgia.

The Negroes tell each other to pick their white women now. Virginia.

Members of a Negro club stated that if white men, being mostly in the armed forces, cannot take care of their white women, the Negro men can. Louisiana.

Since all of the whites are in the Army, the Negro says he will take care of the white girls while they're gone. Louisiana.

A Negro man, who was being reprimanded by an elderly white lady made the following remark to her, "You white women just wait until these white men folks are drafted-- that's when we are going to take over. "South Carolina.

A Negro man was heard to say that they were just waiting for all of the white men to be drafted. Then they would have a good time with the white women and girls. South Carolina.

When you come back from the Army, I'll be your brother-in-law. South Carolina.

RUMORS OF WHAT HAPPENS WHEN

In many of the rumors that are reported the seriousness of the

offense is indicated by the action which follows. Samplings from some of those just cited: "They ran the Negro out of town." "They had the Negro arrested." "Neither of the Negroes has been seen since." "I'm quite sure that not a single Negro will live to tell about it, if he does." "They called the police and the Negro was put in jail." The following are types of stories where the point of the story emphasizes the penalty.

There was a case in the lower part of Newberry County in which Negroes told white boys who were in uniform--"We will take care of all the white girls while you are gone." The white boys killed the Negroes. South Carolina.

A man made a remark in front of a Negro that he didn't know what was going to happen to his wife when he went to the Army. The Negro man said that he would take care of her. The white man shot him right then. South Carolina.

A white man was told by a Negro when he left his home town to join some branch of the service that when he returned he (the Negro) would be his brother-in-law. The white man was so angered he killed the Negro and was not punished for it. South Carolina.

A white boy of draft age was working in a meat market. A Negro came in and asked this boy when he was going to the Army. The bpy asked the Negro why he wanted to know. The Negro said, "When you white men leave we can take care of the white women." At this the boy let a meat knife loose and cut off the Negro's head. South Carolina.

One rumor was that a white women in the town of S-- killed a Negro man because he said, "Don't you worry, when all the white men have gone, we'll be around to take care of you." She shot and killed him. Georgia.

A Negro walked up to a white women storekeeper in a small town informing her that she had better enjoy being her own boss while she could because now that the white men had gone to war--into the service, etc.--that they, the Negro men, would be looking after them before long. The white woman then shot the Negro and killed him on the spot. Georgia.

A Negro man was killed by a white woman when he came into her store and said now that all the white men were in the Army the Negro men were going to "take over." Georgia.

A Negro walked into a grocery store and went back to the meat market. While buying the meat he very brazenly talked about the time when the Negro and white would be equal and of his intentions with relations towards white girls. The butcher became enraged and severely cut the Negro with his butcher knife. Georgia.

The story goes that some Negroes were playing pool and boasting of the fact that they'd stay home and entertain the white women while the white man went to war. The two Negroes, according to hearsay, did not live to do the entertaining because a white man nearby shot them down. North Carolina.

A lady was sitting on the front porch rocking her baby. The Negro man said, "Your husband has been called to war, now who is going to love you while he is gone." She replied, "My baby will love me." Then he said, "No, I'se going to love you while your husband is gone." She said, "Just wait until I put the baby to bed." When she returned, she carried a shotgun in her hands and killed him on the spot. Florida.

I heard this story from several people, some saying it had happened in Gulfport, Mississippi, others saying Bogalusa, Louisiana, and others saying Beaumont, Texas: "A Negro man watched a white girl walk by, and remarked to his friend, "'They're going to be left to us when all the white men are off in the army.'" In the story about Bogalusa, it was said that a white man overheard the remark and killed the Negro on the spot, with several witnesses around, but that no one ever did anything about it. Mississippi.

A young married man was leaving his home to enter the Army and he was saying goodbye to his wife. A Negro man was standing nearby. He told the white man that he would take care of his wife while he was gone. At these words, the white man shot the Negro and the Negro died instantly. South Carolina.

A bus was pulling out from the station with a load of soldiers. There were three Negroes on the corner and as the bus passed by one of the "blacks" hollered "Take your time boys, don't hurry back, we'll take care of your women 'til you get back." The bus stopped and the soldiers "mopped up" the Negroes. South Carolina.

A Negro man in a bus said, in front of six white soldiers, "all the white men are going to war and us colored men can take care of the white women." The soldiers stopped the bus and killed the Negro. Louisiana.

DATING WHITE GIRLS

A second category of the most commonly reported rumors and stories relating to Negro men and white women is that of dating white girls. The same general level of tension is indicated as in the first category where the Negroes are reported to be planning to "take over."

One of the most terrible and unspeakable things that I've heard about the Negro is that some of them have been heard saying that they would be glad when all of the white boys have gone to the Army so they could date the white girls here at home. South Carolina.

Negro boys have been heard to say, "Just you wait a few more months when all the white boys are gone and we'll be dating all these white girls." North Carolina.

A University student said that he had reports of a Negro being run out of town because he asked a white woman for a date in that city. Alabama.

A Negro soldier asked a white girl to dance. The white soldiers objected and a "free-for-all" ensued. A white soldier was killed. Louisiana.

"They say" that after the war white girls will be glad to go with Negro boys. Georgia.

An attractive young woman walking down the street passed several Negroes standing on the sidewalk. One of the Negroes gave her a long whistle and was heard to say, "I would like to have a date with you tonight." Georgia.

White girls would soon be dating Negroes because so many men were going to the war. North Carolina.

A Negro soldier told a young white girl that he was coming back and that when he did he wanted to have a date with her. Georgia.

A group of Negro boys were congregating to discuss just which white girl each was going to pick out to "go with" as soon as a greater number of white men left for the Army. One actually had on his body a list of white girls' names. South Carolina.

A girl working in a 10 cent store was asked by a Negro man when she got off work. She thought he said, "What time do you close?" and she told him. After he left she remembered what he had said and called the police. She was told not to worry and leave at her usual time. When she left the store, the Negro man grabbed her and the police grabbed the man. North Carolina.

A Negro man 'phoned a white girl for a date. She accepted and called police. The Negro was jailed. Florida.

Many Negro soldiers in Georgia and South Carolina have been calling white women to aks for dates. South Carolina.

A Negro soldier entered a store and asked the owner's daughter for a date. The girl's father shot the man and was not prosecuted. South Carolina.

A girl was walking home from work. She was conscious of someone walking behind her so she turned and saw a Negro man following. He asked to talk with her and she refused several times. After a while he told the girl she'd be sorry later. South Carolina.

A Negro soldier asked a white girl for a date. Virginia.

A Negro stepped up to a girl working in the Dime Store and asked her if she were doing anything that night. She told him that it was none of his business. He told her that he just wondered, as he wanted her to go out with him. Virginia.

A Negro man while paying a girl in a Dime Store for an article tried to hold her hand. That night after the store closed the same Negro started following her down the street. The girl ran into a store and called the police. Police came and asked him what he was trying to do. He said, "I want to go home with that girl--that's the way we do in New York." South Carolina.

A Negro man in a hotel asked a white woman for a date. South Carolina.

A rumor that is in our community among the Negroes is that the white people will sometimes be glad to go with Negro men. Georgia.

A Negro boy purchased an article at a dime store, and as the girl who waited on him returned the change, he grabbed her hand and asked her for a date. South Carolina.

A Negro man sent a box of candy to a white girl in...high school last Christmas. On a note on the inside of the box he asked her for a date the following night. South Carolina.

In a certain town a sales girl in one of the dime stores handed a Negro man change from the purchase he had made. He caught her hand and held it for a minute. South Carolina.

Negroes tried continuously to walk with white girls and to take the place of white men, In the cafe one night a Negro man held a waitress' hand until she had to scream for help. South Carolina.

I heard of a Negro man asking a white waitress here in a hotel for a "date." There was a Negro who was put in jail for talking with insolence and for insulting some girl clerks in a dime store. South Carolina.

Margaret kept receiving an anonynmous call from a man. Upon tracing the call it was discovered that it was a Negro man calling for a date. South Carolina.

A lady was sitting on the bench waiting for the car to come. A Negro man came up and sat down on the same bench at the other end. She noticed that he kept sliding down, nearer and nearer her end of the bench. Finally, she stood up and he stood up by her. He asked for for a date. She told him not to be foolish. He told her that after the war was over, she would probably be eager to date him. The street car came along then and she sat towards the front; he, towards the rear. Georgia.

There were a group of the girls at the railway station on their way home. Several Negroes passed the station at this time and began throwing kisses at the girls, naturally insulting them very much. Alabama.

NEGRO MEN ATTACK WHITE WOMEN

A third category of rumors relating to Negro men and white women

is that which reflects the traditional fear and accusation that Negro men may attack white women.

I heard that a white girl was attacked by a Negro boy last summer. He stuffed her mouth with Kleenex, and ran after the act. South Carolina.

The murder of a white sailor and several attacks on white girls by Negroes in Elizabeth City is part of a planned "Reign of Terror." North Carolina.

A lady who worked in the cotton mill was attacked by a Negro when she was going home from work one night about 10:30. She screamed and help came, but not before the Negro had taken his knife and cut her up quite a bit. Mississippi.

A soldier and his wife were walking from the railway station to the bus station in Savannah when several Negroes came out of a dark alley and grabbed them. Georgia.

Negro, now on trial, for attacking a white woman, is said to be a member of a group of men who take delight in tormenting women. Louisiana.

It has been rumored that in a little town in which there is a girls' school, the Negroes have written letters, threatening the girls. Alabama.

I have also heard that the Negro soldiers whistle at the white girls as they go down the street. They also make some vulgar remarks to them. South Carolina.

They say that the Negroes are going to break in stores and little shops and wreck them and that Negroes are beginning to attack white girls if they are out at night. North Carolina.

The incident of rape by Negro men over young white girls is very prevalent. This is not all rumor as facts from the city hospital show that this situation actually exists. Georgia.

A friend of mine told me of several instances when her father and other men in her neighborhood had had to kill Negro men who had tried to enter a girls' convent at night in the same neighborhood, and on trying to escape had been given fair warning to stop or he would be killed. Consequently, when the Negro continued running, they shot him. My friend told me that this happened ever so often. Louisiana.

Students have to have chaperones to accompany them on the campus at night because of the fact that there has been a sudden outbreak of Negroes attacking white women. Louisiana.

Special policeman told me that they have orders to shoot on sight any Negroes prowling about all girls' schools. Louisiana.

Just recently, a Negro shot and killed a sailor and wounded two others. A few days before that, a High School girl of 12 years of age was raped. Another white woman was raped in the fall. North Carolina.

RESULTING RULES AND BEHAVIOR

In the rumors mentioned above little reference has been made to a similar body of rumors of fear and caution. No matter how groundless many of the fears may have been and how slight the rumors, there is no doubt that most of the common folk really believe that many of the things they hear are true. No matter how unjustified their fears are and how unfair they are to the Negroes, the realism of these fears and the resulting action are part and parcel of the folkways and contribute to the total of tensions and hazards. In this last category of attacking white women, there are many rumors of what happens, of cautions, and rules of behavior that are part of the situation. Even more serious is the resulting violence which will be reported in our next series, where conflict is more pronounced. Some of the types of the result of fear are indicated in the following rumors.

It was dangerous for a colored man to appear around on the streets in the day time and practically fatal if one was seen around at night. Mississippi.

These incidents have been kept out of the papers, so that it would not bring about harder feelings. Louisiana.

When feeling began to rise against Negroes, the city officials made and passed a rule that no Negroes would be allowed on the street after 7:00 o'clock. North Carolina.

They say that when the Negro soldiers come to town it will be unsafe for white women to walk on the streets unescorted. North Carolina.

White girls are asked not to go alone on streets at night or at any time when they may be in danger. North Carolina.

Young women students are not allowed off the campus after 6:00 o'clock in the afternoon. Alabama.

New chaperonage rules have been made where girls have to walk in pairs or more to the library at night. At least three must go down town together. Louisiana.

Library privileges are limited at night. Girls are not allowed to go out during the day unless they go in a party of three or more. Louisiana.

People have been worried because there will be no white man left to protect the women from all the Negroes. Louisiana.

NEGRO POST-WAR RULE

There are variations of the rumors that Negroes plan to "take over" which do not refer to women but reflect the same folkways of both races. They are important commentaries on the previous ones.

The Negro says he is just waiting until white man leaves and then he'll take over. Louisiana.

A Negro man was reported to have said that he'd be glad when the draft got all the white men so they could do as they pleased. Alabama.

When Negroes were forced off the sidewalk for white people some said, "Sometime they will get off for us." South Carolina.

The Negroes say, "We will have our day and it won't be long." South Carolina.

Just wait until all the white men leave. We'll fix those white people! Louisiana.

NEGRO WOMEN, WHITE WOMEN, AND WORK

Another phase of the class and sex tension, reflected perhaps in as many rumors and sayings as any other, is that of the relation between Negro women and white women in the sphere of domestic service. This series reflects in remarkably vivid ways again the powerful folkways of both races. Here is the basic origin of the rumored "Eleanor Clubs," themselves a favorite classification and one to be reported separately.

White people are going to be working for the Negroes after the war. South Carolina.

That white women will be Negro women's maids. North Carolina.

The Negroes are talking about the time when all the white men and boys have been called to fight for their country that things will certainly change. The Negroes will live in the homes of the white people and instead of them working for the white people, the white women and children will have to work for them. South Carolina.

Negro women are quitting work to "put the white woman back in the kitchen." Louisiana.

Negro cooks say that most housewives will be in the kitchen cooking for themselves by Christmas. South Carolina.

It has been said that the servants in homes have organized for higher wages and shorter hours. Louisiana.

Negro women are quitting jobs because they want more money or better conditions. They are more independent because of scarcity of domestic servants. Louisiana.

They say the Negro woman is going to stop working for the white woman. South Carolina.

A woman was away for a while and when she returned to her home she found her maid sitting down at her dresser combing her hair with her comb. South Carolina.

A Negro nurse on being asked for a health certificate in turn asked her prospective employer for a health certificate. Louisiana.

A Negro woman refuses to work for white woman because white woman would not allow Negro to call her by first name. Louisiana.

The story is told that a lady asked a Negro "wash woman" if she would do her wash that week. Whereupon the woman replied, "I'll do yours this week if you'll do mine next week." South Carolina.

Some white ladies seeing a Negro woman walking around during morning hours asked the Negro if she would like to cook for someone. The Negro replied hurriedly, "I was looking for someone to cook for me." South Carolina.

One colored maid when asked if she wanted a job said--"I looking for some one to work for me!" Georgia.

A lady called her cook to come up and fix dinner as she was having company. The cook turned the tables and asked her mistress to come to her house by eight o'clock Sunday morning as she was having company! South Carolina.

This story was also told about a white woman asking a Negro woman to wash for her. The Negro replied that she would be glad to pay the white woman to wash her clothes. South Carolina.

Many Negro cooks quit working for white people saying that they don't get enough pay and that they will soon have the white people working for them. South Carolina.

A Negro servant went in to work one day and called the woman for whom she worked, by her given name. The woman asked her why she did it. The Negro woman said: "Well you don't call me Mrs. so I won't call you that." Georgia.

A white woman asked a Negro woman to do her laundry for her. The Negro woman replied, "All right, you come and wash for me one week and I'll do yours the next." Georgia.

A Negro servant, who had worked for many years for a family, one morning told the woman for whom she worked that she would not be back after that day. The woman asked her if she was dissatisfied with her pay. The Negro woman said, no, it wasn't that. She said her "society" was going to take care of her "for the duration." The white woman asked her what she planned to do after "the duration." The Negro woman replied, "By then you white folks will be working for us." Georgia.

Negro women refused to work because their husbands were making such good money that they didn't need the extra money as much as they needed to stay at home and cook three meals a day for these working men. Georgia.

They say that a lot of cooks are going into war and government services for the money involved. They say that labor unions are being organized among the house servants by Northern agitators. Alabama.

Negro cooks were found using their mistresses bathtubs. South Carolina.

"All Negroes out of the kitchen by Christmas." North Carolina.

A Negro girl set the table so that she would eat with the whites, and then left when someone took the extra plate off. Kentucky.

Man and woman servants of a prominent family refused to work any longer unless they were allowed to call their employers by first name. Atlanta.

Domestic servants are going to demand an eight hour day at union pay rates. Georgia.

They say that by June all but the old Negroes will no longer be servants. This includes both men and women whose labor the government needs. Georgia.

They say the Negroes are going to form unions and the maid and men servants will demand a certain wage per hour. It is rumored that they are trying their best to organize and stir up the Negroes. Georgia.

A white lady's cook asked if she might use her parlor that night as she was having a guest. The white lady said, "No," and told the cook that she could leave. The cook said, "That's all right. You white women will be working in our kitchens by Christmas." North Carolina.

One day a cook walked into her mistress' bedroom, called her by her first name and told her she thought it was time for her to get up for breakfast. North Carolina.

The white lady asked her why she hadn't come back to work for her. The Negro said, "I have a proposition to make--if you work for me a week, I'll work for you a week." South Carolina.

A white lady on missing her washwoman one Monday morning called her, and was surprised to hear the Negro say that she was no longer doing washing, but instead was having a woman in to do her washing. Georgia.

I heard that this certain Negro woman asked for a raise. The white lady could not afford it, so she quit. When she left, the Negro told the white, employer "Some day you will be working for me instead of my working for you." South Carolina.

One day the white woman asked the Negro worker to scrub the floor but the worker refused at first. A quarrel ensued and the Negro finally exclaimed, "O.K. I'll do it now, but before long, you'll be scrubbing my floors, washing my clothes, and tending my babies." South Carolina.

A white lady asked a Negro woman if she would work for her. Negro said, "I don't have time--how about you working for me?" North Carolina.

A policeman stopped a Negro woman on the street and asked her if she had time to do some work for his wife. The Negro woman said, "No, but does your wife have time to do some work for me?" North Carolina.

A lady went out to get help and she saw a very neat colored girl standing in a door. The white lady asked, "Would you like to have some work?" The Negro said, "No indeed, my husband is working for the government making good money." South Carolina.

The Negro woman bluntly informed him that she wasn't going to work for any white man because her husband was making just as much money as he and had told her not wo work. South Carolina.

A northern Negro woman is alleged to have gone into the colored community in search of a servant. When she asked a native if she could tell her where she could find a washwoman, the reply was, "Yes, go home and look in the mirror and see your own big black self!" Georgia.

In this town a woman who had been unable to get a cook decided to go out in search of one herself. She drove down into Negro town, went up to a house and knocked on the door. When she inquired if the woman knew where she could get a cook the Negro woman looked at her mockingly and said, "sho--look in the mirror and you'll see your cook." North Carolina.

A young Negro girl was invited to talk at a church and informed the audience that the colored people wanted to walk in front doors and eat at the same table with the family. North Carolina.

When white women interviewed Negro women for jobs the Negro women insolently replied that they wouldn't work for them but they would like for said white woman to work for them. North Carolina.

One morning when a white woman carried her laundry to her colored washwoman, the Negro washwoman said, "By this time next year, you and other white women will be doing our wash." North Carolina.

THE ELEANOR CLUB RUMOR

Perhaps the most remarkable of all the rumors have been those relating to the "Eleanor Clubs" and to the activities and beliefs of the First Lady of the Land. These rumors fall primarily into two classes. The first, relating to the Eleanor clubs, are bottomed in the conflict arising from the work situation commonly described in relation to "the servant problem." There is no occasion here to explain the causes, yet a part of the facts will be found in the opportunity for Negro women to work at higher wages, their organization into clubs and branches of organized labor, and the subsequent folk-psychology already described in our previous section. The Eleanor Club rumor is the "weakest" perhaps of all the folkways to survive the exodus of "servants" and to attack the First Lady. The alleged slogan of the Eleanor clubs was a variation of "A white woman in the kitchen by 1943." First we present assorted rumors and follow with "The Rules."

An Eleanor Club was organized in Gastonia and had several meetings but evidently it met with defeat as it is never mentioned any more and my cook says she hears nothing about it. North Carolina.

An Eleanor Club was found by the sheriff. My cousin told me that the sheriff went down there and told those "niggers" that they'd better get back to work, or else... ! Mississippi.

A special version of the "Eleanor Clubs" I have heard is the "Royal House of Eleanor." Georgia.

When an army camp was started in my town and cooks were asked to cook for the soldiers, receiving as much as $15.00 a week, many housewives decided that this was a project of the "Eleanor Club" to get Negroes out of domestic service, and to give them higher pay. Georgia.

Why all the Negroes are getting so "uppity" they won't do a thing. I hear the cooks have organized Eleanor Clubs and their motto is "A white woman in every kitchen by Christmas." North Carolina.

I heard that all the colored maids at a hotel here joined "Eleanor Clubs" and walked out in a body one day because their pay and hours did not suit. North Carolina.

There is an Eleanor Club here but if it functions, I have never heard of it. Florida.

A Negro girl left during the middle of a meal which she was helping to serve because one of the guests had said something she didn't like and "she had been instructed by the Eleanor Club to leave whenever she was insulted." Kentucky.

I have heard a number of rumors of Negro women quitting work for white women. When asked why they didn't come back to work they said, "We have joined the Eleanor Club. You white women are going to learn to do your own work." Florida.

In this area one lady this fall complained of the difficulty of employing Negro women help, and also mentioned the Eleanor Clubs. I also heard these clubs mentioned in Portsmouth, but in no particular connection. Virginia.

I have heard repeated several times the so-called slogan of the colored domestic help "a white woman in every kitchen by the end of the year." North Carolina.

In Clinton (North Carolina) there are a number of maids, cooks, etc. who have refused to come to work until 8:30 or 9:00 o'clock and will not work after certain hours because they are members of what they call "The Eleanor Club." North Carolina.

About Eleanor Clubs--One woman was informed by her cook on the day that she was entertaining a church organization that she could not belong to the Eleanor Club and work for less than $15.00 per week. The woman told her that they would not "fall out" because of wages. When pay day came she gave the cook her money but withheld what she claimed the cook owed her--$1.00 for bus fare and $7.00 for three meals daily for a week, whereupon the maid remakred that it was not such a good idea to belong to the Eleanor Club because she had less money than before. Florida.

By the time of the next Presidential election the "Eleanor Clubs" will have enough strength and power to, in some measure, control the election. North Carolina.

In a community of 200 families, who had cooks, but two of these families have a cook at the present time. This Eleanor Club is spreading like wildfire all over the South and their motto is "a white woman in every kitchen." North Carolina.

Eleanor Clubs are stirring up troubles that never should have arisen. Clubs are making the Negroes discontented, making them question their status. Georgia.

Before the appearance of the Eleanor Club story, back in early spring, probably in March, 1942, the community buzzed with the story that outside organizers were organizing the colored maids in Greensboro; that they were going to ask for a twelve dollar a week minimum in the wealthier residential section, and eight dollars a week in the middle class residence area. North Carolina.

Another woman's maid stopped bringing in any wood for the fire because the other maids in the neighborhood had "jumped on" her and told her that she could not belong to the Eleanor Club and bring in wood, that was not her job, and her employer would have to hire someone else to do the bringing in of the wood or do it herself. Likewise, the maids refused to wash any windows--that was a man's work--and the maids were to do only the lightest work. Florida.

A friend of mine had a maid who had been with them for fifteen years. She joined the Eleanor Club and told her mistress that she would have to leave as she could not work for less than a certain sum, which sum was much more than my friend was paying or could afford to pay. Florida.

A woman went to the quarters to see why her maid had not showed up to work. She blew her horn in front of the cottage--no response. She could see there was someone in the place so went to the door. The colored woman was lying down, but said no, she wasn't sick. When asked why she hadn't come to work, she said--"because there had been a meeting of the Eleanor Club where they had been told to demand more wages." The woman told her she would gladly have paid her more if wages had gone up but wanted to know why she hadn't come to tell her. That also had been forbidden. Also the Club ruler had told them not to answer any more horn calls from a car. In other words, they were to assert their independence. Florida.

In nearly every town in which Mrs. Roosevelt has had occasion to speak, an Eleanor club is formed by the Negroes soon thereafter. North Carolina.

Maids walk out any time of the day with the excuse of going to an Eleanor's meeting. North Carolina.

Colored women are refusing to work and say white women will soon be working for them, but the cook reports no knowledge of Eleanor Clubs. Georgia.

I heard there was an Eleanor Club, but nobody seemed to know anything about it. Georgia.

A Negro girl comes in the front door of a white woman's house. The white woman woman asks why she came in the front door instead of the back door. The Negro's reply was that she had joined the Eleanor Club and she was supposed to come in the front door instead of the back. South Carolina.

A student from Savanah, Georgia, related that Eleanor Clubs had drawn up a Black List of white employers and that several Negro servants had stopped working for people on this list. Georgia.

Eleanor Clubs make a practice of investigating their employers and if they find they lack sympathy for or have a dislike of Mrs. Roosevelt they quit their jobs and place the employers' names on a Black List. Georgia.

Since the war started the Negro men have had higher incomes and they can afford to have a higher standard of living. Therefore, their wives and children no longer have to cook for the whites. The Negroes have formed

unions demanding higher wages and working conditions and it is almost impossible to find any help at all. I don't know much about the Eleanor Club, but I think she has a hand in trying to organize the Negroes. Georgia.

It is rumored that the Eleanor Clubs there intend to take it to court and that they have money enough to "fight it out." The money was given to the Eleanor Club by Mrs. Roosevelt who received it from one of her public lectures. They have, it is rumored, more money than one of the larger white high schools has for its entire budget this year. Florida.

I heard about the first organization of the Eleanor Clubs last June in a defense area, and whether these are the direct cause of the shortage of domestic help or not, I have not heard proved, but for some reason it is getting harder and harder to get colored servants in any capacity. South Carolina.

Everybody I have heard speak of Eleanor Clubs seems to be very much against them. I have heard some say that this is no time for a revolution. Alabama.

There is an Eleanor Club in Montgomery and a large Mississippi city: with the slogan "Every cook out of the kitchen by Christmas." Alabama.

Upon being informed that the family was having guests at dinner the following evening at 6:00 P. M., the maid in turn informed her madam that she'd from now on expect an extra $2.00 for every meal served after six o'clock, according to the rules set up by the Eleanor Club. Alabama.

The housewife was astounded at the servant's reply. "I'm sorry Mrs. Jones, but I done jined de Eleanor Club whut say we don't have to wait on company unless we been told at least two hours ahead of time. I'll set de extra place fo' yo', but I can't serve de dinnah' fo' you'" Alabama.

They say that whenever you see a Negro wearing a wide brimmed hat with a feather in it, you know he is wearing the sign of the Eleanor Club. Alabama.

One person gave the example of a white woman asking a Negro for information concerning where she might find a laundry girl. The Negro was quoted: "I couldn't say; I've been looking for some white trash to do my washing for the longest." Alabama.

I have heard that the Negroes call Mrs. Roosevelt the "Great White Angel" or the "Great White Mother," and have Eleanor Clubs. Alabama.

The only rumor that I know is that "every woman will be in her kitchen by Christmas." I know it to be a fact that there are Eleanor Roosevelt Clubs. Alabama.

My aunt has been told several times by Negro cooks who were quitting that their reason for doing so was because of the Eleanor Club. These are in evidence in many of the Southern large cities. Virginia.

Because of Eleanor Roosevelt Clubs, Negroes refused to work on Sunday. This hit the restaurants particularly hard because they had no cooks. Also some refused to work on Saturday nights according to rumor. Virginia.

My version of the "Eleanor Clubs" was that someone's cook in Alexandria refused to work because she had overheard one of the guests say something derogatory about Mrs. Roosevelt. Virginia.

In many places maids and other Negro workers are leaving because of the influence of Eleanor Club rallies. Their motto--"A white woman in every kitchen by Christmas" is fast becoming an actuality. Virginia.

A very common story being spread is that of the maid who resigned after serving a group of women at a party who were speaking detrimentally of Mrs. Roosevelt. She told her employer when she resigned that she couldn't stay in a place where people talked about Mrs. Roosevelt since she was a member of the "Eleanor and God Clubs." Virginia.

So many Negroes gathered in the name of "The Eleanor Roosevelt Society" to do all the detrimental things possible and to counteract their action the Home Guards and the cadets at the airfield had to be called. South Carolina.

In Charleston in a cafe the Negro boys started calling the white waitresses by their first names. They were told by the manager that they must say Miss. Negroes replied that they would if the girls called them Mr. These boys were said to be members of Eleanor Clubs. South Carolina.

A white lady was explaining to her maid that she expected her servant to do the jobs she was given; the maid answered by saying that since she was a member of the Eleanor Roosevelt Club she knew she was as good as any white person. South Carolina.

There is a rumor out that we have two small Eleanor Clubs around this area. I understand that the Eleanor Clubs were supposedly founded and membered by Negro housemaids pledged to quit work immediately in homes where Mrs. Roosevelt was spoken of slightingly. South Carolina.

Some Negroes working at a boarding house came to work one morning without caps or aprons. Upon being asked by the owner of the boarding house where their caps and aprons were they replied that Eleanor Roosevelt said that they didn't have to wear caps and aprons to signify that they were servants. South Carolina.

There is a very active Eleanor Club which puts out much propaganda and caused much hard feeling between the two races. South Carolina.

One of the most underlying happenings among the Negroes is the newly organized secret order inspired evidently by our president's wife as it bears her name. These clubs I should think have as a purpose a plot or agreement to keep on equal basis with the whites concerning work in the home. Their motto is "All White women in the kitchen by Christmas." A Negro woman in our town was called down by police when she went to a poor white section of the town to hunt for someone to do her washing. South Carolina.

There has been a lot of trouble with labor in my home town. Servants are hard to get and even harder to keep. They have become very independent and are demanding shorter hours and higher wages. The Eleanor Roosevelt Clubs are numerous. I heard a lot of talk about them while in Hot Springs, Arkansas, for a visit this summer. Florida.

Last week-end a gentleman of considerable wealth and position made this remark during our conversation, "Thanks to Mrs. Roosevelt and the Eleanor Clubs, we're liable to have a race riot here in the South. Mrs. Roosevelt is poking her nose into a situation about which she knows nothing." Florida.

I have heard that when a Negro applies for a job she asks if the head of the house likes Eleanor Roosevelt and if she doesn't she says, "Well, I belong to the Eleanor Club and if you don't like her then I can't work for you." Virginia.

I have heard that members of the Eleanor Club have acted most disrespectfully when being interviewed for a job; and they have been refused jobs which they otherwise would have received. North Carolina.

Eleanor Clubs were reported (1) in ...Alabama, by Miss Ellen W., a social worker; (2) in...South Carolina, by Mr. W. T. L., a farmer; (3) in...South Carolina, by Miss Josephine N., elderly retired woman. Tennessee.

Our cook at home has been attending meetings of the local "Eleanor" Club. She says they promise the Negro to raise his standards of living as high as that of the whites as soon as the war is over. She speaks of Mrs. Roosevelt as Eleanor this, that, and the other. Louisiana.

I have heard other rumors to the effect that Negroes in several places have said that they believed after the war there will not only be social equality but that the Negro will be the superior race. They believe that Eleanor Roosevelt will put them on this level. Louisiana.

The E.R.C. (Eleanor Roosevelt Club) composed of Negroes has caused much trouble in many places in Louisiana. A student told me of several instances in her home town in which the Negro women have quit their jobs because they could not get what they demanded from their employer. Louisiana.

A student told me the people in her home town were having difficulty in obtaining and keeping colored help. This is due mainly to the "Eleanor Clubs." She said the Negroes even admit as much. This girl's mother drove to a Negro's house and asked her to come do a washing. The Negro lady pointed to a mirror on the wall and said, "You look in that and you'll see your washwoman. Now you get out of here." Louisiana.

Negro women who quit work and who are members of the Eleanor Clubs do so because they have overheard a gross remark about the Roosevelts on the part of their employers or the employers' guests. When this remark is made they drop whatever they are doing and walk out. For instance I heard of one maid who was serving at big dinner party. One of the guests critized President Roosevelt. The maid immediately walked out. North Carolina.

A Negro cook and housemaid told the lady she was working for that she had joined the Eleanor Club and she couldn't do any more housework, only cooking. The lady told her she could quit then as she would have to get someone who could do both. The Negro told her, "You may be able to get someone now, but later on you won't because we will have you where we want you and will be able to get exactly what we want." Mississippi.

"Well, you see, I belongs to the Eleanor Club and we goes by the Bible. And the Bible says we are not supposed to let our right hand know what our left hand does. You is my left hand and I's yo right hand, and if I talks to you, I might let my left hand know what my right hand does." Louisiana.

All over the country Negro women are striking for higher wages, or in many cases are refusing to work under any conditions. The Eleanor Clubs are being formed. I was in Richmond, Va., this summer just after Mrs. Roosevelt had been there to speak to the Negroes, and not a Negro woman in the city would work on Saturday or Sunday for <u>any</u> wages. Louisiana.

There is a story going around that the number and size of feathers in the new "zoot suit" hats now being worn by most of the Negroes, determines his position in the Eleanor Club. The larger the feather, the more feathers, and the brighter the color all work in to their position in the club. South Carolina.

THE "RULES" OF THE CLUB

From the above assorted rumors the several basic burdens of the Eleanor Clubs may be inferred. White women are to be in the kitchen by 1943. Negro women are to be out of the kitchen. There must be more pay, more privileges, less hours. There must be no disparaging remarks about Mrs. Roosevelt. And Negroes must have equal opportunities with whites. It is clear, of course, that the original Eleanor Clubs were not Eleanor Clubs at all, but new ventures in organized labor. From these efforts and the accelerated demand for workers and especially Negro women workers, it was an easy step to follow some incidental local club tribute to Mrs. Roosevelt and spread the rumor far and wide. As a matter of fact, the ideals and aims of the clubs are irreproachable from the folk-viewpoint, whether from the vantage point of the Negroes as genuine folk wishes and demands or for the whites as perfect propaganda material. The following samplings indicate the range of rules and requirements as rumored. The clubs have a relatively simple and narrow range of variation. In addition to "Eleanor Clubs," the common designation, they are also called "Daughters of Eleanor," "The Eleanor Angel Clubs," "The Sisters of Eleanor," "The Royal House of Eleanor."

The clubs are named after Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt. The slogan is "a white woman in every kitchen by Christmas." The club's membership is made up of colored domestic workers. The members agree not to work for less than $16.00 a week. The members agree that if they hear any criticism whatsoever of Mrs. Roosevelt or the President they will immediately quit their jobs but first tell their employers they are leaving. Maryland.

The members of the Eleanor Clubs refuse to work on Sunday. They will not serve extra people without a day's notice. Must be called "Miss" and not just their first name. North Carolina.

Servants must go to work by the front door of their employer's house. Servants must strike for a dollar (or more) a day wages. Servants must take a bath in their employer's family bath tub before going home from work. Virginia.

Eleanor Clubs were formed because Negroes have misunderstood a speech given by Mrs. Roosevelt in which she discussed the wages of Negro servants... There is an Eleanor Club which is a type of labor union. The members refuse to work for less than $10.00 per week. It is a secret organization....Motto of Eleanor Club: "A white woman in every kitchen by Christmas"...Eleanor Club members are striking, demanding that they be addressed with title of Mrs...Eleanor Club members must earn a dollar a day and work only until 3 P. M. Dues are one dollar a year...Copy white womens' behavior...Mrs. Roosevelt will back them in everything they do..Quit because husbands make more than their bosses. South Carolina.

Recently the Eleanor Club has had its members refuse to do more than one type of work; that is, the maid will not cook, the cook will not dust, and they both refuse to work in North Carolina.

In an Army Camp in the South a Negro maid was employed by an officer and his wife. One day the wife entered the dining room and saw three places set at the table. She asked the maid if her husband had called and said he'd bring a friend home for lunch. The maid said, "No." The wife then asked what the extra place was for. The maid replied,"In the Eleanor Club we always sit with the people we work for." South Carolina.

The clubs work through the church. When one maid quits work she hands the name of her employer into the church group to which she belongs. The name is read from the pulpit and no person's name which is read can expect to get a maid again. Other than remarks about Roosevelt, the maids hold grievances for low wages, unfair treatment. North Carolina.

Their principles were to be that they work only eight hours a day; if they were to cook, that was all they were to do. They couldn't help with the house cleaning at all. You had to have a butler to put the garbage out and mop the kitchen. Their motto was "To have the white woman in her own kitchen by Christmas." South Carolina

The motto of the Eleanor Clubs is, "I comes after breakfast, I straightens up, I fixes lunch, I washes the dishes, I goes home." Georgia.

A woman can do only one thing, as wash, scrub, or clean house; the Eleanor Club will not allow her to do general work. Georgia.

"Eleanor's Club" -- consists of Negroes who are going to better themselves and try to be equal with the white race. They believe that Mrs. Roosevelt is their white god and is setting them free. North Carolina

It has been rumored that the Negroes here have formed an "Eleanor Club" and that if any one of the Negroes is working for a woman who says anything slighting against Mrs. Roosevelt, the hired Negro must quit immediately. Not only this, but the white woman's name is put on the "Black List" and she will be unable to hire any other Negro help. South Carolina.

I have heard that "The Eleanor Roosevelt Club" is promoting higher wages. I also heard that it was for the equality of the two races. South Carolina.

The slogan of the club is reported to be "all white women in the kitchen by Christmas." Also they have been quoted as saying "that the shooting at Pearl Harbor is a turning point in the equality of the black and white race." South Carolina.

I heard something new in connection with employer versus employee relationship. There is coming into existence a "black-list" made up of white employers for whom the Negroes refuse to work. It is connected with the Negro woman's membership in the Eleanor Clubs and seems to be gaining ground. Louisiana.

THE MRS. ROOSEVELT MYTH, SYMBOL, REALITY

The Eleanor Roosevelt Clubs are a symbol of what must appear to be one of America's most vivid and entertaining folk myths that has yet appeared. An examination of the rumors, the stories, and especially of opinions of southerners will reflect the rich heritage in this field which the first lady of the land has given to the country. It is symbolic also of what Gerald Johnson refers to as his sublime faith of the idiocy of American history, which never has proceeded in accordance with reason and logic. The stories again reflect remarkably the character of folklore and folk stories. Two or three samplings will suffice.

Mrs. Roosevelt goes to a small Mississippi town. She enters the hotel and registers. Then she says to the bellboy: "Go out and get me twenty Negro ladies, for I must have them to dinner with me." And the bellboy does so. When the Negro women arrive the hotel manager says to Mrs. Roosevelt: "I would have you know, my dear Mrs. Roosevelt, that this is the South. You must get out." And she does.

The above version and variations of it are apparently current in various places in the South, with, of course, at the present no indication of its real origin. On the other hand, another glorified version of Mrs. Roosevelt's activities apparently grew out of certain national incidents. This particular version was recorded in Georgia, with a specific checking and rechecking of notations that I heard it from so and so, specified who had heard it from so and so specified, who got it from so and so, all of these personalities being top, reliable persons in the community. That is, the persons specified were not themselves saying it happened, but they were saying that they heard it as told in such and such ways and could prove that it came to them authentically from such and such people and places. The story is as follows:

Mrs. Roosevelt came to Tennessee to a Negro convention. She came into the hotel with two Negro teachers and proceeded to register. The clerk says, "Hold on you can't register these Negroes here." Whereupon, Mrs. Roosevelt replied, "I will just leave your hotel," and he says "ok." She goes to another hotel and a young assistant clerk was at the desk, and when he saw Mrs. Roosevelt registered he thought she was okey and would be all right. Then she goes to room with the two and calls for meeting in lobby, and just as they were congregating the manager of hotel comes in and walks over to clerk and asks, "What's this?" and the young clerk says that Mrs. Roosevelt registered, and he thinking because it was her and he thinks so much of President Roosevelt he just did not think anything. Then the manager turns to the crowd of Negroes in lobby and says, "You Negroes know better than this, and quick get to hell out of here." Whereupon Mrs. Roosevelt appears and was also told he did not need her kind of business. Then they proceeded to trace Mrs. Roosevelt out and found she went out to the Negro school and spent four days and nights. Georgia.

RUMORS MORE UNREASONABLE

There are other rumors with reference to the First Lady which unfortunately are not so simply stated as folk rumors. The list is a long one, and, when we come to the task of interpreting meanings, it reflects one of the most discouraging and unreasonable aspects of the whole fabric of rumor and feeling. Here are samplings.

When Mrs. Roosevelt came down to Tuskegee--They say the white people, who are among the aristocrats of the South, had planned a nice banquet for their guest. But when the time for it came, Mrs. Roosevelt said she was going to some other banquet with Captain_____, and when Captain_____appeared he was a big black Negro. They say they don't think it is safe for Mrs. Roosevelt to come back to Tuskegee. Alabama.

I have heard that in Washington at a recent meeting, Mrs. Roosevelt didn't like the separation of blacks and whites, so she sat with the Negroes. Virginia.

My father is in the construction business and he was building a large government housing project about two years ago. Mrs. Roosevelt was coming to look over the almost complete project. All the workmen (white and colored) had everything in very good order and they waited all day. Mrs. Roosevelt never came. Later somebody found out that she spent the entire day at a colored settlement making speeches to the colored people there. Virginia.

I have heard a rumor that Mrs. Roosevelt invited 70 or 80 Negroes to luncheon at the White House recently and no reporters were allowed because a race riot was feared. I have also heard that Washington is on the verge of a race riot. Virginia.

I have heard very outstanding professors and people say that Eleanor Roosevelt is the most dangerous individual in the United States today. I have also heard them say that they hate to see more blood shed, but if it is necessary to settle the racial problem that it will have to be. Louisiana.

Mrs. Roosevelt tried to reserve a dining room in a large hotel for herself and twenty Negro women. Insisting on knowing the cost in advance, she was told that it would be two million dollars--the value of the hotel. Tennessee.

The Negroes went to reserve a room for her in the best hotel in town and wanted a room beside her for the Negro women who were to preside over the Negro convention. The manager of the hotel refused and Mrs. Roosevelt stayed in a private white home alone. North Carolina.

After Mrs. Roosevelt's talk in Salisbury, N. C., everyone said that she had tried to make the Negroes feel equal to the whites and she had toldthem that they could demand higher wages and shorter hours. Virginia.

When Mrs. Roosevelt was in Salisbury last spring, no white person spoke to her. North Carolina.

It seems to be a rather widespread opinion that the Negroes are being encouraged to become more powerful, where the whites are concerned, by the aid they are being given by Eleanor Roosevelt. By her policies, the Negroes are likely to feel that they are less inferior and think of themselves as being on the same basis as the whites. Tennessee.

A friend of mine from New Orleans said that the situation was getting worse all the time and something was going to have to be done about the Negroes; but it is very difficult to control them because they're all under the protection of Eleanor Roosevelt. Louisiana.

After Mrs. Roosevelt's last visits the Negroes went on strikes and demanded social equality in many instances. Alabama.

The rumor that Mrs. Roosevelt is the "Negro lover of the U.S." has spread and is used as a slogan almost. Virginia.

A wealthy southern lady was suspicious of the First Lady's mission and motives. She wanted to know what else was included on her itinerary. When told that Mrs. Roosevelt would go from Valdosta to Talledega, Alabama, to a Negro college, she snorted, "I might have known Valdosta was only a convenient stop en route to some Negro affair. Mrs. Roosevelt would go anywhere to be with Negroes." She then proceeded to attribute to Mrs. Roosevelt responsibility for stirring up racial feeling in the South. Georgia.

At a club meeting at the time of Mrs. Roosevelt's visit to England this fall, there was an excited interest among the members in the First Lady's trip. One of the club members, a prominent and well-to-do middle-aged woman, said rather abruptly, "I wish she'd drown on the way back!" Georgia.

Mrs. Roosevelt gave a large luncheon in one of Washington's best hotels--a luncheon composed entirely of Negro women, Mrs. Roosevelt being the only white woman. Georgia.

She is supposedly so "chummy" with the Negroes that someone asked her if she had any Negro blood in her, and if she'd mind her children having intimate contacts with Negroes. To these questions she replied that she could trace her ancestry back five generations and there was no Negro blood that she knew of, but she would not at all mind her children having intimate contacts with the Negro. Georgia.

Mrs. Roosevelt went to Nashville, Tennessee, to address some group on behalf of the Negroes. Several Negro women were with her. They went to the Hermitage Hotel to get rooms for the night. The Hermitage would not let the Negroes spend the night there. A Negro college volunteered to let the colored women stay in a dormitory. Mrs. Roosevelt said that she would stay with them. Her secret service agents said that if she did they would not be responsible for her. She finally registered at another hotel, but not the Hermitage. Georgia.

THE ELEANOR CLUB A RUMOR AND MYTH

A collection of the rumors of Eleanor Clubs reflects the incontrovertible fact that there are no Eleanor Clubs. In previous sections of this story samplings of various rumors and rules of the clubs have been

given from the several states. Where one has been quoted, however, ten, just like them, are omitted. "Yes, we have Eleanor Clubs," they all say. And over and over again the rumored motto is, "A white woman in her own kitchen by Christmas," or "A white woman in every kitchen in a year," or "No Negro women in the kitchen by Christmas." Yet, in no single instance of the hundreds of reports has there been measurable evidence of the existence of a club. The standard refrain is, "Yes, I know we have Eleanor Clubs, but I don't know the details," or "Yes, I have heard of Eleanor Clubs, but I have not got the facts." Samplings of these are of the essence of the total rumor picture.

I asked people in my home town about Eleanor Clubs--they didn't know anything definite about them. Asked girls at school and they told things they had heard. South Carolina.

A shop owner in Georgia says that there are no Eleanor Clubs in her home town but that there are definitely some in Alabama. Georgia.

I have heard nothing specific about the Eleanor Clubs except that it is thought they are being organized steadily in our section of the country. Georgia.

Here, as everywhere else, it was said they were having Eleanor Clubs. I asked a good many Negroes about this; they didn't know of any clubs but they had heard of them. South Carolina.

I have heard nothing of Eleanor Clubs. South Carolina.

I have no reason to doubt its authority. A woman of repute was interviewing a prospective cook with a view to employment. The cook agreed to work for her on alternate days provided she would work for the cook on the other days. This is an alleged repercussion from the Eleanor Clubs, but what is so wrong about it? North Carolina.

Eleanor Clubs are rumored to be existing. These rumors cannot be traced. South Carolina.

I have heard bits about Eleanor Clubs. The only thing that I know about them is that it is a movement among Negro women to organize against the whites. Georgia.

I know it to be a fact that a Negro girl won't work over three days at a time. I don't know whether the Eleanor Clubs have been started or not. Georgia.

More discussion brought out the following facts: There is no definite organization and no definite meeting place. It is like all underground methods. The activities become known to white citizens only by accidental eavesdropping. Georgia.

The seniors interviewed ten students each in different dormitories and found hat all had heard vague rumors about Eleanor Clubs but had no definite information. Georgia.

During holidays I interviewed a number of different people about Eleanor Clubs. Of a number of insurance men, only one said there are definitely Eleanor Clubs--having overheard them as he works among them. Georgia.

A dentist said definitely an Eleanor Club existed in his town. He got his information overhearing maids in the building. He has no proof, and when he questioned them they became angry and said they knew nothing. Alabama.

Several prominent women in Valdosta were interviewed by one student. None could connect any person definitely with the so-called Eleanor Clubs nor did any know of any facts that could be established concerning the clubs. Georgia.

F.B.I. have disproved most rumors connecting Mrs. Roosevelt with Eleanor Clubs. North Carolina.

I have heard vague mention made of Eleanor Clubs but I do not know very much about them. I know that feeling against Mrs. Roosevelt is rather intense as a result of something which she did last year when she spoke at the city auditorium. Alabama.

So far as I have been able to find out, there have been no Eleanor Clubs or any organization of that type begun in this community. Alabama.

There is much talk of Eleanor Clubs, but so far as I know none has ever been found. Nearly all housewives who have maids are opposed to Mrs. Roosevelt. Virginia.

It is terribly hard to get a Negro cook or maid now. It is possible for them to go now to Washington and other places where they will make more money in war factories, etc. At the present, we can find no cook anywhere. I have heard nothing of Eleanor Clubs. South Carolina.

See Ladies Home Journal, LIX, 23, October, 1942, for question to Mrs. Roosevelt: "Negro women all over the country are forming Eleanor Roosevelt clubs and demanding high wages and short hours." Mrs. Roosevelt's answer: "I did not know that Negro women were forming Eleanor Roosevelt clubs. I would regret it exceedingly, because I think, instead of forming clubs of that kind, they should enter a union and make their household work a profession." Tennessee.

BACK AGAIN TO NEGRO WOMEN AND WORK

Since there were no Eleanor Clubs in reality as a foundation for the great sweep of rumors, it is quite clear that the basic complaint is one in which the main mode of domestic southern folkways of servant and mistress was being violated, both in the actual scarcity of help and in the revolutionary change in attitudes and status. Here, as is the case with Negro youth, even without the influence of war and outsiders, the wage level and the ethics and etiquette of Negro and white would have to change in any progressive society. It is but logical that the blame was to be placed upon something or somebody which could be specified. Ordinarily the blame would have fallen upon labor unions and organizers; yet in this case that was not so specific and not so susceptible to the folk-rumors. So, too, the rumors had a background beginning with the Birmingham Conference on Human Welfare.

Yet the main complaint was one of labor and we need now to look at certain other rumors, some very similar to the ones mentioned, to sense just how basic this situation is to the rumor growth. First, we catalogue again some rumors about women and work and then follow with similar ones with reference to men at work.

In the selections which follow the chief features emphasize the wide range in variety of situations, the logical reasons why Negro help is not available, and the traditional servant-mistress standards. In many, perhaps most, southern towns many families no longer expect to have help and realize the logic of the Negro woman's new attitudes. The fact that these stories have little point to them is perhaps the main reason for citing these samples from hundreds like them.

At the boarding house where I have my dinners both the cook and the waitress quit during Christmas. One of them went to her husband in Jacksonville, Florida, where he recently won a citation in the newspapers as the most expert

plasterer on the defense project where he is employed. The other is enjoying her volunteer services as a military maid at the colored USO so much she has decided not to work any more. Her husband, too, is earning a good wage. Georgia.

A housewife tells of looking for a washwoman and in one interview the Negro woman informs her she does not have to work as her son is in the Army and her husband on a defense job. She adds that after the War she does not expect to have to work any more. Georgia.

My aunt took some material to a Negro seamstress not long ago to have a dress made. The Negro told her a definite day to come back and try on the dress. She went back to the house on the set day and the Negro woman was sitting on the porch with some other women. My aunt asked her if she was ready to fit the dress, to which she replied, "No," very impudently. She explained that she had wasted the gas and tires making the trip to fit the dress. However, the Negro woman said, "I said I ain't ready and I means it." Louisiana.

My stepsister had a maid who one morning, without a word of warning, said that she was sick of working, called my stepsister a son of a ... and promptly walked out of the house. Virginia.

Negro women are quitting work because Negro defense workers with plenty of money are now supporting them. Louisiana.

Several colored women in our neighborhood have been demanding higher wages. So far on two occasions when this wish was not granted the colored women quit work. It is possible these attitudes were due to the influence of some club. North Carolina.

Negro men refused to let their wives work in the white women's homes in this small town because the local peanut shelling plant employed whites instead of Negroes during the past season. Georgia.

The Negro women have quit working in the homes because their husbands now make good salaries. A woman in my home town was trying to hire a cook and when she told one Negro woman that she would pay her $3.00 a week, the Negro said, "Would you work for that?" Georgia.

The problem began when an Army camp was established near home and, needing laundry workers, offered as a price wage 40 cents an hour. This is far better than civilians could pay for services for a cook, maid, etc. And as a result all servants began to quit their jobs to work in the camp laundry. Although you can hardly blame the Negro for such a decision in this case. Alabama.

The Negroes almost refuse to live here anymore and they all go North. They say they want the whites to be their servants as the Negroes have been servants long enough. South Carolina.

There is a tendency of a growing attempt at familiarity of Negro servants or maids with their white employer. The familiarity is unnatural, unnecessary,

obviously a retaliation for the unfavorable and subordinate position to which they have so long been held by the whites (also unnecessary). Louisiana.

The Negroes were asking exorbitant salaries for their work, and were becoming more and more flippant, because their husbands were off working and making more money than they used to. The woman feel they are too good to work for the whites and why bother. Florida.

Since some of the Negro men are in the Army and are sending their money home, the women feel that they don't have to work. Also the Negroes have left the farm and secured positions in the defense plants. They make more money and naturally they feel more important. Those who are not in the defense plants are going North to make more money. South Carolina.

Many housewives complain of losing their Negro maids to army wives who offer higher wages. In one instance, the maid was marketing when she received an offer to work for a commissioned officer's wife. She (maid) took the groceries back to her employer's home, told her she was leaving, and walked out. Louisiana.

The Negro maids are demanding higher wages and Negro help is increasingly harder to obtain. Virginia.

In the rural sections, we find the Negro women and men more or less indifferent toward working for the white people at <u>any price</u> on the farms. Florida.

The only thing I know is that white people cannot get help because the women are either living on their husbands pay or are working at public works. Florida.

Many of the Negro women have husbands in service. They inform you that they don't have to work. Florida.

People in areas around defense industries are finding it impossible to keep help, and many other areas find it difficult to keep maids whose husbands are making enough in defense activities to make them independent. Georgia.

During the last summer there was much talk about the Negro women quitting work because of a white Catholic priest who had recently moved there and had built him a home and a church in the Negro section. It was said he had a sign in his window reading: Let the white women do their own work; put them back in their kitchens. North Carolina.

A Negro maid asked her employer how much her husband's salary was. On inquiry as to the cause of curiosity it was said that all of the Negro maids were trying to find out how much their employer's husbands made in order to base their wages on the amount. South Carolina.

The C. and O. Railroad pays such good salaries to Negro workers that all their relatives refuse to work as servants because they have plenty of money without it. Also the government, by paying Negro wives whose husbands are in the army $72.00 a month, causes them to feel that they don't have to work as servants. Virginia.

A man was looking for a washerwoman for his wife. Negro women were seated on their porches and when he stopped and was asking one of them about doing the wash she said, "Well now, I jus' declare if ah knows where you'll find anybody. Ah's been tryin' to find somebody to do my washin'. But you might ask a lady right down there." South Carolina.

I do know of several cases where cooks and other workers have left their work to accept jobs, some in Washington and some in other areas where they are paid more. Can we blame the Negro for such action? Is it not natural that the Negro as well as the white should seek individual as well as racial betterment? South Carolina.

One of the teachers had a visit from her former cook recently for the purpose of filling out an application blank for a new job. She got the job and is now making more than the teacher. North Carolina.

I was talking to a friend of mine who for years had Negroes to do the washing. About a month ago she called up a Negro woman to do the washing since she had lost her old washerwoman. When the white woman explained the situation to the Negro woman, the Negro replied, "My husband is making $40.00 a week, why don't you do my washing?" North Carolina.

One colored woman who had worked at the same home (housework, cooking and laundry work) for seven years, quit a short while ago and stated she was not going to wash any more. The opinion here seems to be that the fact that the men are making so much money now the women do not need to work--rather than the race relations idea. Florida.

A Negro elevator girl asked a white lady to call her "Miss." When the lady refused and threatened to report her to the building owner, the Negro girl said, "If you do all of the Negro men will leave." She was reported and the Negro men quit. South Carolina.

Many Negroes in this section of the country are working in defense plants. Many of them are building houses much nicer than those of the majority of white people. One case I know of is a former maid who makes about $40.00 a week now. She is very familiar with her former employer and has changed from a Negro who knows "her place" to one who does not. Virginia.

Many persons of my acquaintance have been without servants for months. It is just about impossible to hire a maid. Help wanted ads offer Negroes salaries that are more than doubled what they used to be. Louisiana.

I heard that the wife of a prominent doctor telephoned to a Negro woman's college and asked if one of the girls could stay with her children. She would pay two dollars for the one evening and would take the girl back to the school. Whoever answered the telephone said that this work was beneath the college girls. North Carolina.

One of my neighbors told her colored washwoman she must do the laundry better. The colored woman replied, "By next year you'll be doing my laundry instead of me doing yours." South Carolina.

A maid came to the white family Christmas Tree as was her custom but this year she was dressed up splendidly, with her hair freshly set at a beauty parlor, etc. She announced that her husband who has a defense job had given her $150.00 for a Christmas present. "And now I wants to give you all a present too!" With that she walked from one to the other giving each a quarter. The maid did this out of sincere desire to repay the kindliness of her employers and in no way intended to be subtly satirical. Giving money was to her an approved pattern set by her white friends. Georgia.

One day last week, three smartly dressed young colored college girls appeared at our long distance office in Louisville, Kentucky, and applied for positions as operators. The employment supervisor and chief officer were out at lunch, so they fell into the hands of a clerk who hardly knew what to do. She told them we had no vacancies in the dining quarters, whereupon they said they were not interested in domestic service since they had had college training but wanted to be operators. When she told them our quota was filled for the time being they pulled out a copy of a recent advertisement from their purses and showed where the company had advertised for girls. Georgia.

Our cook whom we had had for 23 years and who had been my mother's maid before her marriage left on one day's notice, saying she was going to California to work for defense. Alabama.

I overheard two Negroes talking. One was telling the other about her son who was making $7.50 a day in Baltimore--and she said that he was begging her to come up there where she could make more money, too. But this old Negro woman said that she wanted to stay down here with "her white folks." South Carolina.

I have noticed that Negro maids who checked coats at a dance here recently were sulky and seemed to resent the white women and were slow to get their coats, whereas, several months ago they were exactly opposite. Virginia.

Personal experience in my home has shown that it is most difficult to hire a maid or servant to work in your home or on the grounds. The competent servants usually marry a higher class of person. Their husbands have received jobs at the Defense Project with greater earnings than they have ever known. The maids feel independent with this income and feel that they no longer need to work. Alabama.

NEGRO MEN AND WORK

That a special point of tension is found in the issue of labor with higher standards and pay with less hours and hardships is again reflected in the stories with reference to Negro labor in general. The illuminating feature is that stories and rumors spread about Negroes organizing and demanding more pay still trail the actual facts which everybody ought to

know. This series of mild and mixed rumors is added merely to complete a certain amount of evidence in support of the white-Negro work conflict basis of much of the present tension.

Negroes are organizing labor unions to strike for higher wages. South Carolina.

They say the equally skilled Negro man will receive the same pay as the skilled white worker. South Carolina.

It is rumored from responsible sources that a white woman in a large city of the Piedmont Section has tried to organize Negro labor in a certain meat packing plant, but she has not been successful thus far. South Carolina.

Labor organizations are meeting with Negro men in some of the larger cities requesting that they be put on the wage and hour law. The Negro farm laborers are organizing and are demanding higher wages than farmers are able to pay. Negro women are demanding certain salaries. If they are hired as maids, they perform only the duties of a maid and request the hiring of other persons for the other household duties. South Carolina.

It has been rumored that the Negroes are going to form unions and work only a certain number of hours at a certain price. South Carolina.

The number of Negro workers had been increased and some of them, particularly the new ones, were acting smart and were due to be slapped down. There had been very little trouble so far, though a few Negroes had been found to carry knives, etc. and that there had been a check up in the plant to relieve them of their hardware. South Carolina.

I have heard that they have to handle the Negroes with kid gloves about how long they work and how we are treating them, for they are afraid of a race revolt. Florida.

Most Negroes in the South are perfectly happy. The northern Negro, working in defense industries in my town, has caused a lot of unrest. Florida.

Labor problems in the South are blamed on the North's offer of jobs at high wages. Some believe that the Negro is being forced to stay in the South by actual use of violence. Louisiana.

A club woman engaged a small colored boy to clean her lawn, raking and burning the leaves this fall. The lawn was not large. When she paid him a quarter for his labor of an hour, he protested saying, "President Roosevelt said you ought to be paid 40 cents an hour." Georgia.

Negroes are striking to gain more important jobs in factories and industries in order that they might influence Negro employment, and put more and more white men out of jobs. By such methods, the Negro is supposed to become superior to the whites economically. Georgia.

A Negro janitor in one of the schools here was not very good in his work. He left dirt in the middle of the floor. Now he has a job making more than any teacher in the school. North Carolina.

Of course in the business world the Negroes, like the whites, are seeking better paying jobs in defense work. As one colored boy threatened to leave my father's business, the latter had to raise the salaries of all his colored labor, even though his business has been cut considerably because of the war. South Carolina.

THE DEMAND FOR EQUAL SERVICES

Most of the stories reported so far have to do with the Negro's quest for better opportunity and for equality with the whites. There are several other categories which feature this emphasis on different levels of activity. This, again, reflects the conflict between the two diametrically opposing groups and is again the foundation for the subsequent rumors of riots, uprisings, and race war. Here again the catalogue of rumors reflects the prevailing folkways of the white South in vivid ways. To the observer from other regions the demands seem so logical and reasonable that he cannot understand the furore they create.

I've heard that the Negroes have a two victory slogan. "V" for victory abroad and another "V" for victory at home. The colored race wants absolute equality, wants to be able to sit at the same table, go to the same dances, schools, etc. North Carolina.

The Negro is going to win a "double V." Conditions will not be the same after the war. South Carolina.

The Negroes declare among themselves they are fighting this war for a double victory. Alabama.

There was a rumor that cars had been seen with a double V sign on the license plate, one for the victorious uprising of the Negroes. The rumor came out in the conversation of reliable citizens. Virginia.

It seems to be the opinion of the people here that the Negroes will soon be demanding a place in society equal to the whites. Florida.

A Negro man told a woman in South Georgia that she would learn soon that he was to be respected as much as she was and she would have to look up to him. Georgia.

The caste line is being broken down by this war, and after the war, the Negroes will think they are equal to whites. Georgia.

Six students reported the following: "Negroes will be treated like white people after the war." South Carolina.

The Negroes will demand a definite place in society--they will refuse to be an underdog after the war. Louisiana.

Eventually the Negroes will revolt against their present status--demanding equality with the whites. North Carolina.

It is believed that all Negroes with college degrees try to marry into the white race. North Carolina.

Now the Negroes are earning just as much money as the white people and after the war they will demand to be equal with the whites. North Carolina.

There will be an upheaval of the Negroes after the war on the basis that Negro college graduates are denied employment utilizing their education. Louisiana.

Negroes will hold many public offices. North Carolina.

There seems to be a general fear among the whites that the Negroes will have greater freedom after the War. In the South where their numbers are large there is naturally alarm over the headway a movement for more freedom would make. Georgia.

The Negroes are going to form unions in the South, and they are trying to get social equality. Georgia.

Negroes are not fighting for patriotism but for the advancement of their own race. North Carolina.

This Negro teacher, along with one or two more Negroes, was caught with a picture of two or three nude white girls in their possession. It also seems as if the Negroes made a remark to the effect that they were going to have social equality as well as economic equality. The FBI was called in on the case but at the present the case is in the hands of the county police. South Carolina.

Negroes went in white eating establishments demanding to be served. North Carolina.

A group of Negro men went into a drug store and sat down at a table, demanding service. The employees of the store called the police and had the men arrested. North Carolina.

Negroes have actually tried to force their way into cafes and other places of business which are strictly for the white. Virginia.

When a Negro was served in a drugstore, usually frequented by only white people, he was charged ten cents extra for his soda. After he finished and wanted to know why he was charged extra, the waiter very dramatically held up the Negro's glass and dropped it to the floor. Louisiana.

Some Negroes walked into a fashionable restaurant and demanded service. They were asked as politely as possible to leave but they preferred to remain.

They were then told that while the waiters would take their orders they must realize there is no limit to the prices. Food was quoted to them at $100 for a steak, $50 for coffee. Georgia.

They will not serve any colored person from a drug store counter, even in a paper cup. Georgia.

The younger Negroes ought to be able to go in the white drug stores and theaters just as the whites do. North Carolina.

Negro women stormed a chain drugstore and demanded lunch at the counter. North Carolina.

Negroes entered a white restaurant and ordered food--they were taken out by the police. South Carolina.

A Negro soldier came to the front door of a small cafe and asked to buy a bottle of wine. The owner of the cafe cursed him and told him that he must go around to the back. The Negro apologized for entering the front door and said that he had been to the back but could see no light. Then the Negro left. North Carolina.

One man in a grocery store wouldn't sell a Negro woman any coffee--he told her he didn't have any; yet when a white woman came in, he sold her some. Seeing this the colored woman went back in and told the man that her money was as good as anybody's. The grocer slapped the colored lady and she was placed in jail. After such happenings we should expect some trouble with the Negro. South Carolina.

A colored delivery boy of a drugstore bought a coca cola. He stopped to drink it in the front of the store and the soda jerker told him to go to the rear. Georgia.

A Negro stepped up to the fountain and ordered a drink. Asked to go to the rear to drink it, the Negro handed the drink back and said unless he could drink it there at the fountain he'd leave, which he did. Georgia.

In a local meat market there were several customers waiting to be waited upon. One was a Negro, and, after waiting a considerable time, her turn came. At this point a white woman burst into the market and proceeded to the counter. The butcher asked the Negro what she wanted. The white woman was indignant and left the store explaining that she "wouldn't wait for a Negro," and stormed out of the store. North Carolina.

In one of the leading drugstores in town, a colored man and woman came in and sat down in one of the booths and waited to be waited on but no one came. The colored man yelled at one of the waitresses and told her he wanted something. She told the owner of the store and he came over and told them in a very nice way that they could not come in and sit down. The colored man almost started a fight but they finally left threatening to get even with the owner of the drugstore. Virginia.

I have heard many items which might be called "second hand information," but the most frequent one is that of Negroes and whites eating in the same place or even at the same counter. I have heard stories of the Negro taking a seat beside a white person and the latter leaving indignantly because of it. Louisiana.

While they were eating lunch, three people came in and sat at the table next to them. One was a Negro woman--very dark--one was a mulatto woman, and the other a mulatto child. This was the first time the two university girls had ever seen Negroes admitted to white restaurants, and they were quite shocked. Louisiana.

Negroes are said to come into stores to buy clothes. When they are asked to try them on in a Negro dressing room they say they pay as much as the whites and think they should be allowed to fit them in the same place. Georgia.

Recently two Negro women came in and wanted to try on some dresses. When they found they were expected to use a separate dressing room from the white customers (exactly the same type, the employee says), they declined saying they would go elsewhere where they would not be discriminated against. Georgia.

A large automobile drove up and stopped in front of the lending library and a well-dressed Negro woman got out and came into the shop, asked about some books, and wanted to get one. But, the proprietor told her they didn't lend to colored people. She turned around and walked out and got into the car. A well-dressed Negro man came in and asked about the same thing; the reply was the same, so he took out a booklet and wrote, "Another case of discrimination between the Negro and the white in the South." Nothing has been done toward this yet, but it happened not long ago, and the people think they are only Negroes trying to start a riot. Mississippi.

I have also noticed when Negroes come into a store or building they seem to think they are on the level with white people. They want to be waited on just as fast. Virginia.

Negroes resent being pushed to the back of the streetcars and buses of the cities in the South. In the streetcars especially they will move the colored sign way up front and leave extra seats in back just to "gyp" the white man out of a seat. They also resent salesgirls in stores waiting on white customers first. One Negro was buying a small trunk and when she looked undecided as to what to get the salesgirl turned to me and started to wait on me. The Negro then said, "If you don't want to sell me this trunk then give me my money back and I'll get along. You whites never think about the rights of us Negroes." Kentucky.

A group of Negroes planned to walk into a white theater and demand the privilege of seeing the current movie. Policemen and MP's were stationed around the theater to prevent it. North Carolina.

Just recently at a community chest banquet a colored man who was in charge of one of the divisions was left out of the invitation list. Virginia.

There is a rumor that a colored doctor asked a newsboy to collect his money at the servant's entrance to his house. Virginia.

A northern Negro colonel (a light mulatto) attended a white dance and was severely beaten when he attempted to "break" on one of the girls. There were several soldiers (white) involved, but no measures were taken against them, and the colonel, when out of the hospital, was transferred. Alabama.

Yesterday when I went to use a public telephone, whom should I see sitting using the 'phone but a big black Negro. I asked if he didn't know that only whites were supposed to use that telephone. He replied that it was a public telephone and that America was a free country. Much to my amazement, I knew that he was right, but I didn't want to admit it. South Carolina.

A supervisor addressed one of her Negro women workers as "Anna." The woman said, "I call you Miss Thompson so you call me Miss_____." South Carolina.

A friend told of how her cook came back from her vacation and started calling her by her first name and the friends asked why such impudence and the cook replied that "if you call me by my first name, I will call you by your first name." Louisiana.

THE ICE PICK RUMOR

One of the most remarkable of all the rumors is "the ice pick rumor," strangely alike in Mississippi and in Virginia and symbolic of the wild, illogical sweep of the unreasonable story. Here again the focus is upon fear and conflict, and the ice pick rumor and its close kin are the precursors of those other rumors of uprisings, revolt, and riot, themselves numerous enough to constitute a special study. It is generally understood that the original rumor was reported from Norfolk, Virginia, where it created a sort of cyclonic sweep before it was stopped.

They say that Negroes are buying up ice picks to attack the whites. Georgia.

The Negroes bought up all the ice picks in Norfolk, Virginia. North Carolina.

Rumors in the Norfolk and Portsmouth areas during the past summer of impending race trouble, especially the buying of ice picks and other forms of favorite "Negro" weapons. There was also a rumor that the Negroes were going to take over the entire area during a blackout early in September. Virginia.

In the stores where pocket-knives are sold, Negroes have been buying knives and are "going to feed them to the white folks." They have been buying ice picks also, but not for ice but for protection. South Carolina

While I was at Virginia Beach this summer I heard that the Negroes had bought all the ice picks in Norfolk and Newport News so they could start rising against the whites. Virginia.

There were rumors that there would be a Negro uprising during the next blackout. Many white people told of references they had heard made by the Negroes as to their plan of "attack" in this blackout. It was rumored that weapons had been found in Negroes' houses. The report was that no longer was it possible to buy ice picks in Portsmouth because they had been bought up by the Virginia Negroes. Virginia.

Last summer you couldn't buy an ice pick because the Negroes had bought them all to use in a raid against the white people on the night of a certain blackout. North Carolina.

I heard that on Labor Day at the Navy Yard the Negro workers were going to attack the white workers. I also heard that some stores had sold out of knives, ice picks, and cartridges. I heard that many workers went to work on Labor Day with these weapons. South Carolina.

In Portsmouth, Virginia, before the night of a blackout all ice picks were sold and many hammers to Negroes. The whites expected a riot and had called out five hundred National Guardsmen to be stationed along High Street during the blackout. North Carolina.

I have also heard that in a city in South Carolina the Negroes bought all the ice picks which they could find on the day before Labor Day. South Carolina.

At the Navy Yard the Negro workers were buying ice picks and slipping them inside the gates to use to attack the white workers. This never materialized as the leaders were intercepted. South Carolina.

There was a rumor that all the Negroes living around Swansboro were buying ice picks, knives, etc., in order to overcome the white people in order to gain revenge for their past treatment. North Carolina.

I heard that in Charleston all the ice picks and knives were bought by the Negroes. Georgia.

In Norfolk, Virginia, it was said that the Negroes in town were buying up all the ice picks in town to use in a wholesale massacre during the blackout scheduled that night. When the rumor was traced down it was found that only two ice picks were sold that day in the entire town and these two were sold to two maiden ladies. Georgia.

Another rumor was that in a certain tavern the Negroes bought up all the ammunition, ice picks and harmful weapons they could buy and were going to start a riot on Saturday night. The police found it out and now wan't let the Negroes out on the streets after 6:00 P. M. Georgia.

There was a rumor that the Negroes were buying up all the ice picks in a certain town to start fights with the whites. Then it was rumored in Gaffney, South Carolina, that on one Saturday night the Negroes of the town were going to cause trouble. South Carolina.

There has been a vague story told about various towns, that all the ice picks in "that town" had been purchased by the Negroes. South Carolina.

There was a rumor out in my home town that none of the stores was allowed to sell ice picks, bullets, and other such weapons to the Negroes. South Carolina.

My cousin in Shubuta (the scene of two recent lynchings) told me that the owner of the hardware store had told her personally that a truckload of Negroes came into the store not long after the lynchings and bought up every knife, ice pick, etc., in the store. She said it was rumored that the Negroes were going to start a lot of trouble around there. Mississippi.

A friend of mine who visited her husband who was in the Navy at Norfolk, Virginia, told me that a store salesman told them that there was not an ice pick in town because the Negroes had bought all of them. Then, too, the Negroes were stoning every taxi, automobile, or any other vehicle carrying white people. The Negroes had warned any white person who might come down in their Negro settlement that he would never come back alive. South Carolina.

Friends said in Norfolk, Virginia, that before a test blackout Negroes bought up all ice picks for revolt. All the whites had guns ready all during the blackout--just in case. Louisiana.

THE NEGROES BUY UP ALL THE KNIVES, GUNS, AND AMMUNITION

Preview to the stories and rumors of riots and up-risings are the similar stories of Negroes buying up all manner of arms and especially knives to be used against the whites at certain times. How realistic these have appeared at times and places may be seen from the following rather long story of a situation that was a realistic aftermath to the rumor.

It was rumored all around that Labor Day week-end was the big week-end for the long suspected race riot. It was reported that all the Negroes had bought all available ice picks, guns, knives, etc., and were armed, waiting for a signal. We were all made to stay at home from Saturday afternoon until Tuesday morning--hoping for the best and expecting the worst. We live in the suburbs and had to be extra careful for we didn't have the protection of the city police. Several of our friends came at night to stay with us just in case anything happened. Saturday night we heard that 18 white men had been killed and 3 military police wounded. Sunday night, it went around that a bus had been wrecked by a group of Negroes on a lonely highway and all the people had been slashed to bits. All this and more reached our terrified ears. Our loss of sleep was beyond possible imagination. But when Tuesday's dawn appeared and we were all still existing, we sighed deeply and, after investigating the rumors of the previous days, we discovered none of them was true. South Carolina.

Rumor that soon after Pearl Harbor Negro employees were found at war plant here armed with knives and pistols. Georgia.

It is common knowledge and can be verified at the Police Department that Negroes have bought up the available supply of knives and other weapons. Florida.

All the Negroes who have been turned down by the U. S. Draft are buying up guns and rifles and ammunition; the white people are afraid to go unarmed. Georgia.

The Negroes are secretly arming themselves and will strike at the white population at an appointed time. North Carolina.

The Negroes are purchasing firearms for protection against whites. Louisiana.

It was reported to me that $75.00 worth of knives were bought in one day by Negroes in one hardware store. Louisiana.

At the stores the managers have complained about Negro men coming in and buying cases of shells and long-bladed, sharp knives. This is said to have been happening in all the stores to such a great extent that the merchants have refused to sell Negroes any type of knives or shells. South Carolina.

During one of the practice blackouts, the Negroes are going to stage a riot. Virginia.

Authorities are afraid to have blackouts inside Virginia for fear of race riots. Virginia.

There was a rumor that Negroes had bought all available ice picks in that section of Virginia. Virginia.

It is reported that the police recently raided a Negro church in Charleston in which was found an arsenal of firearms and ammunition to be used against the whites. South Carolina.

There was to be a Negro revolt on Labor Day in Charleston this summer. Rumor had it the Negroes were arming and joining forces against the whites. South Carolina.

Heard Negroes had bought all the guns over there and that girls from school had received letters from parents telling them not to come home. North Carolina.

Negroes were paid off one Saturday night and their entire wages were spent buying shot, knives, etc. so that after dark they barricaded the highway leading through and started a riot, etc. South Carolina.

Hardware stores have noticed that a large proportion of their sales of guns and shells have been to Negroes. The implication is that the Negroes are preparing for an armed uprising of one kind or another. Louisiana.

The rumor was to the effect that no shot or shells could be bought, because the Negroes had already purchased them all and were saving them to use against the whites at a later date. South Carolina.

Negroes are said to be ordering from Sears and Roebuck Co. guns, pistols, shot, and the like. South Carolina.

In South Georgia, it is said that on Saturday nights all the Negroes buy up all the guns and shots that the merchants can get in stock. Georgia.

The Negroes are accumulating guns and storing them in the church. Georgia.

It is also told that in other southern towns Negroes are buying up guns and ammunition to rise up against the whites. Georgia.

I have heard rumors that the Negroes in several small South Georgia towns are buying all the ammunition, having secret meetings, and planning to revolt against the white people. They say tha Negroes are going to demand equal rights with white people. Georgia.

I heard that all the Negroes would go to town on Saturday and buy knives and take them home and hide them. It was said that a Negro could not buy a knife at a ten cent or hardware store. They are being watched very carefully. Georgia.

It was rumored that the Negroes who have had their incomes increased to $50.00 and $70.00 a week were buying guns, rifles, and other weapons to start a riot on Labor Day. All white women and children were asked to stay inside the house all day. Georgia.

The hardware merchants requested the City Commission to pass an ordinance preventing Negroes from purchasing ice picks and pocket-knives. Georgia.

It has been rumored around that the Negroes have bought up all the firearms preparatory to a rebellion when the time is ripest. Alabama.

A Negro undertaking establishment began to buy a great many coffins. The shipments were so large and so numerous that the suspicions of the stationmaster were aroused and he reported the matter to the sheriff. The sheriff went to the station to see the next shipment, but he made it seem as if he were visiting the stationmaster. He "accidently" turned one of the coffins over and found it to be full of guns. The Negroes who were unloading the coffins ran away. Upon investigation the undertaking establishment was found to be a cache of guns which were to have been used in a Negro rebellion. Mississippi.

Negroes in New Orleans have been denied the right to buy guns or any firearms. Louisiana.

Hardware stores are not allowed to sell ammunition to Negroes without special permission from the police. Fear of uprisings is allegedly the cause of this situation. Georgia.

The "rumiest" rumor that I ever heard was told to me by a laborer. He had been informed that the Negroes were organizing "shock troop" units all over the country and were secretly storing weapons and ammunition in their neighborhood churches and basements. When the manpower of America reaches its lowest

ebb, which will be sometime soon, the Negro will strike and defeat the white man. Then he is going to beat the hell out of Hitler and the Jews. North Carolina.

A Negro man walked into a Sears Roebuck store and asked a girl clerk if she could order him 1000 rounds of ammunition and also five cases of shotgun shells. The lady put his order in and when the order came back, she notified the Negro to come to get his order. At the same time she called the police, so as to have them there when the Negro came to get the shells and ammunition. The Negro came to the store to get his order and the police arrested him. When asked why he was getting such a supply of ammunition, he refused to tell. The Negro is now serving a five year sentence. This really happened. South Carolina.

RUMORS OF RIOTS AND UPRISINGS

The previous categories of rumors with reference to arms, ice picks, and knives all are naturally fabricated upon the assumption of race riots and uprisings. This is nothing new, of course, and especially was that sort of thing prevalent just after the other World War. The details and range of present rumors are, however, somewhat different and merit somewhat closer study. Here, again, the distinction between rumor and happening is not of great importance at this point, but will need to be studied later. The chief characteristic here is that found in the folkways of defense.

During the blackouts down there armed trucks with police and soldiers drove through the colored section in case any white people had been stopped by colored air raid wardens and were trapped alone in colored homes. Virginia.

The Negroes tried to take over the armory which resulted in the State Militia being called out. Heard from more than one person. South Carolina.

The situation is rumored to be very tense, with the Negroes on the verge of uprising at most any time. South Carolina.

A rumor was started that on a certain Friday all the Negroe maids were going to put poison in their employers' food because they felt that they were being too sharply discriminated against. Louisiana.

A white man discovered through one of his Negro employees that there was going to be some kind of trouble on the following Saturday night. The man reported this to the mayor and he called the sheriff and a group of men to go to the Negro district that night and watch for anything that might happen. The sheriff found about ten Negroes with weapons of some kind on them and promptly arrested these as the leaders. Louisiana.

During a blackout white man armed themselves because of a rumor that the Negroes were going to "raise Cain." North Carolina.

The Negroes said they were going to burn up white city. Guards were actually placed all over the city. Virginia.

Many people believe that we are going to end up with a race riot, but that the police will merely shoot a few Negroes and that will be the end of it. Louisiana.

There is a rumor among whites of a prolonged race riot to be instigated by the Negroes the week-end of February 12-14. Kentucky.

The bus company issued orders that their employees should stay off the streets for fear of Negro attackers. Kentucky.

People warned us that there was to be a race riot on Labor Day, and that we'd better be careful. We forgot all about it when we got over there, but when we came back and told people about walking through Negro sections they said we'd taken an awful risk. Georgia.

There is going to be an open riot of all Negroes against whites, and they are going to take over whites' position. Georgia.

I have heard that the Negroes around my home town were planning to revolt against and kill all of the whites. This tale grew out of the shooting of a white by a Negro out of self-defense. It was spread by what you would call a lower type of people. Georgia.

The Catholics are working with the Negroes more sympathetically than the people are used to. Because of that many rumors have been started. One was of the usual race riot. North Carolina.

There have been several near race riots. Negroes gang up on city and military police and several have been killed. Georgia.

There have been threatened riots in six cities. Most of them were averted, but actual conflict occurred in two. South Carolina.

I heard that there was to be a race riot all over the state last Labor Day. I also heard the home guard, the Navy, and others were warned and were ready with machine guns, etc. The following Saturday night we heard that the Negroes were planning a raid, so most of the white people got their guns ready. All of the white people stayed off the street that night and nothing happened except for a string of cars passing through town with the horns blowing. They went on through town without stopping. South Carolina.

A riot of Negroes was rumored just before the day of an election. The news was spread and the home guard was ordered to be on the alert. All necessary preparations were made but nothing happened. South Carolina.

I have heard just general rumors that the Negroes are planning a general uprising as soon as the present war is over. North Carolina.

After Christmas all the Negroes would rise up and control first city and then state legislatures, most probably using forcible means. North Carolina.

There are going to be a great many Negro uprisings in southern cities. The Negroes are going to go against the white people. South Carolina.

The Negroes will take over government after the war through an organized Negro revolution. Louisiana.

There are rumors that the liberation of the Negro race will be gotten in this time of crisis and that the Negroes are prepared with different types of armaments to get it by force in case they don't get it by peaceful ways. Louisiana.

A great southern revolution will occur, the whites on the defensive with the aggressive Negroes, headed by a powerful Negro leader, on the offensive. This is liable to end in the domination of the whole southern system by the Negro. North Carolina.

After the war, or maybe even sooner, there is going to be a revolt of the Negroes in the South. They are supposed to get together in a group and overthrow their white masters. There is considerable confidence on the white plantation owners' part that they can handle the Negro and keep him under control. Louisiana.

I have heard that Negroes are organizing to overrule the South, not only to gain social position but really rule the white people. North Carolina.

Negroes have been holding secret meeting where speakers try to stir them up against the whites. South Carolina.

Negroes are organized and every once in a while have a big meeting. Uprisings are threatened but averted, though they're still organized and ready. They'll hardly work or do anything. Louisiana.

On Saturday night the Negroes were going to take the town. They said the Negroes had been meeting at schools and churches planning what they were going to do. There were rumors over town so everybody went to town on Saturday night. The streets were full of both white and colored. South Carolina.

Negroes are holding special meetings and are trying to get equality by force if necessary. North Carolina.

Every night about nine o'clock all the Negroes have a meeting. They gather together around a big bonfire and beat drums. The people report that they have heard these weird sounding drums beating all through the night. The Negroes sing and chant to the time of the drums. South Carolina.

VIOLENCE AGAINST NEGROES

Rumors coincide with facts more often in the stories of violence against Negroes than was the case with rumored uprisings, which were usually with little foundation. Samplings of what is heard and told and talked about with reference to the violent treatment of Negroes reflects the tragedy and pathos, often barbarism. Fear of the Negro is ascribed as the justification for self-protection and a long list of indefensible acts.

Thirteen Negroes were drawned by white men in Buzzard Roost Dam. South Carolina.

It has been rumored that there were 26 Negroes killed and thrown in a lake. There has been quite a bit of upset between the Negroes and whites. They claim that the lake was dragged and they found 26 bodies. The Negroes are trying to take advantage of the whites since so many of the young men are going to the Army. Some of the Negroes have made remarks about the white women, which the southern whites will not take. South Carolina.

Each Saturday night for the last month the Negroes have been told not to be caught in town after sundown or they would be killed. Two Saturday nights they have had to call the sheriff to keep order. Three Negroes have been severely whipped. Mississippi.

Yes, a rumor went through the night, the rumor grew, and mill hands dragged a young Negro out of his house. They tied his feet to the back of a model A car, dragged him at seventy miles an hour through the thickly populated Negro district, and then burned his mutilated body with gas. The Negro undertakers were afraid to take his body. No more news came about the incident, it was hushed up, the state made it quiet. Alabama.

I have heard that the police force has treated the Negroes cruelly--beating them for no reason at all. Georgia.

A middle-aged Negro man, for stealing a loaf of bread, was tied to an automobile, dragged a distance, then bumped against a tree with the car until dead or left for dead. Georgia.

A police force in a small town ran all Negroes out of town one Saturday night, for no specific reason, except that they were afraid of the crowds of Negroes that flocked to town on Saturday nights. Georgia.

A policeman beat a Negro boy unmercifully for stealing. It seems that the police forces are responsible for much of this cruelty. Georgia.

I heard that a Negro was shot down by a white man because he came with his car inside a white man's garage. Louisiana.

One Saturday night when the streets were crowded several white women were attacked by Negro boys. This attack resulted in several Negroes being "beat up" by respectable white men, some being cops. At last, when the boys who caused the trouble were found, it was revealed that they were white boys who had painted their faces black and gone out just to have some fun and excitement. South Carolina.

In August, 1943, white men drove Negroes off the streets of the business section. Little violence--but many violent rumors resulted which hurt race relations. South Carolina.

Two Negroes were killed in a conflict which resulted after Negroes had played ball in the white school ball park. South Carolina.

A Negro kidnapped a white child of about twelve years of age. The child was found later in an alley. The Negro was injured and then captured. The newspaper reported he was not expected to live, but, not believing the story, a new force took over. At twelve midnight, after the Negro had been sent to the hospital, a band of men backed a car to the ambulance entrance of the hospital. Few of the men jumped out and pushed past the men on duty. They took the Negro from his bed, tied him to the back of the car, and dragged him through the streets. Not satisfied with this, they hung him on the side of a mill on the outskirts of town. Arkansas.

Not long ago a young man of our city was standing on the corner of one of our main streets. A husky, dark colored man, pulling out his pipe, tapped the white man on the shoulder and said, "Brother, could you spare a match?" This familiarity angered the white man and he immediately "socked"the Negro. North Carolina.

Recently the police beat severely a Negro man who was caught stealing groceries from a chain store. He had tried to run, and they took him to the back of the store and beat him. Most of the bystanders were greatly amused at the whole affair. Only one woman went so far as to protest. Georgia.

In quite a few small towns around my home the Negroes outnumber the whites two to one. On Saturday nights the Negroes go to these small towns and practically take over. It is even hard for the whites to talk on the streets. One Saturday night a Negro knocked a well-known white man off the sidewalk. The next Saturday night a group of young men from the same community of the white man came into town and drove all the Negroes out. They have had very little trouble with the Negroes since. South Carolina.

The white people became alarmed by rumors that the colored people were arming themselves and because of this there were three instances of mob hysteria with the result that a few Negroes were badly beaten and otherwise maltreated. South Carolina.

In a town near my home, Negroes are beaten up and sometimes killed if they enter the town after dark. The feeling on the side of the Negroes is very strong. North Carolina.

I saw a white policeman strike down a small Negro girl who timidly started across the street after he had blown the whistle for pedestrians to stop. Georgia.

Negroes are not allowed on the streets after nine o'clock at night. South Carolina.

Negroes inhabited the streets in such droves that lines were drawn and Negroes were demanded to remain within the lined off territory. South Carolina.

About a month ago the police force was called out to stop a riot on Main Street. The Negroes and whites were engaged in a hand to hand brawl. Since the draft only a few young white men remain in this town. I think the white people are more aware of this than the Negroes, and the fear that the Negroes might become greater in number was the main factor causing the riot. South South Carolina.

THE NEGRO SOLDIER

The stories about Negroes in the armed forces constitute one of the most tragic of all the impossible situations. Here all the long catalogues of conflicts and injustices repeat themselves all over again in an unending line of unbelievable samplings.

A new rumor has just come in to the effect that the Negroes say each white soldier has a Negro soldier to go into battle just in front of him when the fighting starts.

Other than Negroes, the personnel is composed of men from the North and Northeastern States. It seems as if these men do not mind saluting Negro officers; however, the local men who are in the Army and are home on leave do not and will not salute them. South Carolina.

A Negro officer was walking down the street. No white men in uniform would salute him even if he was below him in rank. Louisiana.

A Negro second lieutenant was walking down Third Street, and he saluted a white first lieutenant. The first lieutenant refused to return the salute. Louisiana.

A private said that he saw a Negro corporal on the street. He had known the Negro before either had been inducted into the Army. The Negro crossed the street in the middle of the block and did not look in his direction, although he felt sure he had seen him. He turned and walked to the end of the block and crossed the street so he would have to face the Negro. He saluted and the Negro corporal returned the salute and said, "Thank you Mr. Most white soldiers do not salute me in Virginia." Virginia.

A fight occurred between Negro and white soldiers. A white private refused to salute a higher Negro officer and the Negro reprimanded him for it. Many white people came into the conflict and there was almost a riot. Georgia.

A citizen picked up two privates who were white boys from small country towns. As they turned into a filling station, the citizen saw some Negro officers and so he turned out and went into the next station, saying to the two boys that he had saved them from the embarrassment of saluting superior officers who were Negroes. The boys flared up and expressed respect for the Negroes and willingness to salute them just as they would salute white officers. Georgia.

I noticed some Negro officers walking down the street and some white enlisted men approaching them. Some of the white men saluted while others did not. It was not a question of not seeing the officers; it was a refusal. The Negro officers do not complain because of the failure to have their salute returned because they do not wish to start trouble. To put it in his words, " The Negro doesn't want to turn over a pot that is too full already." The white men say that the Negro officers are officers of Negro troops, not white troops. As Negro officers of Negro troops they are entitled to salutes from their troops alone. Louisiana.

A Negro soldier was killed in a cafe for demanding service. A white patron hit the Negro over the head with a chair in his anger and accidentally killed him. Georgia.

About twenty Negroes were supposed to sleep in the same barracks with the white soldiers. The whites of course were furious and sent a petition to the officials saying if the Negroes weren't segregated there would be some dead niggers. Louisiana.

A contingent of colored soldiers from the North arrived at this particular camp to begin training. Expecting to follow the usual pattern in connection with transportation in the North, these soldiers soon discovered that they were forced into the rear of the bus, if they were able to board the bus at all. Louisiana.

Some Negro soldiers went into a white drugstore and sat down to order. The owner explained that they could not stay there but said he would be glad to show them the Negro drugstore. They refused to leave and an actual fight occurred. Georgia.

A group of Negro soldiers went into a drugstore, sat down at a table, and ordered soft drinks. The proprietor asked them in the nicest way to leave and explained that down South whites and Negroes patronize separate soda parlors. The Negroes refused to leave and finally the military police had to be called to break it up. Georgia.

Some Negro soldiers had specific written orders to eat at a certain cafe. Since the cafe was a white cafe the manager refused to fill their order. The situation was both unpleasant and awkward. Georgia.

A high-ranking Negro officer went into a white restaurant to eat. When he declined to leave at the manager's request the M.P. was called and finally the civilian police had to be asked to help with the case. Georgia.

A soldier from the North, knowing nothing about the city, looked for someone to ask directions of and the nearest person happened to be a colored man standing on the corner. As he was walking away after having asked the directions, a white military policeman came up to him and asked him rudely whether he had heard of the rules forbidding even speaking to the colored people. The soldier explained that he was new there, etc., and gave his name and regiment to the M. P. Later he was called in the office of the captain of his company and after explaining that he was new there and that he had not heard of any such regulation, he was given a week's kitchen police which was the maximum punishment that the officer was able to give under the circumstances. Georgia.

There are reports of shooting of many Negro soldiers by white M. P.'s, many Negro civilians also hurt. Louisiana.

Negro soldiers have been "jerked" off buses and beaten by police. One Negro soldier was a little rough, one was a student of some culture and I think was blameless in the affair. Tennessee.

A Negro soldier is alleged to have walked up to a white girl who is working at the base and told her that he had dreamed about her the night before. Before he finished speaking a white soldier jumped up and cut the Negro's throat. Georgia.

Northern Negro soldiers try to set examples for the southern Negroes to show them "how they should act." They formerly would monopolize the sidewalks and when spoken to by police officers would retaliate with general "cussing" and low-rating the South and whites. Louisiana.

Two white military police were attempting to arrest two disorderly Negro soldiers in the Negro section when about 50 civilian Negroes attacked the military police and beat them so badly that they required hospitalization. Louisiana.

A Negro soldier was arrested by a white M. P. A Negro M. P. attempted to take the prisoner from the white M. P. In this he was assisted by a group of Negro soldiers who tried to overturn the car occupied by the white military police. City police arrived and dispersed the Negroes with tear gas. Tennessee.

A Negro soldier evidently from the North boarded the municipal bus and sat in the white section next to a young white girl. When the driver noticed this, he immediately instructed the Negro soldier to move to the back colored section. At this request, the Negro grew very resentful and instead started getting "fresh" with the white girl seated beside him. The bus driver, instead of calling the police, drove on to the end of the line and then shot him. Alabama.

I heard that a white soldier refused to take orders from a Negro officer, starting mob violence by his fellow soldiers against the Negro--causing several injuries. Georgia.

A white man was killed in a fight and a Negro was believed to have been the killer. The white soldiers then brought out machine guns and killed almost a hundred Negroes. The entire Negro division fled from the area. South Carolina.

A white soldier happened to find a Negro soldier in front of him as they marched into mess hall. The white soldier became so "mad" that he knocked the Negro all the way across the table. The officer being from the same part of the country as the white boy did nothing about it. Florida.

The military police had to be strengthened to prevent conflict between the Negro soldiers and the townspeople. The Negro soldiers resented the southern attitude of the people. South Carolina.

A Negro soldier in a small town when talking to a white civilian said "After this war, I'll have the same rights as you. We aren't fighting this war for the whites." White men knocked him down, then reported incident to policeman. Policeman said, "That's all right, sorry that I wasn't there to give him a punch myself." Virginia.

During the summer, there was quite a bit of alarm over the Negro soldiers in one of our southern airports. And I know for certain that two Negro soldiers were killed one day by some white officers, for some disagreement between them. Little was said about it and it was keptout of the papers. Alabama.

A student saw a group of white officers chatting together when a group of Negro officers came along. Seemingly the groups were on a footing of complete equality, as the Negroes stopped and chatted on a basis of intimacy with the white officers. The student was indignant. Georgia.

The story circulated that two Negroes asked at the camp here if white girls dated Negro soldiers and were given a thorough beating up by a group of white soldiers listening. Florida.

THE NEGRO AND THE DRAFT

The prevailing rumor that fewer Negroes than whites are being drafted has been reflected in the foregoing catalogues of conflict rumors. The rumors were of two sorts, one that they don't want so many Negroes in the armed forces because they are afraid of them; and one that they are afraid of so many Negroes not being drafted and left behind. Another aspect is that so many Negroes are rejected for venereal diseases that the communities are in another danger.

I have heard that draft boards are not drafting Negro men proportionately because they don't want to put weapons in their hands. South Carolina.

Colored men weren't being drafted as rapidly as the white men because they were afraid to let them get their hands on guns. Virginia.

I don't know what the draft boards are thinking of by drafting so many whites in proportion to the Negroes. This town is going to have a serious problem on its hands. From numerous sources has that complaint about the disproportionate number of white and Negro draftees been heard. Alabama.

It seems that some of the Negroes there wish to enlist but are not allowed to do so, because only a certain percentage of the Negroes are taken. The Negroes feel that this is unfair and that all Negroes should be allowed to enlist. Virginia.

There is a rumor that the Negroes are deliberately contracting venereal disease in order to avoid being drafted. Louisiana.

Negroes play ignorant and crazy when they appear before the examining board. Great numbers are turned down for this and other causes. "When we come back," they say, "when all the white men are called into service, we are going to take the white men's wives and love them." Florida.

The Negroes are talking among themselves that they shouldn't fight, that there is no democracy for them. Georgia.

Army prospects undertake to get disease so they will fail examination and keep out of Army. North Carolina.

The very large percentage of Negroes rejected by the Draft Board for venereal diseases with the Negroes boasting about their being free and the white boys having to fight and the subsequent suggestion that as soon as enough of the white men had gone the Negroes would be free to take over the South, including social equality. North Carolina.

Some Negroes avoid the draft because they have been told it is not their war. South Carolina.

It is said that since so many Negro men have venereal diseases they are not fit for military duty, and therefore will be left at home. There have been a good number of cases of rape in this section also, but as a remedy, it is rumored that all Negro men are to be drafted and sent to medical centers where treatment for these diseases will be enforced. North Carolina.

As to the war situation I have heard the comment that Negro soldiers are not accepted in the Army because the whites want to win the war and the world for themselves. South Carolina.

I have heard of a good many cases here and other places where they have refused to register and refused to report when inducted and had to be run down. They say they are not going to fight when they have no place in the government. North Carolina.

Due to the increased number of young Negro men around the towns there has been much talk among the whites who could not understand why they were not called into the armed services just as the white men that have been going for some time. Recently nearly two hundred were called and this relieved that situation greatly and at the same time caused fewer Negro farm workers in the county. South Carolina.

A colored preacher said that the government should stop turning down so many draftees because it will leave a disproportionate number of the two races at home. He is "afraid harm will come to the white people of the town" if more Negroes are not accepted into the armed forces. Georgia.

Some complained that the draft board was taking more whites than Negroes. Some seemed to think that the selection was unfair; another thought that Negroes should be deprived of all right to serve in the Army since they would obtain the pensions after the war and in this way might "rise" above the whites. Alabama.

A Negro boy of about 18 left a good job to volunteer for the Army. He was at first accepted, but later no place was found for him and he was sent home. He was very much disappointed and hurt that he could not serve his country as a white boy could. Virginia.

During my hundred interviews with people on the race issue, dozens of the people told me they were very frightened about the outcome of drafting most of the white men and practically no Negroes. They were afraid the Negroes were going to get "out of hand." Mississippi.

One white owner became very heated over the fact that many of the colored boys were left in the community, having been rejected for illiteracy. He felt that it wasn't important whether or not the colored boys could read and write--they could fire a gun as well as an educated person, he said. The farmer was inclined to place the blame on the "damn Yankee" doctors, who were too stupid to discern when a "nigger" was playing illiterate. Louisiana.

I have heard several of the twon Negroes say that they should not be drafted because they could not vote and have the other liberties that the white enjoyed. Louisiana.

There seems to be a general resentment against so many of the Negroes just loafing around while all the white men go to fight. Many are turned down because they can't read or write and many others because they are diseased. I have heard people discuss the fact and say that the ignorant should be put into some branch of service and more effective methods should be employed to cure the diseased. Louisiana.

This young Negro said that he had just passed his physical examination at Fort Jackson and was expecting to be called any day now. He also remarked that he was the only one out of 75 to pass the exam out of all the Negro selectees. South Carolina.

Most of the Negroes think along the same lines as most of the white people of the area. They think that the United States, or rather the United Nations, is going to win the war and that the victory will be gained not too far in the distant future. I overheard one Negro man remark that the government was after him to go to war, but that he was ready just as soon as they wanted to get him. Alabama.

THE NEGRO AND BUS TRAVEL

The rumors and stories coincide so often in the case of Negroes and their accommodation in bus travel that for all practical purposes most of the incidents reported may be assumed to be true stories. That is, somewhere in the South it is likely that the things reported did and do come to pass. For instance, a young college white woman, in the depth of discouragement and wondering whether she could live in the South of the future, was brought to her low state of morale by two incidents on the same day. First, a bus driver stopped at a midcountry crossroads, making a Negro get off the bus and wait an hour or two for the next bus in order to let a young white girl get on. Second, when a young Negro college girl politely asked a taxi driver if she might sit in the front seat and after other passengers were delivered be taken to her destination in an emergency, the driver slammed the door in her face and said he'd die before he would ride with her. Then, he said, "I wish everybody loved 'em as I do." However, the first section of our examples was reported as rumors; the next as facts.

In a bus station a Negro was buying a ticket and apparently gave the clerk a little less than the actual fare. Instead of the clerk asking him for the rest of it or explaining that fares were higher, the clerk called a cop who forcibly took the Negro out of the station. Georgia.

White people crowd on buses first, making Negroes take any seats left if there are any. Tennessee.

The Negroes seem to rush forward in getting on buses first at many of the bus stations, leaving the whites standing in lines waiting. Florida.

A bus conductor struck and threw a Negro off because he sat next to a white person, although the white person sat in the back of the bus. Louisiana.

When a crowd is waiting for a bus, Negroes no longer stand back and let white people enter first. Negroes push white people aside and, if possible, get into the bus first, and secure as many seats as possible beginning in the rear. North Carolina.

Negroes have been put off buses for refusing to sit in the Negro section, and several have been ousted and fined. South Carolina.

Fifteen report that Negroes have refused to sit in the Negro section of the cars and buses. South Carolina.

On the bus where now more than one bus is necessary for each trip, Negroes are not allowed on buses until the white passengers are provided for. Tennessee.

Many Negroes from the North want front seats on the buses in the South and the drivers have to call policemen to take them to court for violating the laws and not moving when the driver asks them to. North Carolina.

If a Negro woman refused to move her seat for a white man, the bus driver stopped the vehicle and threatened to put her off. North Carolina.

Negroes that try to ride buses without paying their fare are treated much rougher than are whites who try the same thing. On one occasion a Negro woman was almost strangled to death by a high-tempered bus driver. Florida.

When buses are overcrowded, there is room for the white soldiers but not for the Negro soldiers. North Carolina.

Every time a city bus stops and a Negro starts toward the front to get off, a bunch of boys usually yell "Black Out" and then make rather sneering remarks or act as if it disturbs them very much that "they have to be detained in order to let a Negro get off." Louisiana.

They had to have separate buses for Negroes and whites as there were so many fights when both rode on the same bus. North Carolina.

It is rumored that the Negroes are going to stop riding buses because of the treatment they receive. Georgia.

It is definitely true that the Negroes aren't as subservient as formerly. They used to wait until all the white people got on but now they will actually push you out of the way to be able to get on the bus first. Alabama.

Negro soldiers on street car must give seats to white soldiers if there are no more seats available. Louisiana.

The Negroes at home are resenting their back seats on the buses and the bus drivers said soon they would not be able to force them to go back. Most Negroes get very angry if told to take the back seat. Virginia.

A bus was filled with exception of three or four vacant seats. One of the empties was second from rear. Across the aisle from this empty was a white woman. The bus stopped to take on a Negro man and woman. They went back to the rear but remained standing in the aisle by the side of the empty. The white women seemed to sense the situation and was apparently in a quandary wanting to move up toward the front, but didn't. The Negro woman began crying as she swayed strap-hanging by the empty seat. It was night and no lights were on in the bus. At a stop, later, the bus driver went down the aisle toward the back, as if to see whether everything was O.K. Simultaneously two white men in bus said, "Captain if you need any help let us know. Georgia.

A Negro girl was refused a ticket until she had said "Yes, Sir" instead of "yeah." Student's comment: This Negro girl lives in a turpentine place and she knew that she had always said, Yes, Sir" to a white person. She was either trying to put herself on the same level as the white man or was trying to act smart. Georgia.

A northern Negro got off the bus and went to the white rest room. A fight ensued. Georgia.

One of the city bus drivers was so officious with his Negro passengers, shoving them around and making them wait unduly for their transfers, they finally complained to their employers. One or two of the employers observed the situation for themselves and then took up the complaint with the bus company. The driver lost his job. Georgia.

On a bus not long ago a lieutenant in the Army asked an old Negro man who was being forced to stand to share his seat. As soon as the bus became less crowded the driver asked the old man to move. Georgia.

A young southern man was on a bus in a city in the South. The bus was crowded, with only one seat remaining, and that one next to him. A Negro got on the bus and sat down next to him. The white man advised him to go to the rear of the bus, but the Negro refused and began to set up his arguments of "All men are created equal," etc. The white man became furious and warned the Negro, but the Negro still refused to move. When they got off the bus, the white man immediately grabbed the colored man and hit him on the jaw. The colored man fell to the street where the white man kicked him into the gutter. Virginia.

On one occasion an old Negro woman attempted to enter a bus and was told first she would have to wait for the white folks to get on. As she stepped back, some white women laughed. The Negro turned to another and said "What dat woman laughin bout? Ain't nothin' funny as I kin see." Alabama.

A Negro woman asked her to move up a seat. The Negro woman was seated behind the white woman. The white woman did not pay any attention to what the Negro had said. The Negro woman slapped the white woman. A warrant was sworn out for the Negro. South Carolina.

A Negro woman got on and started to sit down about midway in the bus. The driver had to ask her several times to get up and move to the rear. Georgia.

A Negro girl tried to sit by a white girl on a bus. As she refused to move, the conductor took her by the collar and pushed her off the bus. Georgia.

A Negro soldier got on a bus and sat down by a white girl. He insulted her and tried to hold her hand. The bus driver dragged the Negro from the bus, beat him up, and then called the bus company and resigned his job. He then walked off and left his busload of people. North Carolina.

A Negro secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, while riding a bus early last summer, refused to move to a back seat. After some abuse, he was taken by the police and was released when a southern white man interceded for him. Tennessee.

During early morning or late afternoon hours, when most of the bus passengers are Negroes, they are sitting within two or three seats of the front. No matter how many white men or women get on later, the Negroes will not get up and move to give white ladies their seats, although white people have to stand in the aisle with Negroes on all sides. Florida.

On one bus where Negroes were sitting up to within one or two seats from the front, the bus driver asked them to move back so that some of the white ladies who were standing could have seats. The Negroes mumbled and grumbled and one Negro woman was quite ugly. In a loud voice she said that she would not move, that she was "as good as any white person on the bus." She had so much to say that the bus driver stopped at the corner, 'phoned the police, who came and took her off the bus. Florida.

On one occasion a Negro woman gave a transfer slip a day old. The bus driver said that he could not take it because it was old. She mumbled and grumbled and said she did not have any money. The driver said that he would take it that time because she had no money, but that he could not do it again. The bus was filled with Negroes with only two or three white people on it. The Negroes mumbled and grumbled the whole way to town saying that "he had better take that transfer." Florida.

A white man, seeing Negroes sitting almost all the way to the front and white women standing, asked this same bus driver if he could not ask them to move back and let the white ladies sit down. The driver said that the man could ask them if he wanted to, but that he (the driver) would not dare to ask them. This was said quietly but the nurse sitting directly behind the driver heard it. Florida.

A Negro became particularly abusive and was reprimanded very strongly by the driver. The Negro started toward the front of the bus after the driver and was shot and killed by the driver. Subsequently there were several instances of Negroes shooting at buses and throwing rocks at buses. Virginia.

A white man entered a bus with only one vacant seat. This vacant seat was by a Negro girl. The man sat down by her and talked to her slightly. The man was a soldier and obviously a northerner. South Carolina.

A Negro man got on the bus and sat with a white girl. The driver didn't see him do this but he happened to see him as he was looking in the mirror. He stopped the bus and asked the Negro what he meant by sitting there. He said he asked the girl if he could sit there and she said "yes." The driver then told him to move to the back seat. South Carolina.

A Negro sat down beside a white man on a bus. The bus driver asked him to move, but was forced to throw him off. Bus drivers have been given police authority in this city. South Carolina.

A bus headed from_____ to_____ was overloaded. A Negro woman was seated at the front of the bus and wouldn't move to the back by swapping with a white lady who had to sit back by herself in the middle of a bunch of Negroes. The bus driver demanded her to swap, she refused, so the bus was stopped and she was put off in the middle of the highway swearing "The blacks would revenge her." South Carolina.

One day a Negro woman came to a certain bus, she got on. There was not a seat left. She went over to this white man and demanded the place that he occupied. He refused. The Negro became angry and to prevent a riot the Negro woman was put off. South Carolina.

A Negro woman was rudely deprived of a bus ride at seven by the driver who curtly explained "No seats for colored people." The woman protested, saying that she had a sick son to whom she had been trying to get to since nine that morning, having not been permitted to ride on any of the buses since that time. The driver only said, "Sorry" to the soldier who offered the woman his place on the bus. North Carolina.

After all the white people got on, the three Negroes who were already on the bus were told to get off and wait for next bus. North Carolina.

A Negro doctor of medicine was fined in court for refusing to take his proper seat in a street car. Louisiana.

I was told that a Negro school girl sat with a white woman in the white section of a street car and refused to move. The conductor was told, but nothing was done because of his fear of causing a riot. Louisiana.

A young Negro man got on a crowded bus. There was no place for him to sit so he asked a sloppy looking white man if he might share his seat. The white man, who was seated in the back of the bus, jumped up from his seat swearing. He looked as though he would explode before he could reach the front of the bus. South Carolina.

A Negro lieutenant got on the bus here and sat in the white section of the bus. He wouldn't move, so the bus driver drove the bus over to the side of the street and when the next bus came along, the white people got into the second bus and left the Negro sitting on the bus. Louisiana.

On a very crowded bus, all the white men were standing after having given their seats to women. Another woman got on the bus and after repeated questions to the Negro men to give their seats to the woman, one man still refused. Finally, the white men started beating the Negro man because he would not give up his seat. Police intervened in time to save the Negro man's life. He had been wounded by a shot, but lived. Louisiana.

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On one occasion a drunk Negro insisted on sitting next to white people, or rather, in the white section, and was ordered back to his place, whereupon he drew a knife. The bus driver took him outside the bus; they had a few words and the driver shot and killed him. The Negroes were infuriated, and for many days thereafter shot at that bus. Virginia.

The bus driver passed up three Negroes standing waiting for the bus. Then he stopped a block on up the road to let three white people on. South Carolina.

The Negro draftees crowded through the line ready to enter the bus saying that they were going to get on the bus. After much pushing aside of the people who were first in line they got on the bus and took almost two-thirds of all of the available seats. White people got on and had to stand. The bus driver told them that it was only fair for some of the Negroes to stand, but the Negroes refused to give up their places. So the white people stood and the Negroes kept the seats. North Carolina.

A bus driver, trying to get as many people in as possible, said that he had room for only two more "niggers." One Negro, a soldier, was left behind. The fact that he was a soldier especially, should have entitled him to a ride. He looked neat and was quiet, not saying a word when he was told that there was no more room for him. North Carolina.

One day this summer a Negro soldier got on the bus. Instead of going to the back of the bus he sat down in the front beside a white woman. The bus driver asked him to sit in the back of the bus but he refused to move, After he refused to sit in the back the driver called the police and had him removed from the bus. After he was removed from the bus several white men in town gave the Negro soldier a good beating because he refused to sit in the back of the bus where he belonged. South Carolina.

A Negro man was standing in the aisle beyond the Negro section because his section was full and people were crowded, even standing. The bus driver made him push back in his section even though whites weren't sitting in the rows next to the Negro section. Louisiana.

A Negro sailor got in the bus and insisted upon sitting in the white section. When asked to move back, he refused and the driver became infuriated and struck the Negro with the end of his gun. In defense of the sailor another Negro man attacked the bus driver and stabbed him. It finally resulted in a riot in which several people were injured. Alabama.

The other day a Negro got on a bus. When the driver stopped, he said, "And to think I have to stop for a --- Negro." He started off immediately without waiting for the Negro to be seated. North Carolina.

A street car conductor had to use force to break up a fight over a seat between a white woman and a Negro woman. The Negro was put in jail and the conductor had drawn a gun on her to force her to quit fighting while nothing was done to the white woman. Georgia.

INCIDENTS REPORTED AS FACTS

The samplings of incidents with reference to Negroes and bus transportation are inadequate, yet they typify what the Negro white folkways are with reference to this aspect of life. As a matter of fact, both rumors and

stories understate what appears to be the fact. Thus, many bus drivers deliberately tell Negroes that another car will come along, or that this particular bus does not go where they wish.

I have seen Negroes put off the Greyhound bus to give whites a seat. Georgia.

Negroes occupied most of the seats and the white people stood. At times they were as near the front of the bus as the first seat. They were loud and boisterous. Only one bus driver when I was on the bus ever made them quiet down or move back as the back seats were emptied. North Carolina.

It has been the policy of bus companies in the past to reserve the back section of the buses for Negroes. However, many of the times that I have ridden on buses, the white people were allowed to get on first and take all of the seats in the bus, even those reserved for the Negro in the rear of the bus. If the Negroes want to ride they must stand, and often there isn't enough standing room for them. North Carolina.

The Negroes are beginning to crowd on buses ahead of white people, and, surprisingly enough, the whites let them do it. The rabid southerners around here, who a short time ago seemed to think that the Civil War was still being fought, are giving in to the Negroes as they have never done before. However, sometimes the whites occupy all the Negroes' seats and they are forced to wait for another bus. Louisiana.

Several times when I have tried to get on a bus going from one town to another Negroes have pushed and nearly knocked white passengers down in their persistence to get a seat before they are all taken. Naturally this shoving and knocking about is resented by the whites, and some sort of conflict, whether in mere words or actual blows, inevitably results. Louisiana.

The bus was crowded, but there were no Negroes on the bus; therefore, some of the white people sat on the "Jim Crow" seat. At the next stop several Negroes got on the bus. The driver came to the back of the bus, asked the white people to get up and told the Negroes to sit down. South Carolina.

It was a bitterly cold day and even the inside of the bus was none too warm. The bus driver came on the bus and told the only Negro passengers (a Negro woman and her two-year-old child), that they would have to get off the bus and give their places to white people. He said that an extra bus was to be "put on" for the Negroes; however, he did not direct her to another bus and she stood against the wall of the bus station for half an hour or more. The wind was blowing and she and her child were not clothed very warmly. The driver did not even show her common courtesy. South Carolina.

A crowded bus stopped on the hail of a Negro woman. The driver brusquely told her that she would have to stand if she got on and when she seemed undecided as to whether to ride or not he curtly ordered her to make up her mind. Almost every white passenger within my hearing range made some remark about how discourteous the bus driver was. I was seated near the Negroes in the bus and did not hear a single remark about the bus driver's conduct. Alabama.

Bus drivers seem to have no respect for Negroes' feelings. I have heard many of the drivers "holler" and talk very unkindly to colored people when there was really no reason for them to be so angry. Alabama.

On the day when the university students returning after the holidays and the crowded travel was made even worse, no Negroes were allowed to get on the buses until all of the white people had gotten provided for. Consequently, they had to wait a whole day trying to get on a bus. When I got on a bus as late as 10:00 P. M., Negroes were still not allowed to get on. Alabama.

There was one colored woman in the very back seat on the bus. This seat extends across the back of the bus, so of course no white people would sit with her. Upon arriving in a fairly large town some white farmers wanted to get on the bus and the driver insisted that the colored woman get off of the bus and wait for a second bus that would arrive in a half an hour. The Negro woman refused to do so and one farmer became very angry about the whole matter. He, himself, was not willing to wait for the other bus either, so he said everything to the Negro woman and told her that just as soon as he got the other bus and could get to the next bus stop, he was going to give her a most severe beating. Alabama.

My cook says the bus driver is nasty to her when she comes and goes from work. When told we would report him to his company she begged us not to, as he wouldn't even stop to let her on the bus. She said that happened to lots of her friends who argued with him. Alabama.

I was riding on a crowded bus. A young Negro was sitting alone in one of the seats, and quite a few white and colored people were standing; a white woman got on, marched up to the Negro and said angrily, "Get up out of that seat you 'nigger' and let a white person sit down. Who do you think you are?" Looking very frightened, the Negro got up. When the woman sat down, however, she took up all the seat instead of letting someone else sit beside her. The rest of the time I was on the bus, she muttered about how impudent the Negroes were getting, thinking they were as good as white people. I've never seen a white woman make herself more disgusting. South Carolina.

I have seen Negro women ask white men to give them their seats on buses. South Carolina.

The bus drivers are glad to see that Negroes occupy only the long seat in the back of the bus. I have been on the bus a number of times when the bus driver has stopped the bus and asked Negroes sitting in the seat next to the back to move to the back seat, when the bus was not crowded and the seat was not needed. On another occasion the bus driver asked a white man occupying a seat in the back with a Negro to move to a seat nearer the front. North Carolina.

I heard a Negro woman with a small baby in her arms ask a white woman, who was sitting in one of the two very back seats for whites on the bus, if she minded if she set down in the empty seat beside her. The white woman said that she would prefer for her not to do so. There were no white people standing on the bus. There were two or three Negroes standing. There was one empty seat by a white woman and yet the seat remained empty. North Carolina.

MORE AND MORE

The samplings here are but a small part of what happens. They do appear monotonous and repetitions, but there is a variation in most of them and everyone carries a potential tension and tragedy. Not even most southerners have any idea of what happens. The incidents swing back and forth, the whites feeling the Negroes are to blame, the Negroes knowing the whites are wrong. A little later we present a catalogue creditable to the whites who seek justice.

There is increasing lack of consideration on the part of the Negro in buses. Considering how most of us are today riding the buses and using public facilities, this is becoming a very alarming problem. I have, personally, had Negroes almost knock me down to get on a bus, or into a department store. They shove and push people aside. Florida.

It just so happens that I ride the same bus that many Negroes ride back and forth to work. At all times I have quite a struggle to get on the bus, because the Negroes push everyone out of the way and scramble on. The drivers, for the most part, are polite in their remarks to them, but the Negroes are free with their retorts. I am in favor of equality of race, but I don't like being pushed around by a Negro or anyone else. Florida.

I saw the Negroes at the back of a bus be made to get off for college girls and they had to wait for another bus. North Carolina.

After a heated argument with the bus driver, a soldier entered the bus that was waiting to be loaded and bodily dragged a Negro soldier off--pushing him with such force that the colored boy sprawled on the sidewalk. With these accompanying words "When a white man can't ride before a damn nigger--there is something wrong." North Carolina.

I was riding on a bus which had only one vacant seat left and that was beside a white man. Several Negroes were standing. Then a Negro girl got on. She saw the vacant seat and sat down beside the man. He became very angry and got out of his seat to tell the bus driver. The bus driver stopped the bus immediately, and told the girl she would have to move. In reply she said she thought you could sit down if there was an extra seat. He told her that you could up North, but not down here. She got up without causing any disturbance. North Carolina.

Negroes are forced to wait for seats in buses until the whites have taken their places. During a recent trip home we had no bus reservations. However, the agent permitted us to occupy seats already reserved for two colored women. Louisiana.

The bus was loaded and presently it stopped to take on a Negro. There happened to be a drunk marine at the front of the bus who had caused considerable disturbance all of the way. As the Negro went to pass him he hit the marine accidently, which immediately got the marine hot. The marine told the Negro to apologize in the name of the United States. The Negro said, "Hell, I have not done anything wrong." The marine asked him once more and not getting any response hauled off and hit the Negro with such force that it piled eight people in the back seat of the bus. Then the bus driver and the marine calmly took the unconscious Negro and put him behind his baggage by the side of the road and said the next bus would pick him up. South Carolina.

Just as we were getting on the bus a Negro man walked up as if he wanted to get on the bus. There were about ten students sitting in the back of the bus in the colored section. (There were no Negroes on the bus.) One of the boys yelled to the bus driver, "Hey, Skipper, don't let that Negro on here." The bus driver told the Negro there wasn't any room for him. We drove on another block and at the next bus stop the boys got off of the bus, leaving the colored section completely vacant. Louisiana.

When the bus left the university for town, students filled up both the white and the Negro sections of the bus. On the way to town the driver passed by quite a number of Negroes who were waiting for the bus. I commented on this to the person sitting with me. I said that I thought it unfair for the whites to sit in the Negro section making the Negroes wait for other buses when they wouldn't let the Negroes sit in the white sections and have the white people wait. This person to whom I was talking flared up and the first thing she said was, "Where are you from?" So I told her, "Missouri, Kansas City." She went on to say that she thought it was all right that the whites sat in the Negro section even if they (Negroes) didn't get to ride in the whites', because the whites are so much better than the Negroes. Louisiana.

The driver made a Negro get up so that a white woman could sit in the seat across from him. The Negro began to talk about his rights, about how whites would be glad to stand by him when he was fighting Japs and Germans. He said that he could and would fight for the country as well as anybody. And, I think he was right! This was in the first seat behind the line dividing the sections. Louisiana.

A white sailor, whom I knew and who had lived in Baton Rouge all his life 'til two years ago when he joined the Navy, got on the bus and seeing only one empty seat, next to a Negro, sat down there. He made the remark to me "What is good in the North is good in the South." The Negro got up looking very embarrassed and got farther back. Louisiana.

Once I saw a Negro girl get up from her seat in the bus and sit more toward the back of the bus so that a white man might have a seat. North Carolina.

I've felt badly every time I've been in the bus station. Those clerks make the colored people wait for endless minutes. I had to wait for a bus there and watched one woman wait for at least ten minutes at ticket window while the clerks did other things. North Carolina.

The bus was very crowded with week-end travelers. Among them were one Negro civilian and several white soldiers. The Negro was sitting on the back row and did not get up for any of the women (white women were sitting next to him). The soldiers started threatening to throw him out and yelled "Why aren't you in the Army, you black scoundrel?" The Negro said he had a brother in Australia and one in England. "Why aren't you there?" they yelled. The poor Negro was miserable, and I could see resentment rising in him. North Carolina.

The bus driver did not hear a Negro girl ring and had to let her out a block farther on. She let out a stream of talk against his inefficiency, his courting with a white girl, so that he did not hear her ring. He did not fight back but growled "Shut up." North Carolina.

A young Negro man started to sit down beside a white man on a very crowded bus but the two had some words. Before I knew it the white man who was headed for his work was hitting the Negro with his lunch pail. It happened on the square in town so the policeman arrived immediately, and by the time he got there the Negro had huge beads of sweat all over his face from fright. There were a great many more white people on the bus than black and he was probably afraid they would jump all over him. The policeman roughly grabbed the Negro and pulled him off the bus and the white man willingly followed. They were headed toward the police station and the next day I read where the white man was freed and I don't remember what the Negro's sentence was but he was punished. North Carolina.

A Negro girl sat down beside me in a bus this summer. I had no idea what to do; I didn't mind her sitting there, she looked clean, so I just didn't do anything. Finally, the bus driver ambled back and told her to move to the back and she asked why. He explained to her in a sort of mean way that in the South Negroes were seated from the back. After quite an argument she moved but not very willingly. North Carolina.

I have noticed concerning the Negroes' actions on buses that they are very inconsiderate of the white bus drivers, and they get in line with the whites when the buses are loading instead of standing to the rear until all the whites are seated. South Carolina.

A colored man seemed to deliberately try to stir up trouble by sitting in the white section of the bus. No troubled issued from this. Virginia.

On crowded buses there seems to be a decided tension between the Negroes and the white people. The white race seems to no more desire the seats provided for the Negroes than the Negroes want them to. White passengers often make slighting remarks about having to sit in the "Negro section." In return they receive an angry glare from the Negro. Virginia.

I was on a bus and all the seats had been taken by white people. A nice-looking colored man was left standing in the aisle. He did not say anything but looked at the white people who were seated on the rear seats as if he thought they should not be there. Virginia.

When the bus came all the people rushed out to get on the bus. Everyone was trying to get close to the bus door so they could get on first and get a seat.

Some Negroes who were going to get on, too, did not stand back behind the white people but rushed to get to the door first. They did not wait until all the whites got on first, but got on as quick as they could. Usually the bus driver would let them on whenever they got to the door first. Virginia.

I have observed that the younger Negroes seem to want to push forward while the older Negroes do not seem to do so. For example, the younger Negroes want to sit in the white sections on buses. Virginia.

At certain times I've been unable to get anywhere near a bus I was to board because of Negroes crowding around it waiting to board--pushing the whitos back out of the way. Georgia.

I know a man who was standing on the bus and he said a rather heavy-set Negro preacher kept swaying on to him until he could stand it no longer and he knocked him down. The bus driver stopped and some soldiers wanted to put the Negro off but they finally settled the difficulty,but the Negro became more docile. North Carolina.

All the colored seats were taken; so instead of standing they sat in the white section. The driver told them to move. The soldier replied that he had paid his nickel and intended to stay where he was. Nothing more was said to him, and he stayed on while other passengers made unfavorable comments and glances. Louisiana.

At the next bus stop a group of white high-school girls got into the bus and took seats in the rear instead of in the nearly empty front seats, completely filling the colored section. The bus driver, having made no comment, then passed quite a number of Negro employees on their way to work; since the colored section was filled, he evidently thought it best not to take any Negro passengers. Louisiana.

A Negro got on and sat by a white man as the colored section was filled. The man told him to move; he refused. The man then hit him, knocking him unconscious. Nothing was done to the white man, and the Negro was put off the bus. Louisiana.

A new bus driver was driving the bus on this particular day. A Negro man got on the bus, dropped his fare into the box, and started to his seat in the rear of the bus. The bus driver called him back and with a swaggering air told the Negro that if he had been drinking to get off the bus--he was not going to have a drunk Negro on <u>his</u> bus. It is said that the Negro was not drunk, and that the bus driver was only trying to impress a girl who was seated behind him. South Carolina.

One college girl reported that, as she was standing on a crowded bus, a Negro maid (who works in one of the girls; dormitories) beckoned to her to come back and sit in the vacant seat beside her in the colored section. Needless to say, the girl declined the offer. Louisiana.

An eight year (approximately) old boy, who appeared to be a mulatto, was accompanied by a rather young, well-dressed Negro woman. When the boy attempted to get off the bus before a white lady, the Negro woman called him back and asked him to apologize to the lady. The boy did not hesitate to make a polite apology. Louisiana.

A Negro woman and two men got on the bus and the woman began to grumble because she had no seat. She continued to fuss until one middle-aged man told her to shut up. She kept on until the man got up, flashed a badge, began to bluster about his authority and called the woman names. He took out a blackjack and threatened to put the woman off the bus, shouting dramatically, "Stop the bus, driver!" The woman finally got off. Louisiana.

A Negro soldier got on his bus and seated himself in a vacant seat near the front. The driver immediately sensed trouble because there were vacancies at the rear. The soldier then invited a young white girl seated across the aisle to come over and sit with him. The girl, naturally shocked, protested firmly. The bus driver intervened and told the colored boy to go to the back. The soldier started back-talking and started an argument. The boy was ready to fight so at the next stop the driver phoned in to.... and reported to officials. On arriving at High Point he found a group of policemen from the city and several military police awaiting the soldier. They gave him a beating and kept him. North Carolina.

A friend told me that he was riding on a bus and a small colored boy sat down beside him. He asked him to get up and he did so, but a little later a large Negro man sat down beside him and he asked him to get up. He wouldn't, so my friend hit him on the chin. A couple of soldiers and sailors took up for the boy and told him never to hit a Negro on the head because you couldn't hurt him there. North Carolina.

A Negro woman had been trying to get on a bus since eight-thirty in the morning and it was now five-thirty. She had pleaded with all the bus drivers to let her get on the buses, as she had to get to her sick son. When my friend got on the bus, the Negro was still at the bus station. The drivers kept telling her that there was not any room for colored people on the buses. North Carolina.

There was such a crowd the Negro women were made to stand in the front so that white men could sit in the rear seats reserved for colored. The bus was loaded to capacity, with no standing room left, when along the highway some white farmers flagged it down. The bus driver stopped and, to make room for them, put two colored women off to wait for the next section. The women were left standing in the hot sun. Georgia.

Uncle J. took Dave to the station, bought his ticket for him, and assumed he would be on his way in a few minutes. However, hours later, Dave called up from the station saying that several buses for his particular destination had come and gone, loaded with white folks, while each time he was told to wait for the next bus. Uncle J. went down, got his money back, and sent him on the train, but I'm sure this thing is typical in our stations. The Negro is always the last to receive accommodations, and then gets the worst possible. Georgia.

STREETCAR SITUATIONS

The catalogue of stories of transportation conflict could be almost duplicated with stories of streetcar troubles except that city buses begin

to take the place of streetcars in more and more cities. A few samplings will indicate the similarity of the patterns of conflict. The stories that were collected in the present inquiries are apparently a milder representation of the total picture, but they continue the illustrations.

The trolley was crowded. The driver asked the people if they would move back so others could board the trolley. One white man yelled out to the driver, "If you want to come on back here and stand with these damn Negroes, come on back here and I'll drive the bus." North Carolina.

A Negro man pushed a white woman in a trolley and when called down by a white man--who was a night watchman--replied in a "smart" way. The night watchman shot and killed the Negro and was acquitted without trial. Louisiana.

A southern white lady got on a crowded streetcar in a northern town and approached a Negro soldier and asked him to please move in the back and give her his seat. The Negro soldier remained seated, so a white man across the aisle gave the lady his seat in order to avoid a scene, and the Negro soldier continued smoking his cigarette. The Negro newspaper referred to the southern white lady as "the old beak." Louisiana.

A Negro woman refused to move back in streetcar at request of conductor. A soldier proposed to move her. The conductor and some passengers said, "Let's not have a scene." The Negro got off just a block farther on--just before they reached a police station--having ridden only a block and a half. Georgia.

Negro woman sat where whites belong in streetcar. Refused to give up seat. A private soldier tried to make her move. Anger of officer was aroused. Negro got off. Georgia.

There was a riot because two Negro men refused to sit in the back or rear of the streetcar. The Negro men were bodily thrown off the streetcar. Georgia.

A streetcar conductor often will not stop at stop signs for Negroes trying to get on the car. Georgia.

Many times streetcars pass up Negroes when the cars are crowded, but there always seems to be room for <u>one</u> more white person. Georgia.

A policeman threw Negro off streetcar when he refused to give white person a seat. Louisiana.

A white man asked a Negro woman (sitting very near the back) to move so he could have her seat. She refused, and the white man became very angry. The trolley driver stopped the trolley and refused to let anyone get off. The police were called, and she was talked to in a very unpleasant way. She was in tears and terribly upset before she was released. Georgia.

STRAINS AND TENSIONS ON WHITES AND NEGROES

Close study of most of the rumors and stories reflect a continuous and never-softening level of tension. Most of the college students who tell of the injustices in bus travel show their impatience, and thus reflect on the white side a reasonably large reserve force for improvement. Also, many Negroes recognize the difficulties that are inherent in detail and incidents that are "natural." The bus drivers show fine patience often when the Negro passengers wait until bus comes to complete stop before they begin to gather up belongings and start to get off.

There have been numerous examples of southern whites taking the part of Negroes and denouncing the treatment accorded them. Many leaders have appealed to bus drivers and bus companies for fairer treatment. There have been occasions where one southern white youth would "knock out" another southern white youth for his treatment of Negroes. There was the case of a white soldier knocking another white soldier "cold" because he had beaten a Negro unjustly in a bus. And the greater part of the stories reflect a promising tone on the part of white youth.

I've seen white people get up from seats on the buses where the Negroes were supposed to sit so that the Negroes could sit down while the white people stood up. North Carolina.

Our school principal went with a group of basketball students to a nearby school on the bus. The bus was crowded and when a Negro woman got on, one of the school boys got up and gave her his seat by a white girl. The girl sat still and there was not a single remark made. North Carolina.

A Negro woman with a baby entered a crowded city bus. None of the Negro men who were seated offered her a place. As she stood in the aisle the bus lurched to one side and caused her to hit the baby's head on an upright support. The baby screamed in pain. A white man arose from his seat and said to those around him, "I can't see a woman with a baby treated like this." He then offered his seat to the Negro woman. When she sat down, a second white man who was occupying the other part of this seat protested that he was not going to sit beside any "nigger." The first white man replied, "Then I think you had better stand up." The second white man did this, and the Negro woman and her baby had the seat to themselves. Tennessee.

I saw white drivers of buses ask white people to move toward the front of the bus where there were vacant seats so that Negroes standing in the back of the bus would have a place to sit. Virginia.

The bus drivers seem to treat the Negroes so tough, speaking to them so harshly as though they were dogs, not humans. The other day I could not help but notice how kind the bus driver was to everybody including the Negroes and he had lots less trouble, or seemed to have, than most of the other drivers. Georgia.

I have also seen bus drivers be very polite to a Negro passenger, making white passengers move out of the section set aside for colored passengers and to the front of the bus. Georgia.

I have recently traveled 2800 miles through the states of Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Arkansas. I will repeat my statement, I have seen no mistreatment. In fact I have noticed bus drivers being unusually kind to Negro women and children. Negro draftees and soldiers are the first allowed to load buses. I am inclined to believe that at times their treatment has been too lenient. Example: A Negro soldier drinking continuously from a bottle in the back of a bus, then sprawling out and sleeping. Nothing said to him. Georgia.

Coming up on the bus last week-end, we had to change buses and by the time the bus arrived there was an enormous crowd waiting. All the white people swarmed on the bus, until they were standing in the aisles. One colored woman was left on the platform, and the bus driver said he was not going to let the Negro miss her ride, and he made all the white people stand to one side so that the Negro woman could pass to the back of the bus. North Carolina.

TRAVEL ON TRAINS

Travel on trains constitutes a separate study and is perhaps the one area in which great progress has been made and in which there is surprisingly little conflict. Many fine stories of courtesy on the part of both races abound. But also there are stories of disgraceful treatment of Negro soldiers and of others.

WHEN HITLER TAKES OVER

The complexity of the southern race situation is reflected in most incidents. The question then is often asked as to how much propaganda by the Axis and earlier by the communists has been articulate. The catalogue of references here will be peculiarly unreliable since many references to Hitler

and the others are primarily reflections of a boast or of "just talk."

To give an illustration of what happened in Chapel Hill, for instance, a young Negro woman was incensed over the rationing allowed her for some meat. She was talking to two other young Negro women and one of the janitors. What she reported that she said to the white man is unprintable, a part of which, however, reflects the point of view. "I told that goddam white man, s.o.b, etc., that I sholy hoped Hitler and the Japs would get him." The Negro man, president of one of the Negro labor union groups, howled his delight. This is new in the behavior of younger Negroes and accounts for the need for readjustment. There are, however, also actual rumors of Axis propaganda.

Some Negro girls stayed in the white section of the train after it had passed the Mason-Dixon line, and they made some remarks about "the Japs and Germans would show up a thing or two" when they were told to move back. Virginia.

When several white people got off a Negro wanted to sit down. Since the seats were in the section designated for the white people, the bus driver refused. The Negro went to the back and the Negroes began to say in a low tone that when Hitler got over here he would fix the white people. South Carolina.

A Negro woman got on a bus in a small town in the upper part of the state. She sat down in the front of the bus. The bus driver naturally told her to move to the back. She said, "When Mr. Hitler gets over here we will sit in the front of the bus." This angered the driver and he slapped her and put her off the bus. Three Negro men then attacked the driver. They were unsuccessful as another white man who was riding the bus promptly got up and shot all three of them. South Carolina.

A Negro girl on a bus started to sit down near the front by a white girl. The bus driver told her she couldn't sit there, that she knew when she got on she was going to have to stand, as the bus was very crowded. This made her angry, so she began talking to another Negro girl, but loud enough for those around to hear her. She said, "I'll be glad when Hitler comes. We couldn't be any worse off." South Carolina.

When Hitler wins the war and comes to America, the Negroes will be given the best jobs and positions and the white people will have to work for the Negroes. North Carolina.

Hitler will make white people slaves and the Negroes the leaders. North Carolina.

A woman had had the same cook for a number of years. One day she said, "I'se cookin'fer ya now but when Mr. Hitler comes over here you'se gonna be cookin fer me." South Carolina.

A Negro cook when told by her mistress to go scrub the floor of the bathroom said "Well I'll go scrub it, but when Hitler comes you'll be scrubbing mine." South Carolina.

Negro maid told the lady for whom she was working that she wouldn't work one certain day, "that from now on she could do as she pleased because when Hitler takes over, we won't have to work--the white folks will have to work for us." Louisiana.

A housewife in my home town had her Negro cook confront her with this statement: "You just wait until Mr. Hitler gets over here; then you'll be working for me." North Carolina.

A lady and her cook had argued. The cook said, "After Hitler wins this war you will be cooking for me." I have heard this story applied to four localities. Alabama.

Friends have had trouble with Negro cooks coming from vacation (where, I know not) and "talking-up" to the woman of the house and saying that when they get organized that the white women will be "yes-ma'm"-ing them; the Negroes won't be doing all sorts of housework; Hitler will free us from doing all sorts of jobs that we have been having to do and let us do white folks jobs. Louisiana.

A Negro washwoman returned the washing of a white woman. The washing was not as well done as it usually was. When the lady asked the Negress to do better the next time, she replied, "When Hitler gets over here, you'll be doing my washing." Louisisna.

A lady in town went to see why her washwoman had refused to come after her clothes the previous week. When she asked her why she did not come after the clothes she replied, "I'm waiting on Mr. Hitler. When he gets here I won't have to wash for you but you will have to wash for me." Mississippi.

Ten students reported the following: The Negroes say they are going to take the place of the whites when Hitler takes the United States. South Carolina.

A Negro man stated that he would be glad to see the arrival of Hitler in America, for then Negroes would be better than whites. Georgia.

WHEN THE JAPS COME

A similar rumor goes the rounds that the Japanese are the Negroes' friend, kinsfolk, colored race, and all that.

I've heard that it has been circulated around the Negroes that the Japs belong to the same race that they do, and their common enemy lives right among them. Sounds possible with the terrific propaganda spread about by the Germans. North Carolina.

Organizations are believed to exist among the Negroes. They talk of the Japanese in a friendly manner. They sympathize with any colored races and

believe that the Nopponese are their kindred. They speak of how they will govern and rule when the Japs attack California. This is evidence of "some kind of" underground talk. South Carolina.

I have heard some talk about the Black Dragon Society which was organized in 1931 by a Japanese agent. I prefer not to talk about this because I have not completed my research on the Black Dragon. South Carolina.

They say the Negroes are banding together and call themselves the "yellow shirts." That is one society. It is a secret organization. Another is called "Black Dragon." South Carolina.

Since then, the "Black Dragon Society" has been organized. Their meetings are very secretive and very few whites other than myself know anything about it. What I know I picked out of a rather ignorant Negro boy that I work with. It took lots of skill but he related to me "things that influenced many a person of the .South" as he put it. South Carolina.

The most startling news I have heard of the Negroes is the fact that one Negro informed his employer that they were told in church by their preacher that the Japs were coming to free them and make them above the whites. This may be evidence of someone telling the Negroes something to steer them against the whites; however, nothing has resulted from this "sermon." South Carolina.

I heard that an organization which had been formed by an "outside" Negro had been discovered. They stood for the superiority of the black race, with the Japs second, and the whites third in order. Florida.

AXIS PROPAGANDA

There are, however, abundant stories and rumors about propaganda and funds available for the Negroes. Here are samplings.

I have heard a Swastika Club has been formed all over the country. South Carolina.

Two students reported the following: Hitler has told the Negroes he will give them the South for their help. South Carolina.

The Nazi party is going to give some propaganda to the Negroes and lead them to sabotaging the whites. They will have good opportunities in their jobs as maids, butlers, chefs, chauffeurs, etc. North Carolina.

Because of Nazi influence, many Negroes have quit their jobs and are slowing up the war effort. Georgia.

The colored janitor at a shop told his employer that two white men had come to his sister's house at the beginning of the war and told her that she and other colored people should organize and join in with them and "soon the white people would be working for the colored." Georgia.

There have been several rumors circulating. One of them is that the Negroes have stores of arms and ammunition and that when Hitler gives the word they will start killing the white people. South Carolina.

The Negroes are buying all the guns and ammunition and are thought to be working with Italian fifth column activities. Louisiana.

Negroes are being influenced by Nazis and are planning to revolt against whites in this emergency. Georgia.

Every Negro man, it is said, has a white girl picked out to marry and they say when the Nazis come over here they are going to marry them. North Carolina.

The Negroes are all organized through the churches. They have received and are still receiving Nazi propaganda. They can arise and attack the whites whenever they want. North Carolina.

The Negroes have organized a "Victory Over There, Victory Over Here" Club. The Germans, the rumor goes, have promised the Negroes supreme rule over the white people in the United States if they win the war over there. Louisiana.

All over South Carolina the Negroes are talking among themselves that Hitler is fighting for them and that when he comes over here that they will be above the whites and be rich like some of them and not have to work so hard. South Carolina.

Negro children sing to the tune of America: My country's tired of me; I'm going to Germany, where I belong. Tennessee.

A Negro cook stated, "Hitler is going to pay Negroes $5.00 a day after the war." South Carolina.

CONCLUSIONS AND SAYINGS

This preliminary descriptive work memorandum has avoided interpretations and conclusions for the most part, except in so far as a few earlier summaries were implied in the group opinions. It may be well, therefore, to have a few conclusions follow the last category of "attitudes" in so far as they continue to reflect the South, in so far as they are a part of the "returns," and in so far as they help interpret.

I have also heard the belief that the next war will be a racial war. The case of Roland Hayes in Georgia as printed in Time magazine is the most vivid incident I've heard or read. North Carolina.

The next war is believed to be one between the races in the United States. This opinion has been stated by several soldiers. North Carolina.

Again let me say that if saboteurs--I know of no other name to call them--would let the colored people of the South alone, we would have no trouble. Florida.

In most "war" conversations, the subject of the Negro crops up. Everyone seems to be concerned about the effect of the war on their attitude toward the whites. The fact that they are fighting along with white soldiers and making more money than usual seems to indicate to most people that after the war they will not be content to go back to normal living. Many people go so far as to say, "After this war, there'll be another war between the Negroes and the whites." Louisiana.

Many people believe that after this war is over, if not before, there will be a war between Negroes and whites in the South. Georgia.

The highly educated Negro realizes his position, behaves humbly, and asks only that his white associaties treat him fittingly. The ignorant class of Negroes, to which a fairly large percentage of Negroes belong, are not aware enough of their race's strides forward to cause much of a problem. The middle class has had just enough education to know what they could have and not enough to know the right way to achieve the best opportunities. Alabama.

You may think this whole problem can be solved by paying the Negro higher wages. If you think this, you do not understand the psychology of a Negro. If we pay the Negroes more, they will only work for a short time. When they have as much as five or ten dollars ahead or just that amount, they are no longer interested in working. They do not plan for the future. This plan would only cause a bigger labor problem--labor shortage. We are especially dependent upon the Negro for his work in our cotton fields. South Carolina.

The agitation between the Negroes and whites at home is growing. The Negroes, since our country has gone on war production and most people are getting high wages, have begun to think themselves better. They are leaving the farms and homes, as servants, and are entering into the higher wage brackets. They feel that they are superior to most white people. Several Negroes have been killed as a result of this, I think the problem will be greater after the war than it is now. White people are learning to get along without the Negroes, and when the war is over and unemployment prevails everywhere, the Negro is not going to be able to take his place as before. I think that then the clash will come and if anything the Negro will be set upon a lower standard than before. South Carolina.

To me, it seems that the Negro should be permitted to enjoy the same privileges as the white man. After all, because a man is black instead of white is no reason or justification for looking down upon him. God created all men alike, whether black or white, yellow or red. We criticize the Negro for being ignorant and illiterate; do we give him a <u>fair</u> opportunity for proving himself otherwise? Aren't there many whites who may be placed in this same category, but are not willing to make the best of an opportunity when it is offered to them? Tennessee.

The Negro, to me, has always seemed quite human. In my associations with him I have never found inferiorities that are not in abundance in white people. No

more deplorable character is engendered in the Negro by lack of education, poverty, and subjection than is found in the story of poor and underprivileged whites. In fact, when equal opportunity either to go up or down the scale of moral standards and human endeavor, the white is more apt to dip deeper and climb less high than the black in similar circumstances. The proportion of Negroes (to their total number) that will respond to opportunities of self-betterment is equal to the like proportion of whites. Tennessee.

I feel that I cannot do justice by the Negro. Why? Well, I guess it is because of my environment that I was brought up in. It is an evident fact that in this section of the country the Negro has never been given the opportunity of a good education. If a Negro from this section does get an education he has to go out preferably to the North. In this section most of our Negroes are shiftless and lazy. They are satisfied with a job as a porter or a cook in a restaurant. For the ladies they can work in a laundry, be a maid or go from house to house and get what work they can. They don't have the opportunity to become secretaries, doctors, and lawyers. What would people think if a Negro doctor came to town and hung out his "shingle"? He would never be called to see a white person; but why? Well, because we don't have faith that a Negro can be successful at a profession of higher standards. Tennessee.

When I was born my father had a Negro mammy to take care of me. I bved that mammy almost as well as my own parents as she was always with me. My father speaks of the many times I would crawl into her lap and hug and kiss her for all I was worth. This mammy was very loyal to our family. Although she acted as if she were part of the family she always knew her place. My father told me a few years ago of how this mammy had shown her loyalty. When my mother died my father was unemployed. Mammy, as we always called her, came to my father and told him how she had saved her money very carefully and knowing that my father needed some money she offered what she had to him. Of course, my father didn't accept it, but it displayed to him just how much loyalty she had. Because of my background I have always looked upon Negroes as my equal. However, in moving around to different parts of the country I can understand why certain sections look upon Negroes as they do. Tennessee.

My viewpoint of the Negro is not exactly definite one way or the other. I am not true to any one side all the way. I think I am neutral rather than southern or northern in my viewpoint of the Negro. I believe there should be certain laws that should be made clear to the Negro as to where he stands. I do not mean that the Negro should not have any privileges--on the contrary, I think he should. I think the Negro should have as many privileges as the white person <u>but</u> in his own place. I think there should be a separation of the whites and Negroes entirely. As for the white and colored relationships, I think that is out of the question. I feel that the whites are very definitely superior to the Negroes, even so to the point that argument and discussion of it is time wasted. Virginia.

If Negroes are not satisfied with our laws regarding racial factors, they should move to another location. The reason for so many Negroes down South is not climatic conditions altogether, but also the good treatment they have received from the white. I might add that if Negroes in the South were left alone by the white radicals of the North that come down here seeking easy methods

to make money off of Negroes, the South and its people would be much better off. South Carolina.

In conversation with the leading Mississippi Negro educator, he stated: "If those Yankee agitators would stay away from the South, the Negroes would be much better off. The primary cause of the present situation is neither the southern Negro nor southern white but the northern educators and agitators and the Negro press, which makes an incident in screaming three-inch letters of the most trivial matters whether the Negro in question be right or wrong." Alabama.

I think that it is inevitable--a climax of the problem between whites and blacks. Since the Negro was first brought to this country as a slave he has attained advantages and reached goals largely through his own efforts. The white man has done little to help him. The few things that the whites have done for the Negro would disappear into the shadow of those many things we have refused or neglected to do. Should any race be so "trampled" because of color? Here in what may be called the "deep South" a prejudice seems to grow with the white person as he grows physically--a prejudice against the black peoples. We, in our egotistical fashion, assume that the Negro wants to mingle with us and live among us. If the Negro had equal opportunities--in schooling, in business, etc.,--would not he stay more within his own race than even now? I think so. We say, "Oh they're happy-go-lucky and are content any way they live." That seems a feeble and inadequate excuse to be forcing upon ourselves as reason for the way we let them live in poverty, refusing to pay them a living wage, etc. They do care, they're humorous, and we should admire them all the more because they're "big" enough to be uncomplaining and to live cheerfully. South Carolina.

Something has got to be done about the Negro situation. It is up to the youths to do their part, because it is hard to change the ideas of the older people of the South. They have been brought up to be the Negro superiors. The Negro is having to fight for his rights. He doesn't want to be superior; he only wants equal rights. In the South there seems to be more discrimination than any other section. We have more uneducated Negroes in the South, and it is harder for us to understand them. If we would give the Negro more rights and give him an education he would be easier to understand and get along with. South Carolina.

I am of the opinion that a serious race problem does exist in our country today, but it is not a problem in the sense that most Americans believe. It is not so much of a problem to be solved by the Negro alone but the whites must be willing to give the Negro a chance, a fair chance in economic and political fields. In a so-called democratic nation we must clear up this racial problem in order to progress toward a better world and a better civilization. South Carolina.

After the war all the Negro soldiers should be locked up in prisons until their minds are made up to go back to their former places before the war. These soldiers and other military men will cause so much dissatisfaction in the Negro race as a whole in America, and this will result in numerous murders. Louisiana.

Sharecroppers can become owners today. There isn't a Negro in the South who couldn't own his land, if he wanted to. Why should the North talk about the way the Negro is treated in the South when they don't know anything about it. The people in California have a more abnormal situation with the Japanese, likewise the Mexican conflict in New Mexico; there is nothing like that to compare in the South with understanding relationship between the whites and Negroes. Louisiana.

LONGER CONCLUSIONS

A few longer conclusions complete the picture. The real measure of what young southerners think may yet be a matter of the future.

In September 1939, I went to South Carolina. At first I was terribly shocked by the way Negroes were treated and segregated in the South because I never had thought that such undemocratic ways could be possible in the United States. "Negroes are not better than Wops (?); if we don't watch out, the Negroes are going to get too much power; we like the Negro ok--in his place." These are some of the sayings I generally heard, sometimes even from seemingly educated southerners.

As in the North, an enormous amount of stories and rumors are going around about the Negro in the South. "The Negroes are going to have an uprising tonight; we better watch out," was heard generally one afternoon in Gaffney, South Carolina. People grew tense, many carried around sticks and they waited for the uprising to start. Yet nothing happened but after a long wait some white trashy boys went to the Negro section and started a little fight in order to relieve the tension. In Virginia one time, in a little town, it was generally heard that the Negroes had bought up all the ice picks; in another town it was heard they bought all the shotguns and so on; Negroes prepared or seemingly prepared themselves to fight the whites, yet an uprising has not come about as yet.

A Negro actually asked a white girl for a date and in revenge the girl's brother killed the Negro. A few years ago near...the mob hanged a Negro because he had raped a white girl. Stories as that one can hear over and over again. Negroes are suspected of raping white women. They are lynched or thrown into prison without even questioning them. Not one or very few of the supposed rapes have ever been proven true.

It is also said that Negroes have lately gotten too ambitious and demanding as to equal rights. It is told that the colored people even form unions and clubs in order to collectively threaten the white. Such a club is the Eleanor Club, which Negro women all over the country are said to join demanding higher wages and shorter hours. "Every colored woman out of a white woman's kitchen by Christmas" is supposed to be their motto. Yet Christmas has passed and another Christmas will probably pass without anything happening. Mrs. Roosevelt was questioned about the club named after her yet she didn't have the least idea about it. However, she said, it wouldn't be a bad idea to have clubs as that, in order to secure more decent wages for the Negro in the South.

Most of the stories and rumors going around seem to be the product of white men's minds. Such invented tales give the white man a pretense to suppress the Negro whom he dislikes because he fears him as a competitor.

As I pointed out before, the Negroes in the North are better off than the Negroes in the South; they have more rights, opportunities, education, and money. Yet in both North and South the Negro is not considered and treated equal. Indeeed, there is still very much prejudice against him everywhere. In my opinion, courses should be given in all schools and colleges on "Race Enlightenment," so that some of the white citizens might lose their narrow-mindedness and conceit. South Carolina.

Our founding fathers hoped that through a democratic form of government racial equality would come to the United States. This theory was good but as yet the prejudices against the Negro have not been abandoned. In fact, all indications are that the problem is steadily becoming more acute; and many of us are becoming alarmed as to what the situation will be if some movements are not made to prevent what seems to be almost inevitable--a Negro uprising.

I believe that the main cause of the rebellious feeling of the Negro race is their lack of education. Because of this lack, the majority of them are unable to secure jobs with sufficient salaries for even the comforts of a simple life. This economic unadjustment leads to crime, unsanitary living conditions, and a lack of self-respect. The few fortunate Negroes, who have been able to become educated, realize this need for Negro education, and it is only natural that they are willing to put up a fight to secure it. If the whites aren't going to help in this fight for the securing of education for Negroes, they will get it anyway--even if they have to rebel to do so.

Many people do not agree with my point of view; they usually raise their eyebrows in a superior sort of way and say, "We don't want Negroes running our government and if they become educated they will begin dabbling in our politics." This statement and similar ones are narrow-minded, because they are judging the entire Negro population by the illiterate and belligerent ones. There is "white trash" just the same as "black trash," but we don't mention the whites because they are of our color. The Negro's native intelligence is not inferior to ours; if he were educated there is no reason to believe that his intelligence would in any way be different from an educated white man's.

I think instead of worrying about the power an educated Negro would have, we should think of how much his social, economic, and moral standards would be raised. If we are truly democratic, all of us will throw aside our "Southern pride" and bend our energies toward the goal of enabling the Negro to live comfortably, respectfully, and decently. Virginia.

Juniors and seniors in the Community Organization Class collected about 65 rumors and stories concerning race relations in the war period. After classifying them under the four headings suggested by Dr. Odum, the students attempted to analyze them in a simple way. They then worked on several constructive programs appropriate for Community Councils to adopt in solving problems implied in the rumors. For example, many rumors were found to center around domestic service. One group of students drew up a plan for systematizing domestic work. Included in it were a program of vocational training and employment registration, a code of wages and hours, coverage by the Social Security Act for old age and unemployment insurance, and a public relations or publicity campaign to educate the housewives and families, as well as domestics, to the new regime of sound economy and efficiency. The keynote of the committee's recommendation was to replace the old paternalistic relationship with a new businesslike contract with specific duties and privileges for both the

employer and the employee. Several members of the group strongly leaned toward having employment of domestic servants handled by an agency as this would keep it on a business basis and would expedite the collection of social security taxes as well as providing protection for employer and employee.

Examination of the 65 rumors and stories collected by the G.S.W.C. students showed an occasional mention of the Yankee meddler, the labor organizer, and the Nazi propagandist. Most of the rumors, however, seemed to center on the way the War (or the War under the New Deal) has disturbed the South's comfortabl status quo of race and class relations. Anything that threatened the pattern of superordination-subordination between the races or among the classes seemed to furnish grist for the rumor mill. The social taboos of the South, such as the two races' eating or traveling together or having social intercourse especially between the sexes, were found to be explosive with rumor possibilities. But quite apart from the breaking of taboos was the general fear of the Negro's growing independence.

The students were puzzled as to why the Negro soldier seemed to be resented more than the Negro civilian when he "stepped out of his place." They decided it must be attributable to the fact that his uniform made him seem less unlike the white and hence more to be dreaded as a potential usurper of the white man's prerogatives. It was also suggested that the resentment might be traceable in part to the white man's guilt over expecting the Negro to fight and die for a democracy he was not allowed to fully enjoy. There is no overlooking the fact, however, that the high visibility of the uniform is a factor. Georgia.

The statements made in this paper are in part based upon my own observation of race relations in this area and in part from some twenty-five student papers.

On the whole, there seems to be no serious strain on race relations in this territory. In..., the leading Negro citizens have made an effort to cooperate with the Georgia Home Guard and other responsible agencies to maintain order and a satisfactory basis of relations between the two races. An example of this is shown in a newspaper article which appeared in local papers early in November, asking white citizens to pay Negroes' wages in keeping with the increased cost of living and to be as considerate as possible in their demands upon Negro workers and servants, in order that radical agitators would not have a discontented group upon which to work. This appeal was well received by the white people as being a fair and honest effort to see that a satisfactory relation was maintained between the races.

High wages paid at the local air base have forced up wages in industry, but this has caused no serious trouble. The most evident outcome of higher wages, and allowances paid to wives and families of Negroes in the Armed Service has been to make Negro women less willing to work as household servants. The situation has been made more acute here and in most all of the other larger places in this area by an influx of Army officers from other regions of the country who think nothing of paying $10.00 to $12.00 a week for servants, in contrast to the former pay scale of $3.00 to $4.00 per week. This has caused many servants to quit their former employers and work for the newcomers if they have to work at all. As stated above, higher wages for the men folks and increased wages for the servants have tended to give them more money than they have been accustomed to and, for that reason, servants work very irregularly and are far more demanding in regard to the hours they work, insist in having one day per week off, and other demands that would not have been made in less favorable economic times.

As the students' papers indicate, there have been rumors of Eleanor Clubs, but there seems to be no tangible evidence that such clubs exist. My observations lead to the belief that the Negroes have done very little in an organized way to demand higher wages or other concessions from their employers.

Most of the "fear stories," such as Negroes buying ice picks, pocket-knives, guns, etc., were inspired by Talmadge supporters prior to the primary election in an effort to make people believe there was really something to the race issue, which was one of the main planks in the Talmadge platform. Some few people were misled by this propaganda but the results of the election showed that the majority were convinced that there was nothing to the race question. I have not heard of a single instance of these "fear stories" since the election.

We are all aware of the fact that Negroes are not given just consideration in the accommodations afforded them in bus and train travel, but I have seen no evidence of the situation being any different from what it has been throughout the past years. The student opinion, as shown in the papers enclosed, bears out my observation on this point. Georgia.

REFLECTIONS OF THE RACE SITUATION IN ALABAMA AS MIRRORED BY THE LATE SUMMER OF 1942

This paper is a descriptive report on informal interviews held with around two hundred white people in the upper professional groups in Alabama during the last week of July, 1942. College professors, extension workers, newspaper editors, officials in state administration, and business men were questioned. The object was twofold: first, to try and get actual incidents of friction between Negro and white; and, second, it was hoped to determine if the upper socio-economic group in Alabama thought there was real danger of mob action and if so, the reasons. An attempt has been made to present some of the facts which seem to contribute to the cloud of apprehension that exists over the entire state. Fact and rumor still remain hard to separate. But both, paradoxically, serve to further stir the people toward a complete disregard of reason.

The people of Alabama are disgusted. And this disgust is rapidly being fanned by deep running hatred mingled with a spirit of revolt. The reason: the symbol of "white supremacy" is being attacked. But more than that, the attack is being made by "outsiders."

Those persons responsible for injecting poison into the minds of the people have forgotten something, forgotten that the symbol they are challenging in the name of democracy will be defended by the people of the South more quickly than they will defend symbolic democracy or symbolic America. Apparently also forgotten is that once southerners made a choice between America, on the one hand, and their deep South culture, on the other, and died defending the latter.

To understand the situation one must clearly realize all sides in the case and, without any corruption of logic, be proven "right." It is another case which depends on the perspective and premises of the investigator.

But most important is the fact that, if the issues of race equality are drawn tight, regardless of the right or wrong of the cause, the way of life of twenty-seven million Americans is challenged.

Chief hate generators and objects of widespread denunciation are Mrs. Roosevelt and NAACP's Walter White. These names automatically headlined conversations held with well over two hundred persons in the upper professional groups of the state during the last week in July.

Noteworthy was the fact that conversation ran clearly in two different veins. The favorite topic and most heated discussion was the concern over what outsiders, particularly the two mentioned above, were doing to force a racial equality on the South.

Strangely, and then not so strangely, was the observation that the action of Alabama's Frank Dixon rarely called for any comment until people were pointedly questioned. His reaction was taken for granted.

Concerning the deep resentment toward outsiders, however, there could be no mistaking the symptoms. An index to the widespread activity and notice being demanded by the NAACP was the almost universal mention of Walter White. The chief issue most people had with White, aside from that of raising the white supremacy issue, was the unfairness of the Negro leader manifest in trying to force a social revolution in this country amid the tensions of a world war.

They would leave no doubt, however, as to the impossibility of such an accomplishment now or ever. The famous Ethridge statement was time and again unknowingly endorsed.

The NAACP was nearly always conversationally tied in with the Fair Employment Practices Committee. "The Yankee niggers who know nothing about the South and who go partying around Washington getting money and political support out of Mrs. Roosevelt's hand are stirring up something they can't finish."

Then there would inevitably follow a condemnation of the FEPC as a tool devised to force the Negro into positions of equal standing with the whites.

Mrs. Roosevelt's name would always be mentioned and, in most cases, particularly in conversation with men, would be heatedly plastered with a remarkable variety of profanity. Most vivid in the minds of the Alabamians was the "Nashville incident" concerning the attempt to put Negroes and whites in the same hotel during the Southern Congress on Human Welfare.

Rarely was there any voluntary mention of Frank Dixon's hard hitting attack on Washington's alleged attempt to force social reform in the South through the use of "no discrimination" labor clauses in contracts.

But if questioned specifically regarding the action, most people praised Alabama's chief executive. It was obvious that very few persons had any inclination to objectively study the facts in the case.

Consequently, the Governor's charges and action in refusing to sign the WPB's contract calling for state prison manufacture of cloth for the Army found widespread approval. Very few persons questioned his motives.

The press in Alabama, with the exception of the Montgomery Advertiser's outright attack on the Governor, and the Birmingham News' half-hearted support of the Advertiser, dogmatically backed the Dixon action. Concerning the Executive's stand, Selma's Times-Journal editorially announced "a champion arises."

The people undoubtedly accepted Dixon's action as a natural outcome of the situation which is being forced on the South. It seemed that many were relieved that he had taken such a stand. Others might easily have voiced some disagreement if he had not struck hard and bluntly at the federal administration.

Along with the support of Dixon has gone a new sort of admiration for Georgia's Talmadge. This definitely did not exist six months ago. Although Talmadge is generally branded as a damn fool by most Alabamians, many are quick to qualify their opinions toward some degree of approval regarding his stand on the alleged attempt to educate white and Negro side by side in a state institution.

In this connection, it appears significant that up until August 3, no statement of condemnation or approval of the Dixon action had been issued by Columnist John Temple Graves. Instead, he categorically announced Bankhead's appeal to the Federal Government to train northern Negro troops in their own region and to encamp southern Negro troops in the South.

All these facts seemed to come to a head in the universal answer, "Yes," to a question as to whether there was any real danger of some form of mob action now or in the near future.

When asked why they thought trouble was likely to break out, several Alabama Extension Service workers stated, "Just because the State is hot, the people are mad, but not with any special person, unless it's Mrs. Roosevelt; they just know that they aren't going to let any 'niggers' run over the white people.

"The trouble is that some of the good niggers are going to get hurt, and hurt bad, just because some high yellow in the North has stirred up both the whites and the blacks down here.

"Think what would happen," they said, "if one county here in the state was to start having trouble, a county where there are 27 white families and 1,000 Negro families. There would be a hell of a lot of shooting and a lot of nigger funerals."

A stock report heard many times in conversation never failed to stir threats from the spokesmen or the group listening. According to the story, a Negro man had commented to the effect that it was all right for all the white men to be carried off to war because the nigger men could take care of the white women. The Negro was said to have made the statement in the presence of white men who took the Negro out and beat him until he almost died.

This story was heard at least six times on different occasions. Oddly, however, nearly each time it was related, the incident took place in a different locality. No one could absolutely verify the story.

Outstanding for its simplicity and clear expression of mass feeling was a statement made by an English professor in an Alabama college. While drinking a coca cola at a corner drugstore, popular to the local soda stand cowboys, the well-educated professor expressed his opinion on the "total democracy or nothing" drive being fostered by certain Negro leaders.

"That's just damn foolishness; those black boys are wrong from the very start. I'm not foolish enough to think that all men are created equal and should have equal rights. 'Niggers' are just not as good as whites; they are not equals! Total democracy, hell, that doesn't exist anywhere. And as for that 'all or nothing' stuff, that's what they are likely to get, and the results will be that they end up with a far sight less than they have now. When we get through putting these black boys back in their place, there's going to be a lot less of them around."

In spite of the fact that there was much talk and much heat generated by some of the speakers, it must be strongly emphasized that there appeared to be a glaring lack of actual incidents of friction between the races. The consensus, though, firmly established the belief that the "niggers" were getting entirely too "smart" and "uppitish." There was no division of opinion as to the likelihood of mob action. It was believed to be inevitable.

To try and find any single path to an understanding of the race problem today is, of course, impossible. And, likewise, there is no single answer. Cause and effect become almost hopelessly lost in a tangled maze of prejudice, ignorance, and emotionally-bred misunderstanding by both Negro and white.

Even in the face of the problems arising in army camps throughout the nation, I do not believe that the race situation in the South would have come to any head if the activities of certain outside interests had not been projected. In fact, general improvement of race relations seemed to be in sight.

The aggressive attitude of certain Negro leaders in the Northeast, filtered into the South through smart journalism so prevalent in sensationalized Negro news organs, seems to be having a double effect.

It is serving to stir the Negro element, but at the same time it is bringing the whites to the margin beyond which tension will be in a state requiring only the slightest incident to touch off violence.

Here the Negro leaders' error is not realizing when to stop. But their actions have been well implemented by Mrs. Roosevelt and others, much national publicity, and much fabrication of actual facts.

Alabama well proves this fact. Violence is expected by the whites not so much because of what has happened but because of a state of mind that has been bred by state and national publicity. This was clearly evident.

Frank Dixon became a state-wide hero when he rebuked the Federal Government. In upper circles, the stand taken by the Montgomery Advertiser was thought to be silly and adolescent. It would appear that in all probability the same attitudes might exist in the lower socio-economic groups. There are no facts available, however.

Nor is it a matter of Christianity or belief in democracy. Here the outside agitators miss the point altogether. White supremacy symbolically exists on another level from such symbols. Consequently, it is to err to flash them in front of the southerner.

The error lies in giving the southerner a hypothetical choice with democracy and Christianity, on the one hand, and "white supremacy," on the other. To him there is no such dividing line. He believes in all three. And this is an important key to the way of life in the South, a key that is seldom found by outsiders.

AND STILL THEY COME

Since these rumors have been collected, it is possible still to gather hundreds of others, some like them, some quite different, some more fantastic and terrifying than the ones quoted. They are reported by people in all the walks of life, and perhaps they are heard by the upper brackets as much as the lower brackets.

Stories of what is happening also multiply. Tensions grow, stubbornness and determination increase, North, South, white, black. Little reason is manifest.

It is not enough to say that the rumors are fantastic, silly, unfounded. Whatever else they are they are the essence of realism. The southern people are afraid. Most of the incidents reported have happened.

It is not enough to say that many of the rumors are started by the whites. In so far as it is true, that is still a part of the realism. However, anyone who knows folklore and folk language and anyone who is close to the Negro knows that in some form or other, at some time or other, all of the things ascribed to the Negro as being said have been said. Even if most of the "big talk" has been among themselves, often as a matter of innocence, braggadocio, and profanity, when heard by the whites the effect is still realistic.

It is not enough to talk and speak learnedly about the Freudian

complex of the South. Perhaps no one has an inclination to deny any of the varied complexes. That makes it even more realistic, and learned discussions have little to do with the problems in hand.

It is not enough for the South to say that the North has accentuated the trend and caused a lot of trouble. In so far as that might be true, that still is the essence of the situation.

Even since these things have been written, the Governor of Alabama, invited to give a Founders' Day talk at Tuskegee, says boldly and frankly that segregation is the main issue at stake and that the Negroes and whites always have been and always will be segregated.

And so on and on. It seems quite likely that every accusation made by every different group may be easily accepted as the truth. When this is said and done, however, it only adds to the complexity of the situation.

THE TWOFOLD NEED: CONTINUED STUDY AND PLANNED DIRECTIVES

This present work memorandum is a preliminary one, more or less confidential, full of pathos and tragedy, full of humor and folk naivete, full of drama in the grand manner. There is plenty of literature and there is plenty of life in it, plenty of tragedy in the making.

The next immediate step is interpretation of these rumors in relation to as many elemental factors as possible and a wise consideration as to what is the best use to make of them and how much further the study should continue.

The rumors and stories were gathered from practically every part of every Southeastern State. They were gathered and reported by college and university professors, from students whose reports came not from the campuses but the hinterlands of the different college constituencies. They have been checked and rechecked from people in the several levels of life. There is no

doubt, therefore, that they are representative and realistic in every sense of the word.

There is no inclination to treat them statistically and no need to check them for authenticity, except in so far as special studies and facts and situations in specific communities may be made in order to carry the factual study further and to check up on trends and activities that need to be checked. From a statistical viewpoint the examples are not scientific samplings at all, nor is there any reason why that type of statistical study should be made, except as it would be profitable to test the statistical method and contribute to a scientific methodology.

The final answer does not now appear.

STATE OF GEORGIA

OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE

I, John B. Wilson, Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, do hereby certify that

"SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC."

was on the 6th day of January, 1944, duly incorporated under the laws of the State of Georgia by the Superior Court of Fulton County for a period of thirty-five years from said date, in accordance with the certified copy hereto attached, and that a certified copy of the charter of said corporation has been duly filed in the office of the Secretary of State and the fees therefor paid, as provided by law.

(SEAL)
STATE OF GEORGIA
1776

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, at the Capitol, in the City of Atlanta, this 7th day of January, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Forty-four and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Sixty-eight.

JOHN B. WILSON
Secretary of State, Ex-Officio Corporation Commissioner of the State of Georgia.

STATE OF GEORGIA,
FULTON COUNTY.

TO THE SUPERIOR COURT OF SAID COUNTY:

The Petition of DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, RALPH McGILL, BISHOP ARTHUR J. MOORE, DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON, and DR. HOWARD W. ODUM respectfully shows:

1.

That they desire for themselves, their associates and successors, to be incorporated under the name and style of

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

for a period of thirty-five (35) years, with the privilege of renewal at the expiration thereof, and from time to time, as is now or may hereafter be provided by law.

2.

The principal office and place of business of said Corporation shall be located in the City of Atlanta, County of Fulton, State of Georgia. The Corporation desires the privilege of establishing branch offices elsewhere, either within or without the State of Georgia, as may be desired.

3.

Said Corporation shall not be organized or operated for pecuniary gain or profits to its members, and shall have no capital stock.

4.

The objects and purposes of said Corporation are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain a Regional Council for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts towards regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, State, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.

5.

The Corporation shall have the right to receive donations, endowments, devises and bequests, and shall enjoy all rights and powers, and be subject to all limitations, of the Corporation Act of the State of Georgia, approved January 28, 1938, and all Amendments thereto, which may hereafter be adopted, excepting those rights, powers and limitations relating to capital stock, and other matters not pertinent to its organization.

6.

The membership of said Corporation shall be self-perpetuating, and shall be composed of the Incorporators, and such others as said Incorporators shall, at any time after the organization of said Corporation, designate, according to such Rules and By-Laws as may be adopted by said Corporation. The Incorporators, and such other members as may be elected at the first Incorporators Meeting, shall be designated as "Charter Members" of the Corporation.

7.

The rights of any member in the Corporation shall not be assignable or transferable, and his rights shall cease with his death, resignation, or termination of membership for any cause.

8.

All corporate meetings, whether of the members or of the Board of Directors or of any other bodies established by the Corporation, may be held either within or without the State of Georgia.

9.

The Corporation may at any time, by the affirmative vote of a majority of the members of the Corporation, amend, either in form or in substance, its By-Laws and Charter, or either of them, and for any reason, approved by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the Corporation, sell and dispose of any or all of its assets, and dissolve and liquidate its affairs.

10.

The name and post office address of each of the Incorporators are as follows:

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia,
Mr. Ralph McGill, 3399 Piedmont Road, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia,
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, 1976 North Decatur Road, Atlanta, Georgia,
Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

11.

If and when said Corporation, for any reason whatever, shall liquidate or cease to exist as a body corporate, or to function as an eleemosynary organization, the title to all property, money and effects, of whatever kind or character, of such Corporation, after discharging its own obligations and liabilities, shall vest in some organization having ideals and a program similar to those of said Corporation, such organization to be designated by said Corporation before its dissolution.

WHEREFORE, petitioners pray to be incorporated under the name and style aforesaid, with all the powers, privileges and immunities herein set forth, and as are now, or may hereafter be, allowed a Corporation of similar character under the laws of Georgia.

(S) HAAS, LYONS & HURT
Attorneys for Petitioners,
601 Haas-Howell Building, Atlanta, Ga.

ORDER

The foregoing Petition of Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Ralph McGill, Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Dr. Charles S. Johnson and Dr. Howard W. Odum, praying that they be incorporated under the name and style of

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.,

having been presented to the Court, and it appearing that the Application is legitimately within the purview and intention of the laws of this State, and that the name of the proposed Corporation is not the name of any other existing Corporation registered on the records of the Secretary of State,

IT IS ORDERED AND ADJUDGED that the Application of said Petitioners be granted, and that the said Petitioners, and their successors and assigns, be, and they hereby are, made and constituted a body corporate under the name and style of

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.,

for a period of thirty-five (35) years, with the privilege of renewals, and with all the rights, powers, privileges and immunities allowed corporations by the laws of this State.

This 6th day of January, 1944.

FRANK A. HOOPER, JR.

JUDGE SUPERIOR COURTS ATLANTA CIRCUIT.

Filed in Office, This the

6 day of January, 1944.

D. W. Brown
Deputy Clerk

BY-LAWS OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

As adopted at the Charter Meeting, Atlanta, February 16-17, 1944.

ARTICLE I. NAME AND AREA

Section 1. Name. The name of this organization shall be the Southern Regional Council, Incorporated. The terms "Council" or "Corporation" used hereafter in these by-laws shall mean the "Southern Regional Council, Inc."

Section 2. Area. For the purposes of this corporation the Southern Region shall be defined as embracing the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. All members of the corporation shall be residents of this area.

ARTICLE II. MEMBERS

Section 1. Members. The members of the corporation shall consist of the incorporators, charter members, and such other persons as may be elected to membership by the members or by the Board of Directors, according to such rules and regulations as shall be provided by the Board. Members shall pay such dues as may be prescribed and may be dropped for non-payment of dues under such conditions as may be provided. The rights of any member in said corporation shall not be assignable or transferable, and his rights shall cease with his death, resignation, or termination of membership for any cause.

Section 2. Associates. Associates of the corporation shall consist of persons living outside the region who subscribe to the principles of the Council and who are elected by the Board of Directors, according to such rules and regulations as shall be provided by the Board.

Section 3. Annual Meetings. The Corporation shall hold annually a meeting of its members for the election of directors and for the transaction of general business at its principal office in Atlanta at ten o'clock A. M. on the second Wednesday in October in each year, if not a legal holiday, or at such other place and such other time within sixty days as may be designated by the Executive Committee provided notice of such meeting, including day, hour, and place, shall be given each member of the Council in writing at least thirty days in advance. Such annual meetings shall be general meetings; that is to say, open for the transaction of any business within the powers of the corporation without special notice of such business.

Section 4. Special Meetings. At any time in the interval between annual meetings, special meetings of the members may be called by the President, Vice President, or any ten (10) directors or any twenty-five (25) members.

Section 5. Notice of Meetings. Written or printed notice of every annual or special meeting of the members shall be given to each member of record on the date for the determination of members entitled to notice of such meeting, by leaving the same with him or at his residence or usual place of business, or by mailing it, postage prepaid, and addressed to him at his address, as it appears upon the books of the corporation, at least ten (10) days before such meeting. Notice of every special meeting shall state the place, day, and hour of such meeting and in general terms the business proposed to be transacted thereat. Failure to give notice of any annual meeting, or any irregularity in such notice, shall not affect the validity of any annual meeting, or of any proceedings at any such meeting. It shall not be requisite to the validity of any meeting of members that notice thereof shall have been given to any member who attends in person or by proxy, or if absent waives notice thereof in writing filed with the records of the meeting either before or after the holding thereof. No notice of an adjourned meeting of members need be given.

Section 6. Quorum. At all meetings of members the presence, in person or by proxy, of not less than one-fourth of the entire membership, shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but in the absence of a quorum the members present in person or by proxy at the time and place fixed by Section 3 of this Article II for an annual meeting, or fixed by the notice of a special meeting, or at the time and place of any adjournment thereof, by majority vote may adjourn the meeting from time to time, but not for a period of over sixty days at any one time, without notice other than by announcement at the meeting, until a quorum shall attend. At any such adjourned meeting at which a quorum shall be present, any business may be transacted which might have been transacted at the meeting as originally notified.

Section 7. Voting. Each member shall have one vote and, except in cases in which it is by the charter or by these by-laws otherwise provided, a majority of the votes cast shall be sufficient to elect and to pass any measure.

Section 8. Proxies. Any member entitled to vote at any meeting of members may vote either in person or by proxy. All proxies shall be given to members of this body only, and each one shall designate the name of the member or members who shall act as proxy. Every proxy shall be in writing, subscribed by the member, or his duly authorized attorney, and dated, but need not be sealed, witnessed, or acknowledged. Proxies shall be delivered to the Secretary of the corporation before such meeting or to the inspectors at the meeting.

ARTICLE III. FELLOWS AND AFFILIATES.

Section 1. Fellows. The Board of Directors may award honorary fellowships, not exceeding one hundred (100) in number, to Southerners who have demonstrated exceptional talent for constructive leadership. Fellows shall be chosen in such manner as the Board of Directors may prescribe, provided they are well distributed as to race, sex, creed, occupation, and place of residence. The duties of fellows shall be to cooperate with the Council as observers, advisers, correspondents, and special representatives. Fellows may receive such honoraria or reimbursement of expenses incurred at the request of the Executive Committee as the Board may direct. The term of a fellowship shall be for two years, unless otherwise provided by the Board of Directors, and fellowships may be renewed or withdrawn at the discretion of the Board. Fellows need not be members of the corporation at the time of their appointment, but they shall, during the term of their fellowship, be members with all the rights and obligations of members, except that they shall be exempted from the payment of dues.

Section 2. Affiliates. Organized groups or agencies whose aims and methods are, in whole or in substantial part, similar to the aims and methods of the Southern Regional Council may, at the discretion of the Board of Directors, become affiliates of the Council upon such conditions as the Board of Directors may prescribe.

ARTICLE IV. BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Section 1. Election and Powers. The business and property of the corporation, except as otherwise provided by statute, by the charter, or by these by-laws, shall be conducted and managed by its Board of Directors, whose actions shall be subject to revision and alteration at the next meeting of the members, provided that no rights of third persons shall be affected by any such revision or alteration. The President, the Vice Presidents, the Executive Director, and the Associate Executive Director shall be ex officio members of the Board of Directors. All other members of the Board of Directors shall be elected by the members at their annual meeting, and the directors who are elected at the first meeting of members after incorporation and such directors as may be added by the Board at its first meeting shall be divided by lot in such way that the terms of one-fourth shall expire at the second annual meeting of the Board of Directors, October, 1945, one-fourth at the third annual meeting, one-fourth at the fourth annual meeting, and the remainder at the fifth annual meeting. Each director elected at any subsequent meeting of the Board shall hold office for four years, and until his successor shall have been duly chosen and qualified, or until he shall have resigned, or shall have been removed in the manner provided in Section 9 of this Article IV. No elected director shall serve more than two consecutive full terms of four years each. The number of the first Board of Directors shall not exceed forty (40), exclusive of ex-officio members, but the number of directors may be increased at the first meeting of the Board or at any subsequent time by the vote of a majority of the entire Board of Directors as then constituted to not exceeding seventy two (72), exclusive of ex officio members, and the vacancies thus created shall be filled by the Board of Directors in the manner provided in Section 8 of this Article IV. The Board of Directors shall keep full and fair accounts of its transactions.

Section 2. Regular Meetings. After each meeting of members of the corporation at which a Board of Directors shall have been elected, the Board of Directors so elected shall meet as soon as practicable for the transaction of business, at such time and place as may be designated by the members of the corporation at such meeting. No notice of such first meeting shall be necessary if held as hereinbefore provided.

Section 3. Additional Regular Meetings. In addition to the first regular meeting, regular meetings of the Board of Directors shall be held on such dates as may be fixed, from time to time, by the Board of Directors.

Section 4. Special Meetings. Special meetings of the Board of Directors shall be held whenever called by the President or as may be provided by the Board of Directors.

Section 5. Place of Meetings. Subject to the provision of Section 2 of this Article IV, the Board of Directors shall hold its regular and special meetings at such place or places within or without the State of Georgia as it may from time to time determine. In the absence of any such determination, such regular and special meetings of the Board of Directors shall be held at the main office of the corporation in Atlanta.

Section 6. Notice of Meetings. Notice of the place, day, and hour of every regular and special meeting shall be given to each director not less than ten (10) days before the meeting, by delivering the same to him personally, or sending the same to him by telegraph or telephone or by leaving the same at his residence or usual place of business, or, in the alternative, upon three days' notice, or by mail, postage prepaid, addressed to him at his last known post office address, according to the records of the corporation. It shall not be requisite to the validity of any meeting of the Board of Directors that notice thereof shall have been given to any director who is present thereat, or if absent waives notice thereof in writing filed with the records of the meeting either before or after the holding thereof. No notice of any adjourned meeting of the Board of Directors need be given.

Section 7. Quorum. Fifteen members of the Board of Directors shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at every meeting of the Board of Directors; but if at any meeting there be less than a quorum present, a majority of those present may adjourn the meeting from time to time, but not for a period of over fifteen (15) days at any one time, without notice other than by announcement at the meeting until a quorum shall attend. At any such adjourned meeting at which a quorum shall be present, any business may be transacted which might have been transacted at the meeting as originally notified.

Section 8. Vacancies. In case of any vacancy in the Board of Directors, through death, resignation, or any cause other than removal by the members, the remaining directors may elect a successor to hold office for the unexpired portion of the term of the director whose place shall be vacant and until his successor shall have been duly chosen and qualified. The Board of Directors may fill any vacancy created by an increase in the number of directors.

Section 9. Removal. At any meeting of the members called for the purpose any director may, by a majority of votes cast, be removed from office for cause, and another be appointed in the place of the person so removed to serve for the remainder of his term.

ARTICLE V. COMMITTEES

Section 1. Executive Committee. The Board of Directors shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than seven (7) members in addition to the President and Vice President, who shall be ex officio members, selected from the membership of the Board in such way as the Board may determine. The Executive Committee shall serve during the pleasure of the Board of Directors and may be discharged and the Committee abolished at any time by the Board of Directors. Unless one of the members shall have been designated as Chairman by the Board of Directors, the Executive Committee shall elect a chairman from its own number. During the intervals between the meetings of the Board of Directors the Executive Committee shall possess and may exercise all of the powers of the Board of Directors in the management of the business and affairs of the corporation, conferred by these by-laws or otherwise, in all cases in which specific directions shall not have been given by the Board of Directors. The Executive Committee shall keep full and fair accounts of its transactions. All action by the Executive Committee shall be reported to the Board of Directors at its meeting next succeeding such action, and shall be subject to revision and alterations by the Board of Directors; provided that no rights of third persons shall be affected by any such revision or alteration. Vacancies in the Executive Committee shall be filled by the Board of Directors.

Section 2. Meetings of Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall fix its own rules of procedure and shall meet as provided by such rules or by resolution of the Board of Directors, and it shall also meet at the call of the Chairman or of any three members of the Committee. A quorum of the Executive Committee shall be constituted of such number as may be determined by the Board of Directors but not fewer than four (4) members, exclusive of ex officio members.

Section 3. National Advisory Committee. The Board of Directors may establish a National Advisory Committee, composed of persons who reside outside the area of the Southern Regional Council and who are sympathetic with the aims and policies of the Council, whose purpose shall be to advise the Council on matters pertaining to the coordination of its work with similar organizations operating outside of the Council area.

Section 4. Other Committees. The Board of Directors may by resolution provide for such other standing or special committees as it deems desirable and may discontinue the same at pleasure. Each such committee shall have such powers and perform such duties, not inconsistent with these by-laws, as may be assigned to it by the Board of Directors. If provision be made for any such committee, the members thereof shall be appointed by the Board of Directors. Vacancies in such committees shall be filled by the Board of Directors, or by such committee or officer as the Board may authorize to fill such vacancies.

ARTICLE VI. OFFICERS

Section 1. Executive Officers. The executive officers of the corporation shall be a President, one or more Vice Presidents, an Executive Director, and Associate Executive Director, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. The President and the Vice Presidents shall be chosen from among the members of the corporation. The Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director need not be members at the time of their election, but, by virtue of their office, shall become members of the corporation and of the Board with all the privileges of Board members, except that they may not be members of the Executive Committee of the Board. The Secretary and the Treasurer need not be members, and the offices of Secretary and Treasurer may be held by the same person. The executive officers shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at its first meeting following the annual meeting of members, and each such officer shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year and until his successor shall have been fully chosen and qualified, or until he shall have resigned or shall have been removed, in the manner provided in Section 13 of this Article VI. Any vacancy in any of the above offices shall be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Board of Directors, at any regular or special meeting.

Section 2. President. The President of the corporation shall also serve as chairman of the Board of Directors. He shall, when present, preside at all meetings of members and of Board of Directors, and he shall perform such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Board of Directors.

Section 3. First Vice President. At the request of the President, or in his absence, or disability, the first Vice President shall perform all the duties of the President; and when so acting shall have the powers of the President; and shall perform such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Board of Directors.

Section 4. Additional Vice Presidents. Each additional Vice President, if any, shall perform the duties of the office in order of his rank and shall have such powers and perform such duties as may be assigned to him by the Board of Directors.

Section 5. Executive Director. The Executive Director shall be charged with the execution of the program and policies of the Council as defined by the Board of Directors, and shall be responsible directly to the Board of Directors. He shall have general charge and supervision of the employed personnel of the Council; he may sign and execute, in the name of the corporation, all authorized deeds, mortgages, bonds, contracts, or other instruments, except in cases in which the signing and execution thereof shall have been expressly delegated to some other officer or agent of the corporation; and he shall perform such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the Executive Committee or by the Board of Directors.

Section 6. Associate Executive Director. The Associate Executive Director shall work in cooperation with the Executive Director in the administration of the program and policies of the Council. At the request of the Executive Director, or in case of his absence, or disability, the Associate Executive Director shall perform the duties of the Executive Director, and he shall perform such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Executive Committee or by the Board of Directors.

Section 7. Secretary. The Secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings of the members, of the Board of Directors, and of the Executive Committee, in books provided for the purpose; he shall see that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these by-laws, or as required by law; he shall be custodian of the records and of the corporate seal or seals of the corporation; he shall see that the corporate seal is affixed to all documents, the execution of which, on behalf of the corporation, under its seal, is duly authorized, and when so affixed may attest the same; and, in general, he shall perform all duties incident to the office of a secretary of a corporation, and such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Board of Directors or the by-laws.

Section 8. Treasurer. The Treasurer shall have charge of and be responsible for all funds, securities, receipts and disbursements of the corporation, and shall deposit, or cause to be deposited, in the name of the corporation, all moneys or other valuable effects in such banks, trust companies, or other depositaries as shall, from time to time, be selected by the Board of Directors; he shall render to the President and to the Board of Directors annually, and at other times whenever requested, an account of the financial condition of the corporation; and, in general, shall perform all the duties incident to the office of a treasurer of a corporation, and such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Board of Directors.

Section 9. Controller. The office of Controller may be created by the Board of Directors, and the duties and authority of such officer shall be fixed by the Board.

Section 10. Counsel. The office of Counsel may be created by the Board of Directors, and the duties and authority of such officer shall be fixed by the Board.

Section 11. Assistant Officers. The Board of Directors may elect one or more Assistant Secretaries and one or more Assistant Treasurers. Each Assistant Secretary, if any, and each Assistant Treasurer, if any, shall hold office for such period and shall have such authority and perform such duties as the Board of Directors may prescribe.

Section 12. Subordinate Officers. The Board of Directors may elect such subordinate officers as it may deem desirable. Each such officer shall hold office for such period, have such authority, and perform such duties as the Board of Directors may prescribe. The Board of Directors may, from time to time, authorize any officer to appoint and remove subordinate officers and prescribe the powers and duties thereof.

Section 13. Removal. Any officer or agent of the corporation may be removed, with or without cause, by a vote of a majority of the entire Board of Directors at a meeting called for that purpose, or by an officer upon whom such power of removal may have been conferred.

ARTICLE VII. FINANCE

Section 1. Checks, Drafts, etc. All checks, drafts, or orders for the payment of money, notes, and other evidences of indebtedness, issued in the name of the corporation, shall, unless otherwise provided by the Board of Directors, be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Executive Director or the Associate Executive Director.

Section 2. Fiscal Year. The fiscal year of the corporation shall be the calendar year, unless otherwise provided by the Board of Directors.

Section 3. Board of Trust. The Board of Directors may, if by them deemed advisable, elect and establish a Board of Trustees, who need not be members of the corporation, with such powers and consisting of such number of members as the Board of Directors may determine, for the purpose of holding as trustee for the corporation the legal title to property or money donated to or otherwise acquired by the corporation, as an endowment fund, and of investing, reinvesting and otherwise meeting the requirements and conditions attached to such donations that have been approved and accepted by the Board of Directors. Separate Boards of Trustees may be so established, for separate endowments, so that there may be a number of such boards if necessary or proper. Vacancies on such Boards shall be filled by the Board of Directors, or as provided in the trust where such provisions are included therein.

ARTICLE VIII. SUNDRY PROVISIONS

Section 1. Seal. The corporate seal of the corporation shall bear the name of the corporation and the words, "Incorporated 1944, Georgia."

Section 2. Bonds. The Board of Directors may bond any officer, agent, or employee of the corporation, conditioned upon the faithful discharge of his duties, with one or more sureties and in such amount as may be satisfactory to the Board of Directors.

Section 3. Audit of Books. An audit of the books of the corporation shall be made at least annually by a certified public accountant to be selected by the Board of Directors or by some officer of the corporation authorized by the Board of Directors to make such selection.

Section 4. Amendments. These by-laws, or any of them, may be altered or repealed, and new by-laws may be adopted at any annual meeting of the members, or at any special meeting called for that purpose, by the vote of a majority of the members represented in person or by proxy and entitled to vote thereat.

Copy for Mr. Guy B. Johnson

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

January 25, 1944

In accordance with the instructions of the first organization meeting of the Southern Regional Council on November 27, the temporary Executive Committee, which was authorized at that time, met in Atlanta on Saturday January 8 and fixed the date for the full meeting of the Board for Wednesday and Thursday February 16-17. We are, therefore, calling a meeting to convene at 2:30 o'clock Wednesday afternoon in the Conference Room of the Administration Building of Atlanta University, 223 Chestnut Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

Dr. William E. Cole, whose election to the directorship of the Council was recommended at the November meeting, found it impossible to break away from his duties at the University of Tennessee and TVA. At the meeting of the Executive Committee on January 8, therefore, Dr. Guy B. Johnson, well known as professor and author from Chapel Hill and member of the Board of Trustees of Howard University, was elected Executive Director of the Council on full time. The election of Dr. Johnson has met with enthusiastic approval, in both North and South, and carries with it the enthusiastic support of Dr. Cole and the group at the TVA. Dr. Ira DeA. Reid's previous appointment as Associate Director on part time was confirmed. Miss Emily H. Clay was elected Secretary and Comptroller. All these officials have accepted and have bogun their work. Provisions have been made for monies to be transferred from three or four of the contributing sources. You will be glad to know, also, that the Southern Regional Council has been duly chartered.

You will recall that the business for our February meeting includes the completion of a full list of Board members not to exceed 75, of which approximately one-third will be selected from the general fields of business, industry, labor, agriculture, and the professions of law and medicine; the further consideration of establishing 100 honorary fellowships and of beginning the selection of fellows; the further consideration of a national advisory council and its election; and the adoption of various items in the program being prepared by the Executive Directors of the Council to be presented at that time.

We feel that this is a moment of great importance and for great enthusiasm, and we hope that a full attendance may be had. Expenses of the Board will be paid by the Council. In order that accommodations may be arranged for you, please let Miss Clay know at the earliest possible moment whether or not you will be present and when you plan to arrive.

Cordially yours,

Chas. S. Johnson

CHARLES S. JOHNSON

Howard W. Odum

HOWARD W. ODUM

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

February 7, 1944

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE
TEMPORARY BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Our Counsel has advised us that in order to become duly "organized" under our Charter we must follow these procedures: (1) The Incorporators must designate the charter members and (2) the charter members must meet, adopt by-laws, and elect officers and directors. The Incorporators (Dr. Odum, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Dr. Clement, Bishop Moore, and Mr. McGill) are designating as charter members all members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and all active participants in one or more of the conferences leading to the formation of the Council. This means that quite a number of people are being invited to the February 16-17 meeting in addition to the thirty-nine members of the temporary Board of Directors. This will make the meeting a true "charter member" meeting.

In the first session, beginning on the afternoon of February 16, we shall all be meeting as charter members to work out the by-laws and government of the Council. It is anticipated that the meeting will ratify the various pre-incorporation actions of the Board and of the Executive Committee and make them actions of the incorporated Council, so that the temporary Board of Directors would, in all probability, become the duly elected first Board of Directors of the corporation. After these matters are disposed of, the Directors will meet for the election of officers of the Board, the election of committees, etc.

I give you this information so that you will understand what procedures will be followed and why the charter meeting will have a considerably larger attendance than we originally expected. Because of the larger attendance, the meeting will be held in the Exhibition Room of the Library Building of Atlanta University, 273 Chestnut Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, instead of in the Administration Building.

I am enclosing some materials which Dr. Reid and I have prepared as a basis for the discussion of by-laws, program, and methods for the Council. Please give them your thoughtful attention and bring them with you to the meeting. on February 16.

Since we must have a majority of charter members present, in person or by proxy, please indicate your acceptance of charter membership and fill in the proxy blank which is enclosed.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

February 11, 1944

President A. W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans 19
Louisiana

My dear President Dent:

I am sorry that the reply to your letter has been so delayed. I am sending your suggestion along to Dr. Guy Johnson. It is a good one, the only question being that they are trying pretty hard to get the first organization facilitated. I think it would be well if we put Dr. Fletcher on the Board, and I hope you will nominate him when you are at the meeting. We need very much just such people as you have recommended.

With deep appreciation of all that you are doing.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Dear Guy:
If you think well of the idea please invite Mildred Mell to the afternoon or and/ evening meeting

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Atlanta, Georgia - March 22, 1944

The Executive Committee met in the Conference Room of the Atlanta University Administration Building at 11 o'clock Wednesday morning, March 22, 1944. The following members attended: Francis R. Bridges, Jr., Rufus E. Clement, Leonard Haas, T. James McNamara, and Miss Josephine Wilkins. Guy B. Johnson, Ira DeA. Reid, and Emily H. Clay from the Council's staff were also present.

Dr. Johnson reported that messages had been received from Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Dr. P. B. Young, Dr. H. P. Rainey, Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Dr. Howard W. Odum, and Mr. Carter Wesley expressing regret at their inability to be present.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

1. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr., be elected temporary chairman.

Mr. Bridges took the chair, after which the Committee discussed the selection of a permanent chairman.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

2. IT WAS VOTED that Dr. Charles S. Johnson be elected Chairman of the Executive Committee.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

3. IT WAS VOTED that Miss Emily H. Clay be elected secretary, ex officio.

The Committee recessed for lunch.

Afternoon Session

The meeting reconvened at 1:45 P. M.

After discussion, it was suggested that the Committee meet once a month, or at least every two months, until the annual meeting in October. The fourth Wednesday in each month was tentatively agreed upon as the regular date until October.

Dr. Johnson reported that a small committee had called on Bishop Moore to urge him to accept election to the presidency, but that the bishop felt that recent additions to his heavy church responsibilities would make it impossible for him to do justice to the office. He, therefore, regretfully declined the presidency.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

4. IT WAS VOTED that Dr. Howard W. Odum be asked to serve as president of the Council, at least until the annual meeting in October.

At the request of the Committee, Dr. Guy B. Johnson called Dr. Odum in Chapel Hill and received his consent to accept the presidency until the October meeting.

The election of additional members was discussed, but Mr. Leonard Haas called attention to the fact that only the members and the Board of Directors have the power to elect members of the Council.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

5. IT WAS VOTED that the voting membership shall be open to those who subscribe to the purpose of the Council, as stated in the Charter, and who pay annual dues of $1.00 or more.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

6. IT WAS VOTED that two other membership categories in addition to regular members be provided: Associates and Contributors, the Associates to be composed of people living outside the region who will subscribe to the statement, but who will not have the privilege of voting; Contributors, composed of people either within or without the region who will contribute to the Council, but who need not sign the statement and shall not have the privilege of voting.

Dr. Johnson reported that Mr. T. Wilson Wilmer, of Richmond, Virginia, who was elected to membership on the Council and the Board at the charter meeting, replied that he would be glad to become a member of the Council but regretted that he would not be able to serve on the Board.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

7. IT WAS VOTED that the Committee recommend to the Board the election of Bishop Arthur J. Moore to fill this vacancy in the Board of Directors.

Dr. Johnson called attention to the fact that Dr. Odum's election to the presidency had created another vacancy in the Board, since he would become a member ex officio. The Executive Directors were asked to bring recommendations to the next meeting of the Committee.

The relationship between the Council and existing state interracial groups within the region was discussed and, on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

8. IT WAS VOTED that further consideration be postponed until the next meeting of the Executive Committee and that the Executive Directors be asked to make a report at that time on the number of such committees; the size of each committee, if possible; what the relationship to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation has been; and to make a definite recommendation as to the relationship between the state groups and the Council.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

9. IT WAS VOTED that copies of the budget be sent to the Executive Committee, with administrative comments, and that the budget be approved finally at the next meeting of the Committee.

Dr. Johnson stated that additional personnel is needed as quickly as possible, especially someone for editorial and public relations work and someone to do field work.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

10. IT WAS VOTED that the two Executive Directors be empowered to employ necessary personnel, subject to the limitations of the budget.

Dr. Johnson reported that the Marvin Cox Associates had sought to enter into a contract with the Council for public relations work. It was the consensus, however, that the Council should not enter into commercial contract at this time.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

11. IT WAS VOTED that the question of publication of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, its size, format, etc., be left to the discretion of the two Executive Directors.

At the request of Dr. Johnson and Dr. Reid, and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

12. IT WAS VOTED that a Committee on Publications be set up to advise with the two Executive Directors relative to THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, pamphlets, and any other publications which the two Directors may recommend.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

13. IT WAS VOTED that the Board of Directors be polled and that each member be asked to name not less than three persons residing outside the area of the Southern Regional Council whom they would like to have become members of the National Advisory Committee.

Dr. Johnson reported that Bishop Moore had suggested that the Council might find it advisable to rent quarters in the Wesley Memorial Church Building, which is now being remodeled.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

14. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Directors be instructed to look into the situation and bring recommendations to the next meeting.

15. Following provision of the by-laws and instructions from the Board of Directors, lots were cast and the terms of members of the Board of Directors were arranged as follows:

To expire in October 1945: Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Rufus E. Clement, Ernest Delpit, Leonard Haas, J. R. E. Lee, E. A. McDowell, L. D. Milton, George S. Mitchell, F. D. Patterson, John Garland Pollard, Jr., G. D. Rogers, F. B. Washington.

To expire in October 1946: Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, H. M. Bond, Louis E. Burnham, Wm. E. Cole, Luther P. Jackson, Louis I. Jaffe, Howard W. Odum, Gerald P. O'Hara, Raymond R. Paty, Philip Shulhafer, Harold L. Trigg, Goodrich C. White, Josephine Wilkins.

To expire in October 1947: Wilson M. Brown, A. W. Dent, Clark Foreman, C. H. Gillman, Mrs. Henry Havens, R. B. Herbert, Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, Gordon B. Hancock, T. James McNamara, Vacancy, John H. Wheeler, F. C. Willcoxon.

To expire in October 1948: Will W. Alexander, Francis R. Bridges, Jr., Virginius Dabney, Charles S. Johnson, Ryland Knight, Benjamin E. Mays, Edmund H. Preston, James L. Robb, R. L. Russell, Edgar B. Stern, J. B. Stuart, Miss Florence Sytz, Mrs. M. E. Tilly.

Dr. Johnson asked that the Committee suggest a sub-title for the Southern Regional Council, to be used on the letterhead and in publications, in explanation of the purpose of the organization.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

16. IT WAS VOTED that the following statement from the Charter be adopted as a sub-title: "A council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South."

17. It was the sense of the Committee that the two Executive Directors should prepare a brief statement of policy, to be sent to members of the Executive Committee for comments and suggestions and later submitted to the full Board of Directors for final approval.

18. Dr. Johnson called attention to two articles, one by J. Saunders Redding and the other by Lillian Smith, in the spring issue of the magazine COMMON GROUND, severely criticizing the Southern Regional Council. He asked whether the Committee would approve of his writing a reply to these articles. It was the sense of the Committee that Dr. Johnson should prepare such an article for the summer issue of COMMON GROUND.

After tentatively approving April 26 as the date for its next meeting, the Committee adjourned.

Emily H. Clay

Secretary

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Meeting of Special Committee
Appointed to Select the Executive Committee

Atlanta, Georgia - February 17, 1944

The Special Committee appointed to select an Executive Committee met in the Conference Room of the Administration Building of Atlanta University at 2 o'clock Thursday afternoon, February 17, 1944. The following were present: Charles S. Johnson, Chairman, Gerald P. O'Hara, Rufus E. Clement, Gordon B. Hancock, P. B. Young, Guy B. Johnson, Ira DeA. Reid, Carter Wesley, and Emily H. Clay, Secretary.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

IT WAS VOTED that the following be elected to membership on the Executive Committee*:

Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
Rufus E. Clement
Gordon B. Hancock
Leonard Haas
Charles S. Johnson
T. James McNamara
Miss Josephine Wilkins

The Committee gave instructions that the members of the Board of Directors be notified of the election of the Executive Committee.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Emily H. Clay
Secretary

* The President and Vice presidents are ex officio members of the Executive Committee.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Atlanta, Georgia - February 17, 1944

The meeting of the Board of Directors was held in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library at 12 o'clock noon Thursday, February 17, 1944, with the following present:

Will W. Alexander
Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
Horace M. Bond
Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
Louis E. Burnham
Rufus E. Clement
Virginius Dabney
Ernest Delpit
Charles Gillman
Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton
Gordon B. Hancock
Mrs. Henry Havens
Luther P. Jackson
Charles S. Johnson
Guy B. Johnson
J. R. E. Lee
Benjamin E. Mays
T. James McNamara
Gerald P. O'Hara
Ira DeA. Reid
James L. Robb
G. D. Rogers
R. L. Russell
Philip Shulhafer
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Harold L. Trigg
Forrester B. Washington
Miss Josephine Wilkins
P. B. Young
Emily H. Clay, Secretary

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

1. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr., be elected temporary Chairman.

2. IT WAS VOTED that the report of the Committee on Nominations as read by Dr. Clement be adopted and that the officers be elected, as follows:

OFFICERS

President: Bishop Arthur J. Moore
Vice Presidents:
P. B. Young
Homer P. Rainey
Carter Wesley
Executive Director:
Guy B. Johnson
Associate Executive Director:
Ira DeA. Reid
Secretary-Treasurer:
Emily H. Clay

Mr. Bridges asked Mr. Young to take the chair.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

3. IT WAS VOTED that the membership of the Board of Directors be increased this year to not more than fifty, exclusive of the ex officio members.

The following were nominated from the floor for membership on the Board of Directors: J.R.E. Lee and Clark Foreman

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

4. IT WAS VOTED that the following be elected to the Board of Directors in addition to the forty elected at the meeting of the Council:

A. W. Dent
Lorimer D. Milton
George S. Mitchell
R. L. Russell
John H. Wheeler
Miss Florence Sytz
Charles Gillman
Ryland Knight
J. R. E. Lee
Clark Foreman

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

5. IT WAS VOTED that Z.A. Looby be considered for membership on the Board of Directors in the event of the declination of any member elected at this meeting.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

6. IT WAS VOTED that a committee composed of the President, the Chairman of the Committee on Nominations, the two Executive Directors, and such others as seem desirable be appointed to set up an Executive Committee.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

7. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee, when finally constituted, be empowered to proceed with such further details of organization and program as may be found pending and necessary.

The following committee was appointed by Mr. Young:

Charles S. Johnson, Chairman
Gerald P. O'Hara
Rufus E. Clement
Gordon B. Hancock
P. B. Young, ex officio
Guy B. Johnson, ex officio
Ira DeA. Reid, ex officio

Mr. Carter Wesley was invited to sit in with the committee.

Miss Wilkins asked what provision had been made for electing a president in the event Bishop Moore is unable to serve.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

8. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Committee be given authority to fill any vacancies which may occur among the officers on account of inability to accept election, from the President down.

Mr. Wesley asked whether it was understood that the Executive Directors had the authority to proceed to work with the state interracial committees. Dr. Reid replied that provision was made for this in the outlines for the Council's suggested program.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

9. IT WAS VOTED that the outline as to structure and program which was presented by the Executive Directors at the meeting of the Council be adopted.

Dr. Forrester Washington expressed the hope that the Executive Directors would not become grooved in the field of race relations, but that they would include in their activities economic affairs, etc.

The Special Committee appointed to select the Executive Committee was asked to meet in the Conference Room of the Administration Building at 2 P. M.

On motion duly seconded and unanimously carried-

10. IT WAS VOTED that the Executive Directors, in conjunction with the Executive Committee, be authorized to edit the by-laws and eliminate any conflicts that may appear.

Dr. Guy Johnson asked that the Board consider the matter of membership dues.

After discussion and on motion duly seconded-

11. IT WAS VOTED that the membership fee be a minimum of $1.00, and that there be other classes of membership to be agreed upon by the Executive Committee.

The meeting adjourned.

Emily H. Clay

Secretary

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
HOMER P. RAINEY, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

April 20, 1944

TO MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

I am sending you herewith the following materials: (1) minutes of the meeting of the Board of Directors, February 17; (2) minutes of the meeting of the special committee appointed to select the Executive Committee, February 17; (3) minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee, March 22; (4) copy of the charter; (5) copy of the by-laws. These materials should be useful to you in preparation for the meeting of the Board of Directors which will be held at 2:00 P. M. on Friday, April 28, in the Men's Lounge of the Atlanta University Dormitory, 50 Chestnut Street, S.W., instead of in the Exhibition Room of the Library Building as originally planned. The Executive Committee of the Board will meet on Friday at 9:30 A. M. at the Council headquarters, 710 Standard Building.

The Executive Committee will consider a number of things and will try to bring definite recommendations to the Board on the following matters in particular:

(1) Members: a resolution setting up the machinery for receiving new members. Since members can be elected only by the members or by the Board, it is necessary to authorize the executives or a committee to receive nominations and to invite persons to membership subject to confirmation at the annual meeting of the Council.
(2) Associates: a resolution defining their status, dues, etc.
(3) Fellows: nomination and election of fellows in accordance with the provisions of the by-laws.
(4) Affiliates: The by-laws permit affiliation by organizations, but this is a matter which has to be worked out carefully because it involves questions of legal relationship and voting rights.
(5) National Advisory Committee: Please note that the Executive Committee has requested each Board member to nominate three or more persons residing outside the Council area.
(6) Budget: formal approval of budget as submitted by the Executive Directors.
(7) Public statements: Does the Board wish to formulate or authorize the Executive Directors to formulate public statements of a constructive nature on such current issues as the white primary, poll tax, etc.?

There are various other items of a routine nature which should be acted upon in accordance with the provisions of the by-laws. It is very important that all these matters have the thoughtful attention of the members of the Board.

Looking forward to seeing you at the meeting, I am

Sincerely yours,

Guy B. Johnson

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
HOMER P. RAINEY, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

TO MEMBERS OF THE
BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

A few days ago I wrote you reminding you of the meeting of the Board of Directors at Atlanta on January 31.

This letter is in the way of urging you to attend if it is at all possible. In addition to the routine matters, it is very important that we discuss at length some of the fundamental issues at stake. Mr. Francis R. Bridges and Dean Walter Matherly have sent in their resignations and they have stated their positions clearly, frankly, and fairly. It is likely that there will be other resignations and it seems to me important for us to have a good conference together with some such democratic Americanism exemplified as we had in our last meeting.

The South is as it is and it is the only South we have. The nation is as it is and it is the only America that we have. Crises are emerging and emergencies are multiplying. I have been one of those who insisted that we should not have conferences and travel in these days except when necessary. This meeting, however, seems to be worthy of all that we could put in it. We must get together in some sort of strategy worthy of our opportunity.

It is likely that trains will be late and that some of you will not arrive until about noon. However, it seems best to begin promptly at 10:30 if there is a quorum, so that routine committee reports can be disposed of before noon. The more important matters will come in the afternoon.

Let us see what is the best we can do on the thirty-first.

Cordially yours,

Howard W. Odum

HOWARD W. ODUM
President

Chapel Hill, N. C.
January 15, 1945

January 19, 1945

Board

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
222 East Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Msgr. McNamara:

I think it is important that we hold a meeting of the Nominating Committee before the meeting of the Board of Directors. If it were not for travel conditions I would ask you to make a special trip for a meeting of the Committee. However, it seems hardly fair to ask you to come to Atlanta twice in the next two weeks so I am urging you to come on January 30, that is, the day preceding the meeting of the Board. We will meet at 2:30 P.M. in the conference room at the Council headquarters, Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue.

Cordially yours,

Mrs. Henry Havens

J:j

January 19, 1945

Board

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

I think that it is important that we have a meeting of the Nominating Committee before the meeting of the Board of Directors.

I am therefore calling a meeting of the committee on January 30, that is, the day before the meeting of the Board, at 2:30 P.M. in the conference room at the Council headquarters, Room 432, 64 Auburn Avenue.

Cordially yours,

(MRS. HENRY HAVENS)

J:j

January 19, 1945

Board

Dr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Jackson:

I think it is important that we hold a meeting of the Nominating Committee before the meeting of the Board of Directors. If it were not for travel conditions I would ask you to make a special trip for a meeting of the Committee. However, it seems hardly fair to ask you to come to Atlanta twice in the next two weeks so I am urging you to come on January 30, that is, the day preceding the meeting of the Board. We will meet at 2:30 P.M. in the conference room at the Council headquarters, Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue.

Cordially yours,

(MRS. HENRY HAVENS)

J:j

January 19, 1945

Board

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

I think it is important that we hold a meeting of the Nominating Committee before the meeting of the Board of Directors. If it were not for travel conditions I would ask you to make a special trip for a meeting of the Committee. However, it seems hardly fair to ask you to come to Atlanta twice in the next two weeks so I am urging you to come on January 30, that is, the day preceding the meeting of the Board. We will meet at 2:30 P.M. in the conference room at the Council headquarters, Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue.

Cordially yours,

(MRS. HENRY HAVENS)

J:j

January 19, 1945

Board

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

I think thatit is important that we hold a meeting of the Nominating Committee before the meeting of the Board of Directors.

I am therefore calling a meeting for January 30, that is the day before the meeting of the Board. We will meet at 2:30 P.M. in the conference room at the Council headquarters, Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue.

Cordially yours,

(MRS. HENRY HAVENS)

J:j

January 19, 1945

Board

Dr. Horace Mann Bond
Fort Valley State College
Fort Valley, Georgia

Dear Dr. Bond:

I think it is important that we hold a meeting of the Nominating Committee before the meeting of the Board of Directors. If it were not for travel conditions I would ask you to make a special trip for a meeting of the Committee. However, it seems hardly fair to ask you to come to Atlanta twice in the next two weeks so I am urging you to come on January 30, that is, the day preceding the meeting of the Board. We will meet at 2:30 P.M. in the conference room at the Council headquarters, Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue.

Cordially yours,

(MRS. HENRY HAVENS)

J:j

January 19, 1945

Board

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

I think it is important that we hold a meeting of the Nominating Committee before the meeting of the Board of Directors.

I am therefore calling a meeting for January 30, that is the day preceding the meeting of the Board. We will meet at 2:30 P.M. in the conference room at the Council headquarters, Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue.

Cordially yours,

(MRS. HENRY HAVENS)

J:j

Board

LETTER SENT TO ALL MEMBERS LISTED BELOW

January 8, 1945

Dr. Horace M. Bond
Fort Valley State College
Fort Valley, Georgia

Dear Dr. Bond:

I am asking the following to serve as a Nominating Committee to report at the meeting of our Board of Directors in Atlanta on January 31. This is a rather large committee, but, with a nucleus in Atlanta and nearby, perhaps it can have a meeting before the thirty-first if necessary.

Mrs. Henry Havens, Chairman
Dr. Horace M. Bond
Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Mr. Leonard Haas
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Dr. Luther P. Jackson
Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
Msgr. T. James McNamara
Miss Josephine Wilkins

It is hoped that this committee will study our situation carefully and see if we can strengthen our leadership in the total roster of officers. It is the function of the committee to nominate all officers and members of the executive staff.

With best wishes for a happy New Year,

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM
President

1945 JAN 31 AM 10 18

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
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Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

TO ATLANTA

1945 JAN 31 AM 10 18

QA45

Q SA162 8=CONWAY ARK 31 958A

GUY B JOHNSON=

=SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ROOM 432 63 AUBURN

AVE NORTHEAS ATLA=

AM SICK WITH FLU REGRET UNABLE ATTEND MEEING=

THOMAS S STAPLES

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Board

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(09)

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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Ship Radiogram

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1945 JAN 29 PM 1 13

TO ATLANTA

QA66

Q VHA471 10=SAVANNAH GA 29 104P

MRS HENRY HAVENS SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ROOM 432=

:62 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

:IMPOSSIBLE TO ATTEND MEETING TOMORROW WILL BE ON

HAND WEDNESDAY

=MONSIGNOR MCNAMARA

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

~~December 28, 1944~~

(TO all those listed)

Rearrange alphabetically, putting Mrs. Havens first as chairman

Dr. Rufus E. Clement -2
Mr. Leonard Haas -3
Mrs. Henry Havens ~~Chairman~~ - 5 Stet
Mr. Gordon B. Hancock -4
Mr. Luther P. Jackson - 5
Msgr. T. James McNamara - 7
Dr. Benjamin E. Mays - 6
Miss Josephine Wilkins - 8
Dr. Horace M. Bond - 1

Dear ——:

I am asking ~~you~~ the following to serve as a Nominating Committee to report at the meeting of our Board of Directors in Atlanta on January 31. This is a rather large committee, but, with a nucleus in Atlanta and nearby, ~~capable~~ perhaps it can ~~of~~ have a meeting before the thirty-first if necessary.

It is hoped that this committee will study our situation carefully and see if we can strengthen our leadership in the total roster of officers. It is the function of the committee to nominate all officers and members of the executive staff.

With best wishes for a happy New Year,

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

Dear Guy:

Will you please re-word this if it needs it and send out the call from Atlanta over my signature?

24-Me-Misc
Memphis Urban League

MEMPHIS URBAN LEAGUE, Inc.

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

AFFILIATED

The National Urban League, Memphis Council of Social Agencies,

Memphis & Shelby County War & Welfare Fund

546 BEALE AVENUE — MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Telephone 8-2088

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MRS. IDELLA M. DEAN, SEC'Y
J. A. SWAYZE, TREAS.
MRS. H. C. BUFFINGTON
COLORADO B. JOHNSON
MRS. R. L. FRANKLIN
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MRS. MARY E. MURPHY
HENRY B. WHITE
L. O. SWINGLER
BENJAMIN LEWIS

J. A. McDANIEL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

July 7, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are appreciative for the pamphlets you sent us. We will be very happy to receive any other helpful information you release.

Sincerely,

J. A. McDaniel

J. A. McDaniel
Executive Secretary

JAM:MM

RECEIVED
JUL 11 1949
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Atlanta Meeting
Southern Sociological Society

Howard W. Odum
April 27, 1951

THE MID-CENTURY SOUTH: LOOKING BOTH WAYS

Charles Horton Cooley, you remember, wrote a little classic called Life and the Student, which I have sometimes thought symbolized "Life and the Student at their Best." Tonight it seems likely that you may have "Life and the Professor at their best and their Worst" or words to that effect, in so far as the professor tries to be both dreamer and realist; tries to present current facts and normative perspective for the future; tries to liquidate prevailing pessimism with social morale for sure success; tries to combat sterile intellectualism with folk dynamics; tries to be more afraid of wrong judgments than of being labeled a liberal or non-liberal; envisages a peace where there is no peace, unity where there is no union; and posits a social relativity of time, region and process as unerring as ever was Einstein's relativity of time, place and motion.

Not long ago I heard of a little three year old boy, all mixed up in his play, and throwing his blocks all over the place. When his mother scolded him a little, he replied, "But, Mommie, I was angry." Then he threw his head back in a fine gesture of a great big belly laugh. Then I heard of another three year old who responded, "Watch out, I'm beginnin' to get mad." Well, if some of the things I put down in this "Looking Both Ways At The Mid-Century South" may give the impression that somebody is "angry" or may make everybody "mad", I am afraid there isn't very much we can laugh about except perhaps some of the things homo Americanus does, in the polarity of unreasonable extremes, but still characteristic of good old American human nature forever

violently articulate in its tropism toward self-expression, freedom of speech, and challenge for every premise presented in every facet of our complex dilemma at this mid-century point.

And challenge is what we need for every assertion and every premise made in this discourse. Is it true? Is it all of the truth in realistic perspective to other truths? And is it nothing but the truth? If true, what of it? And if not true, what else is true? Are our implications and interpretations of current situations powerfully valid enough to form the basis of solid achievment? If so, how can we move on in unity and singleness of purpose and without over-weening fear? If not, what else if better?

My father, William P. Odum, who is still a good American in Georgia in his ninety-first year, reflecting something of his Irish and religious traits, has often been pretty positive in many of his assertions. For instance, he would say, "Any man who says he loves the Lord and hates the Negro is a liar and I'll tell him so." Then he would smile blandly and say, "At least, that's the say it seems to me;" now, what I am trying to say here, is presented as positively as I know how, but in the sense of "That's the way it seems to me" and how does it seem to you? And all along, we will keep asking whether what we say is seemly and true. And you will keep checking up to see if it is so. If our language is couched perhaps more in terms of "approach" than finality, remember that this is an academic gathering; that we do not know the answers; and that we must be willing to look at multiple and hidden meanings, through the liberalism of total perspectives, before we can arrive at enduring procedures. If someone says: if you mean if, why don't you say it; my answer is, "I do and I do, if you know what I mean."

There was another thing that my father said that seems relevant and symbolic of the folk-strength that we must continue to conserve on this earth. On his ninetieth birthday, with nearly all of the children and grandchildren gathered for the birthday dinner, I think some of us might have been afraid his dinner blessing would be a too long prayer, too full of feeling. But what he said was, in substance, " O Lord, we thank Thee for this country of ours with its freedom and opportunity and its Christian democracy. Help us to keep America so. Give us enough of Thy strength to guide us to the last day." And that was enough, but not too much, to be appropriate for all of us here and now, in the special decisions we must make in the widening and deepening dilemmas which come from within and without our own regional domain.

For it must be clear to all that the crises and problems of the South that are extra and distinctive from those of the other regions of the nation are not the figments of our imaginations nor primarily the fabric of our weaving. For even now there come requests for counsel and for judgment from national associations of American Universities; from State Departments of Education; from City Departments of Education; from universities, asking how shall we do this thing that is required of us? In addition to our consciousness of what must be done, and our conscience about what is not being done, the South is called upon day in and day out, year in and year out, to make new and important decisions; to abide by decisions made by others, to show cause why we should not adjust our bi-racial culture to the projected norms of the changing structure of a one-world society in conflict and travail. And besides, the impatient demands are for the present Southern generation to bear the burden, to pay the costs for past deficiencies, and show deeds meet for repentance for the sins of the fathers of all America unto the third and fourth generation of

them that have gone before us. But let us not forget that it takes a stronger people to meet a greater crisis and that some have always had to carry the burden of what others have done and left undone. It is, then, wisdom and strength that we want more than bitterness and defeatism.

Now the "last day" reference to the need for strength for the profound tasks to which we must set our hands and seals at mid-century, would be the last long mile of 1999, from which vantage point, the end of the second half-century we need to ask: how will that which we are saying today and covenanting together to do tomorrow, look then? And can we afford a shorter time period or lesser maturity through which to envisage our prospects than so short a span as the second half of this century? But even that brief span is too long for a restless intellectual, and scientific leadership, endowing mass man with the vibrant tools of impatience, conflict and power. So, in the meantime, how do our beginnings in the first decade of the new half century look? And the second decade? And the third? And the fourth? And next steps, preview to still other next steps, how will they look? And how will some of the things we now say and do look in the light of what must be?

For we speak not just for today but for tomorrow and, fully understanding the total complex situation and its hazards, I propose that we underwrite and covenant together, in unity and integrity, with courage and faith, and without fear or favor to insure the accommodation and conversion of our Southern bi-racial civilization into a integrated multiple-cultured American democracy at its advanced best, providing for the integrity, rights, participation, opportunity, and cultural autonomy, of both the white and Negro people in the framework of the American Dream and in the regional setting of a Southern people more prosperous and happy, better integrated into the National fabric and contributing more to a greater America than we have ever done before.

And I propose that we shall achieve these ends adequately and more quickly than has ever been recorded in the annals of human society, provided we can attain Southern awakening and unity and can succeed in working out agenda for national and interregional cooperation and collective diplomacy, according to the rules of administrative and representative democracy, intercultural relationships, balance and equilibrium between voluntaristic and coercive pressures, according to the universal laws of cooperative and competitive processes of growth and stable progress.

Our appeal for unity is of several sorts; unity of the South and of the nation; unity of the white South; unity of the white and Negro South; and unity among the Negroes themselves - all in the search for working specifications more than for mere ideologies. And with unity we plead for understanding and sympathy - each unite of people trying to put itself in the place of the other. To this end we want the South to listen before protesting; we want the Nation to listen before attacking; we want the world to listen before generalizing. But we want us all to look more than listen, because our premises are more basic to achievement than to propaganda. And we want to look at the total conditions and specifications rather than to rationalize from a partial perspecitve. And we want to see the whole picture before we get too excited about a part of it.

But we shall not make the mistake of assuming the specifications are not difficult or that conditions are not extremely critical; for we know that our current dilemmas are such that, without wisdom, devotion, cooperation, compromise, and courage, we might lose this America of ours. And we know that such a loss would not come from any one-way hazard but from several. We must therefore comprehend our dilemmas and work out our specifications in relation to at least three main levels. First, what are the conditions and the situations inherent in a convulsively changing world

society and America's role of leadership in it? Second, what are the conditions and the situatuions inherent in the changing South and its role in the new society? And, third, what are the conditions and the situations inherent in the changing national attitude toward the South's bi-racial culture and the federal government's coercive pressures? Within these three inseparable situations we find both the processes and products of our delemmas and the foundations of the future structure which we must build.

II.

First, then, how new and how different is the world at the mid-century and what has that got to do with the South's next fifty years of unprecedented growth and enrichment of its culture and integration into the national and world picture? Can we make the identification of the character of the new mores, and the answering of emergency questions about it, help us to insure adequate diagnosis and direction of the South's promise and prospect. For, from the East and West, from the North and South, and from all the hinterlands of this America; and from all the way-places of the earth where folk are articulate, men and women, elders and youth, mass and class come asking for answers to their troubled questionings about the complexity and dilemmas of this contemporary world of ours. And they want answers that satisfy. They not only want to know what we are and how we have come to be as we are, but they want to know what we may become tomorrow and how we shall go on from today. And they want somehow to understand the long succession of human strivings and achievements in some continuum which explains not only the ways in which we have come to now but in which also there is consistency enough to guide them well into the paths of the future.

In their searchings for truth and ways the people ask many specific questions. Why is it that there is so much doubt about survival? What is all this talk about fear and terror? Why do they tell us that the future of the human race will be decided in our life time or that we now live on borrowed time? Or that human society is well on the way to commit suicide? Why, in the most enlightened era of all mankind, is there so much darkness over the face of the earth? Why can't men learn to live together and resolve their differences? Why is it that in the most civilized communities on earth, men have the most jitters? Why are men in the upper brackets of culture and leadership so tired and discouraged? Why is it that often the profoundest expression of discouragement is found among the highest educated of the people?

More specifically, they ask why the dilemmas of race relations and the conflict of great moral ideologies cloud horizons and why the articulate aspirations of men exceed the capacity of any culture-economy yet devised to meet the needs. Why is it that science wants to substitute machines for men or study interplanetary life instead of human life on this earth? Why is it that the most intelligent and skilled men in the world devote their highest energies and abilities to means for destroying man? Why do men kill each other in multiplied ratios and why has the cost of killing a fighting man risen from seventy-five cents in Casear's day to $50,000 in western civilization? Why is it that production, the civilized index of rich living, is channelled into tragic dying? Why is it that men with the highest moral codes and ideology consent to the wholesome slaughter of masses of people in rationalized peace crusade? Why have the most "Christain" and humane people in the world sponsored "operation killer"? And why, just as man has achieved the miraculous and civilization has flowered into beauty and abundance, have men lost their faith or placed such low evaluation upon the spirit of man and his divine destiny?

Many writers have tried to answer these and many other questions. From among the historians, natural scientists, philosophers, and other scholars and writers, who have tried to diagnose contemporary civilization, the most common efforts have apparently been directed toward the understanding of society in terms of some continuum reflected in the rise and fall of civilizations. From among the social scientists and scholars who have sought the answers in terms of collective behaviour, the prevailing diagnosis seems to be in terms of the impact of science and technology upon culture and the resulting frustration and conflict arising from mass civilization sweeping away the moorings of tradition and norms of value and the lessening role of primary institutions. From among those who have preached from pulpit and press, the prevailing diagnosis has apparently been in terms of moral decay and the dulling of human aspiration and spititual faith.

Our first task, therefore, in the diagnosis of our own problem is to sense the nature and meaning of our current discontents and dilemmas in which science, technology and other forces have made our contemporary world so complex that it is hard to understand. In many ways it is a different and a new world with vast distance between the swift moving drama of current divilization and the slow journeyings of mankind in all earlier cultures and even in our own recent past. Yet, our world is still changing so rapidly that speed, bigness, technology, complexity and change appear to be the new masters, dominating the scene as they have never done before. There is, therefore, apparently a greater chasm of distance between the technological order of contemporary civilization and the folk-culture and capcaity of the people and their institutions than has hitherto been recorded. Yet, in spite of this unprecedented distance between technology and the folk, the restlessness and power of all the peoples, made articulate

through science, communications, and intercultural ideologies, constitute perhaps the chief social dynamics of the time. Our world appears also to be a confused world lacking in focus of faith and purpose, bordering on despair and hysteria, in which doubts and fears for the total future and destiny of mankind appear as a central theme, perhaps for the first time. Our world, therefore, is fabricated of so many different levels and complexities of structure and function that it is not only difficult for the scientist to analyze and diagnose, but it is hard for the average individual to live in and for leadership to plan the way on.

This complex society of the world we live in may best be characterized by the term state civilization, as comprehending the total traits of the most advanced technological and organizational society in a continuum which has its genesis and constant growth and survival processes in the contrasting folk culture, symbol also of the close knit societal integration of all growing civilizations. The state civilization, symbolizing the secularization of the folk culture, is fabricated of five main threads so thoroughly interwoven in warp and woof as to make a clearly defined and powerful pattern of human relationships. The first is science, invention, and technology. The second is industrialization and urbanization. The third is intellectualism and cultural specialization. The fourth is centralization and power. The fifth is totalitarianism and the super-state society. Each of these is fabricated of still other weavings of multiple minor designs.

Interwoven with science, invention and technology are unprecedented achievement, with speed, technics, standardization. Interwoven with industry and urbanism are the machine economy, stratification, a new way of community living, an extraordinarily high standard of living, and great concentrations of art, drama, and wealth. Interwoven with intellectualism and cultural specialization are scientific humanism, the concept that the

intellect is the supreme guide for living, the standard of living as a chief index of social values, and undreamed of contributions in creative art and literature, science for science's sake. Interwoven with centralization and power are bigness, concentration, corpocracy, organization, limitless production, efficiency like a miracle. Interwoven with totalitarianism and the super-state are coercion, regulation and secularization with power more relevant than liberty and with force as a living ideal. Needless to say, all these are inseparably related in an indescribably rich fabric of human achievement and constituting a continuum of interaction processes in the loom of societal development.

The state civilization is sequel to and an extension of the universal folk culture, the two constituting the main currents and levels of cultural development in the universal societal continuum from early folk society to late state society. The folk culture is also fabricated of a number of threads with their multiple qualities of interaction between the folk and nature, between the folk and their own cultural environment, and between the folk of one culture and of other cultures. First, the folk culture is identified with nature with reference to natural laws, time, climate, geographic environment, close to the soil. Folk culture is further characterized by primary relationships and institutions, kith and kin in ethnic relationships, and primary occupations. The folk culture conforms essentially to rural and religious institutional character reflecting primarily the solidarity of a moral order. It is essentially institutional, deriving its social character from societies that are small, isolated, reflecting love of liberty, locyalties, homogeneities of structure. The folk culture is closely knit, cohesive, non-organizational, with behaviour primarily spontaneous, personal, traditional, yet strongly integrated through its community of growth and moral order. The folk society is thus essentially

in contrast to the state society, the one geared to nature and to ethnic and moral structure and the other to technology and to civil organization and specialized structure.

In contrast to the folk culture, where behaviour is characterized primarily by the folkways and mores, and by the solidarity of institutional character and sacred traditions, the state civilization is characterized primarily by the stateways and technicways and the consequent secularization of culture. In the folk culture there is gradualness of change with the usual corollary of culture lag, in which material progress seems to exceed cultural change, while in the state society ideological conceptualizations greatly accelerate change which then is followed by achievement lag in which the cultural and ideological specifications are in advance of material ways of achieving the specified ends.

Now, it is in the understanding and measurements of the processes of social change through the folkways and mores on the one hand, and the stateways and technicways on the other that the scientific study of contemporary society becomes realistic rather than through the mere cataloguing of the products of change brought about by such inventions and technological tools as the automobile, radio, television, other communication techniques and the revolutionary achievements of science, invention and technology. By the same token it will be through the utilization of the social technicways of social planning comprehending the organic survival values of the folk culture and matching the material technicways which evolve from technology, that the new directions of society may be effected, through balance and equilibrium between the folk culture and state civilization, rather than through mere moral imperatives or a moratorium on science, on the one hand, or through totalitarian directives, on the other.

Keeping in mind that both folk culture and state civilization are "ideal types" or mental constructs of which no known pure examples can be cited, and both of which occur in the social character of every society, we note that society changes from the folk culture to the state civilization when quick moving technological innovations exceed the slow developing traditional culture patterns and when the mode of mass behaviour is reflected in the secularization of culture within the framework of stateways and technicways which are in conflict with and subversive to the folkways and mores. Such a state civilization, flowering into its complex attainment of technology, industrialization, urbanization, intellectualism, cultural specialization, organization, centralization and power, tends to assume the nature of a technological order rather than a human society or a moral order the universal constant in all growing human societies. Inherent in such a technological order could be not only complexity as to accelerate antagonisms, conflict, derangement, breakdown and disintegration, but the capacity to weaken or destroy human society, through decay from non-use of cultural processes, from the exhausting and destructive power of science and technology, and from the assumption by the totalitarian state of the functions of all the other institutions which are the creators and creatures of the total healthy societal system. The decay of civilization, therefore, could reflect primarily, not cyclical inevitability but, on the one hand, the failure to conserve the growth and survival values of the folk culture, and on the other hand, the burden of demands of supertechnology and artificial society which exceed the capacity of the people and their resources and institutions. The crisis of contemporary society is reflected in two ways: on the one hand in continuing and accelerated trends now universally characterized as hazardous; and on the other in an apparent possibility of an alternative future direction in societal evolution which would achieve

balance and equilibrium between the folk culture and the state civilization through the maturing services of science and social science in the framework of sound social planning. Inherent in such societal planning, in addition to the time quality and long time priority schedules; skills and expertness, specifications and integration, are research and the discovery, through comparative folk sociology, of the folk culture to be recaptured and reintroduced into the streamflow of civilization.

III.

Now the South, rich in its folk potentials, finds itself in fullfledged participation in contemporary state civilization with the same hazards of adjustment that all peoples have but with many special facets different from the other regions of the United States; and, due to its organic membership in the union of states, its problems are technically different from those of separate nationals or independent peoples' cultures; and due to the long and complex heritage of bi-racial culture, its conflicts and tensions are somewhat different from the conflicting ideologies of many world cultures, the resolving of which Northrop has estimated to be the crucial problem of this age. But there is one over-all way in which the South's situation is not different and that is in the fact that the sweep of time and technology has so made a new world that the radically different bases and directions of human behaviour require radical new adjustments and outmode isolationism and secession from the rest of the world. The South has little choice in determining the nature and tempo of pressures, communications, and impacts made upon it.

It comes to pass, therefore, that the social technicways of societal planning are powerfully relevant to the ongoings of our cultural and economic development, American style. Debate and argument, satire and caricature on the folkways and mores, or on superior and inferior races must be

transcended by dynamics of arrangement and program. In particular, the South has a double portion of what we have identified as "achievement lag", due to the over-reach of ideologies and the consequent moral directives and coercive pressures often projected in the framework of vested frustration. For no culture economy or organization control has yet been devised capable of containing the ideological floodwaters of Winter downpour and Spring cloudbursts following in the wake of cold fronts and high pressure areas of irresponsible agitation for the quick equalization of all differentials of time, place, and process, with no retaining dykes of classification structures nor reservoirs of cumulative standards, covenants and agreements, comprehensive knowledge and administrative guaranties and integrity. The South might be likened to the Oklahoma of an old timer who, when asked if the wind blew like this all the time, replied, "Oh no, sometimes it blows from the North."

But the South, even at its stormiest periods of throwing up sandbags for temporary defense, is not altogether different from the rest of the country in its manifestation of excessive zeal whether in the orgies of seven league boots hot headed talkers or seven million mass man concentrate in New York shouting hosannas to an old man returning from the wars of "Operation Killer." All these, including the Rankins and McCarthys, are normal part and parcel of the powerful adjustment process as well as the hazards of survival and we take them in our democratic stride as we always have in America.

Now, since the South's adjustment to the industrial and technological demands of the new age tend to be equal or above the rate of the rest of the nation, as is the case with general overall advancement, it must be clear that our chief concern is in the mastery of our bi-racial culture, made imperative (1) because it is right; (2) because it is inevitable if we are to make history and meet destiny as a strong young people; and (3) because the nation and the courts, of which we are a democratic part, require it.

It is in the nature of our mastery, the specifications of our achievement, the tempo of our process and the soundness of our structure that the South and the Nation are to be tested in the crucibles of that destiny and the perpetuation and expansion of what this America has gained for the world.

Here are some of the facets of the Southern situation which are fundamental to the new history and destiny which we make, geared to a titanic struggle for balance and equilibrium and for the resolving of powerful and sacred differences for which the whole world works and prays. And here is laboratory for peace and permanence as concrete and critical as ever were Palestine and Pakistan, Arabia and Asia, Kremlin and Korea.

First in the southern situation is the cumulative racial and conflict heritage that has gone into the architecture of all cultures, whether in the bi-racial South or in India, in Pakistan, in China, in all the way-places of Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and in uncounted little culture islands of the Pacific; and in counted big nations and little democracies of the western world. This heritage, which is basic to conflict and war, is also the very heart of group loyalities, patriotism and institutional solidarity, symbolic of the universal formula by which men covenant "for God, for country and for home." The Southern culture structure rates the same diagnosis as any other.

In the Southern situation is the same cumulative heritage which leads India's powerful Nehru, as late as yesterday and in tomorrow's news, to beg for the preservation of world peace and world order with hope and faith, but with an appeal for character and patience. But he adds, "Anyway we can't have it suddenly or by decree. One has to grow up to it;"and again, in what he terms "an unbelievable varied world", he protests the quick "imposition of any form of foreign domination against the will of the people", on

the structural grounds that "no solution which is not accepted by large masses of the people can have any possible enduring quality." Nor would Nehru relish the stereotype designation of being caricatured as a "gradualist", outmoded echo of superficial rationalization.

But the Southern heritage is more specific with reference to the main conflicts involved in the issues of equality and segregation; and this heritage is different from that of autonomous nations in two main ways. In the first place, in the South the heritage of slavery set the incidence for the patterns of caste and white supremacy. Slavery, however, was later abolished in a conflict of brothers stranger than fiction in which the South lost once and for all the physical and political foundations for its exclusive bi-racial structure. By the same token, then, remaining as a major region in a powerful democratic federation of states, the South is not free to decide those aspects of its bi-racial structure primarily bounded by constitutional guaranties and supported by public funds in the framework of free institutions. Agenda for collective negotiations between the nation and the South as a major region, therefore, must be projected on the informal voluntaristic levels such as those of arbitration procedures in other domestic disputes, rather than on formal diplomatic levels.

From the cumulative heritage of the South there has grown up a powerful backlog of both liabilities and hazards and of limited assets. The liabilities are primarily of five sorts. One is the unenviable record of injustice, inequalities, and brutality. Another is the collective mental and moral concept of the Negro as rating something less than human parity in Southern culture, a powerful construct that not only colors and explains nearly all of the South's deviate behaviour in inter-racial relationships but sometimes appears as well nigh indestructible. A third, following as a sort of corollary, assumes that "The South" is the "White South", a usage

that ignores the Negro both by default and by intent. Still a fourth follows logically and that is the white South's lack of understanding and sympathy with the achievements of the Negro and their reasonable expectations and demands. Finally, the South's sensitiveness to outside criticism and its resistance to Federal direction and moral directives has continuously been revivified by pressures and propaganda.

The South's heritage also includes an extraordinary record of change and of advancement in nearly all of the facets of modern civilization. The fact that we are concerned in this discourse primarily with those aspects of change that have to do with our bi-racial civilization does not mean that this is the whole structural problem but it does imply that we have to master this situation before we can go on to any satisfacotry achievements in the quality and integration of the Southern and the National culture at their best. Yet, in this area of inter-racial relations we have achieved both absolute and relative change beyond the highest expectations of such saints as Mary White Ovington and Oswald Garrison Villard in the sense of going further and sooner in many aspects of life than they anticipated. I might illustrate in a personal instance. In the early part of this first half of the century which we celebrate, I had written Social and Mental Traits of the Negro. Professor E.R.A.Seligman, notable economist and philanthropist, and leader in inter-cultural relations, was Chairman of a committee which awarded this manuscript the Grant Squires prize as the best published sociological treatise in the five year period. Yet no University Press, not even in the South, would publish this book today because of its assumptions of segragation as a permanent pattern of social structure. This might well reflect the fact that in education, in politics, in transportation, in ideologies and other aspects of regional culture, measured by both quantity and quality indices, the societal profile is scarcely recognizable as compared

with the beginning of the Century.

In particular, I suppose there would be no contesting the verdict that the Negro in the South has achieved the greatest progress in the shortest span of years that has ever been recorded in the history of cultures. And still more particularly the spectacle of many Southern Negro leaders achieving distinction, influence, character, and role, equal and often superior to many of their white contemporaries, reflects an epoch which history and biography must surely record as phenomenal. And still more particularly, the number and records of Negro educators and scientists in the fields of the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences, adds up to an extraordianry total providing not only actual contributions of note but leverage for greater future achievements. In the total fabric of Southern bi-racial culture the Negro's weaving of warp and woof shows a distinctive pattern of patience, persistence, plodding, alongside the more colorful exploits of exceptional individuals. Finally, the Negro's total culture operating as a folk society within the state society of the white South has insured a continuum of stable and advanced cultural evolution that reflects both powerful survival values and societal process.

Now, to return to our heritage of liabilities, and with special reference to brutalities and gross injustices, there can be no possible justification of any of it and nothing can prevent those communities that encourage such practices from suffering the consequences in spiritual and business bankruptcy in the long run. The appeal is for every community to see that a minority of its members are neither encouraged nor allowed to assess such penalties upon them, for our record of brutality is a disgrace to any culture anywhere, any time.

There are several ways in which such community penalties are incurred. One is, of course, the mob and mob spirit - something that the South is

rapidly liquidating as a main trait of its collective behaviour and something that the South has learned the hard way is costly beyond reason. Another is the brutality and treatment which a minority of police forces accord the Negro. Besides being inexcusable, this especially undermines the integrity of the South both because most people are not aware of it and because all over the South the movement for a fine police service is reaping substantial results. But even so there is no justification for the extent of such brutality either because of lack of community conscience or community action. This is a big job to be done with relatively little cost as compared with the phenomenal results to be achieved.

Another area is that of injustices and exploitation in the community, too often reflected in the minor courts and civil rulings with reference to the Negro. In community life this is reflected in discrimination and exploitation in prices and wages, in housing and community services and in lack of respect for personality.

Now turning again to the more constructive side and to the urgency of making the right decisions and undertaking the right actions immediately, in so far as the total situation may be characterized in terms of tasks to be undertaken there appear to be four main segments or levels calling for mature and quick action on a statesmanlike bases.

The first is to remedy the inexcusable situation with reference to brutalities, injustices, inequalities, and discrimination to which we have referred.

The second is to set up what would currently be designated as "Operation Equal Opportunity" to comprehend all phases of public education.

The third is to provide immediately for non-segregation in all university education on the graduate and professional level.

The fourth is to move judiciously but speedily toward agenda for negotiations and specifications for future achievement on the total front.

With reference to the monumental task of equalizing facilities for education, this is a big job challenging not only the will, strength and capacity of a strong people but the cooperation, judicial interpretation, and constitutional structure of the nation. The reconstruction of our educational facilities, including buildings, equipment, salaries, and administrative features, involves an extraordinary multibillion dollar industry, which, operated at its best, will enrich the South, develop its resources, raise its standards of work, income, and living. This done adequately will not only make the South prosperous beyond previous measure but will enable it through its increased prosperity to pay for its new investments and contribute powerfully in turn to the national wealth. But in turn there can be no doubt of the nation's obligation to share this investment both because of the Federal strategy of equalization of funds and reciprocal cooperation with states and regions but because of the Federal ruling which makes mandatory the South's rebuilding of its educational structure.

Now the South's part of the initial added increment for the reconstruction of its educational facilities, in terms of what specifications can be made available and of authorizations and priorities, would be no more than the first expenditure for the first atomic bomb and a small ratio of subsequent such expenditures. The South would surely ridicule the challenge that it could not appropriate two billion dollars for an investment which would net many billions of dollars in the future and contribute powerfully to conservation and development of its human and institutional resources, as well.

For there is here a tremendous difference between the two types of investment in that these new expenditures will be powerfully productive and constructively geared to the developement and wise use of resources in the

increase of wealth and prosperity and the enrichment of people and institutions as opposed to the negative or destructive nature of atomic warfare. Instead, therefore, of doubts and fears, so far as fiscal capacities go, the "Operation Equal Opportunity" is something to challenge not only capacities but enthusiasm for the future. Such a raising of standards and doubling of facilities in a brilliant transitional period of our own reconstruction, will provide the structure and facilities, equitably distributed according to local geographic areas and administered through procedures consistent with educational standards, through which the problems of segregation may ultimately be adjusted in the American way of balance and equilibrium between voluntaristic effort and coercive decree; between compromise and inflexibility, as has been the prevailing mode of American democracy from the first.

The above agenda for equalizing educational opportunities applies to all levels of schooling and assumes the normal status and processes of segregation and non segregation consistent with the development and administration of educational systems everywhere. It assumes a certain inevitable continuity of the sub system featuring primarily segragation in the public schools but with both non segragation and segregation modes and privileges in institutions of higher learning. This is necessary to insure equality of opportunity for the extraordinary Negro institutions, teachers, students, and administrative officers in ways which will give maximum recognition and opportunity for Negro professional folk and students.

Now in the case of graduate and professional education the situation is both practically and judiciously relatively clear. In the first place the court rulings are increasingly unanimous and the South not only has no intention of not abiding by the equitable laws of the land but will take pride in achieving the best possible accommodation in conforming with the best

traditions of fairness and sympathy. It must be clear, as I have often pointed out, that up to now the South has had no American universities but Southern universities in so far as the color of a man's skin would preclude him from receiving either instruction in the highest brackets of graduate and professional work or an honorary degree for cause of notable achievement or service. And it is not only from the Supreme Court but from the American associations of professional schools and universities that requirements are being imposed for validating the highest standards of graduates and professional instruction. That this is a structurally different situation from elementary and secondary schools, in the framework of America's private, religious, and public school system will be as manifest to the courts as it is to the executive and legislative units of government and to the practical administrative constituency of American education.

IV.

Now we come to our most definitive and difficult task, namely, the problem of providing agenda basic to the statesmanlike collective diplomacy through which region and nation may work together for the desired ends. I think Mr. Justice Brandis back in the 1930's had in mind this task of the integration and enrichment of the Negroes in the national fabric and the resolving of primary conflicts when, upon receiving an early copy of Southern Regions, he wrote offering his congratulations and best wishes, for what he designated "The first step in grappling with our most serious problem." Here again, we must keep asking the question whether what we are saying is true and is so what of it: and what else, besides is true, and how from the interrelations and perspectives of these truths, we may come to matured conclusions and right actions. For then it must be clear that we must be vigorously critical and honest in facing facts, raising questions, urging integrity and trying new ways geared more to enduring strategies of

cultural excellence and democratic structure than to excessive zeal and unbalanced directives.

To begin, three major crucial points of emphasis loom large. First is the importance to the United States of not allowing world crisis and war scare either to obscure our obligations or warp our strategy to work harder than ever on our demestic situations, basic both to advancement and survival, or to reconstruction in case of catastrophe.

The second point of view is the importance, in the processes of resolving our bitterest conflicts, or utilizing peaceful methods of negotiation and understanding rather than challenge to conflict and the teaching of hate. Threats, name calling, hate mongering, inflexible dogmas and the imposition of coercive decrees, are no more defensible nor less disastrous in America than in the world of international tensions. It is true that any record of undemocratic practices will affect our influence abroad; but it is equally true that whether we achieve our advances by peaceful means of by violence and bloodshed, is equally important in a world-leading nation urging universal peace.

The third point of emphasis is that we are assuming not only that this accommodation and conversion of bi-racial civilization to a richer, integrated American culture can be done and that people everywhere want to know the best way to do it. This does not mean that we are so simple minded as not to understand the hazards involved. Stuart Chase in his forthcoming volume, Roads to Agreement, which I have reviewed for the Saturday Review of Literature for May 12, catalogues eighteen levels of conflict and firm principles of agreement for the resolving of differences. Yet few, if any of the experimental techniques recommended are utilized in the current conflict of ideologies and policies with reference to segregation which has become the sine qua non of all negotiations. And yet the United States, of all peoples,

has built its democratic structure on the foundations of voluntaristic negotiations and freedom of discussions in the framework of administrative, legislative, and judicial procedures. What then, in addition to the heritage of liabilities which we have catalogued for the South, are obstacles and hazards in the way?

Our first and major task is a neglected one, namely the working out of agenda for programs of agreement and action on the part of the South and of the nation. These agenda are of two sorts, conforming to the American principles of balance and equilibrium between the voluntaristic effort and coercive mandates. One is on the level of negotiation between regional and national voluntary agencies, and their deputies, functioning in the field of interracial policies and practices. The other is on the level of official governmental commissions for research and negotiations between regional and federal agencies looking toward the achievement of equality of opportunity and fair practices. Here the assumption seems reasonable that our domestic conflicts merit the same sort of mature and extended peaceful negotiations that are accorded problems of international tensions and differences.

Our covenanting together to face facts, perspective, and responsibilities, challenges scrutiny of our total situation and dilemmas in the national picture. A little while ago we gave a typical American dinner honoring the Nobel Peace Prize winner with nearly 2000 guests from all regions of the nation and from many hinterlands of the mores. And from the mementum of this occasion emerged contributions of approximat ly a quarter million dollars as pace maker for a much larger sum, a part of which is to be devoted to procedures which will make the bitterness and conflict between Palestine and Arabia look like yesterday. Is the bitter drive for Federal coercive measures to eliminate segregation in the most difficult situations,

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say, in South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, really worthy of American standards of peace negotiations? Is it expecting too much for a really great leader like Ralph Bunche, to experiment with the same sort of diplomacy which justly earned his acclaim in the area of regional national conflict instead of name calling, bigotry accusing, guilt by association techniques now so conventional in America. On the other hand, is it expecting too much of Jimmy Byrnes, rich in years and experience and in opportunity and influence to utilize the best that he gleaned from his international diplomacy rather than to project threats and fan the flames of bitterness, in a surrender of the cause of millions of our children's children who have the right to expect opportunity commensurate with their heritage and capacities.

In the pressure propaganda for achieving the desired ends of societal conversion there are dangers inherent in the lack of integrity of purpose and method, in the partisan political balance of power, and in the advocacy to endanger the organic vitality of the nation through major operations for temporary eruptions. If there are those who hold that the South, having too many people of both races anyway, would profit by a certain amount of violent revolution, and slaughter of the people, as I have heard prominent metropolitan leaders say, that might be a democratic prerequisite; but to urge the Supreme Court to set the incidence of such a conflict is something else. To boast that one is not interested in the millions of Negroes as persons or in their present welfare but only in winning a cause; or, around cocktails to chuckle over the panic of the folk in Southern dilemma is still again the privilege of American democracy, but reflects little of the excellence and integrity of American statesmanship. Partisan "vested frustration," often in the past approaching dangerously near subversive activities, is not a satisfactory substitute for American fellowship and national counsels.

Now, manifestly, part and parcel of our diagnosis and direction must inhere in the comprehensive understanding of what this American democracy is in its total structure and changing profile. What is meant when we guarantee the conversion of the Southern compound bi-racial culture to an American complex integrated multicultured society? It must be clear that we mean exactly that: the moving of the South from isolation and separatism, from conflict and organic structures which prevent large segments of the people from having equal access to opportunity, resources, work, personality recognition, into cultural arrangements which permit free movement toward all opportunities. This means not only in the South but all over the nation. It means freedom for the Negro to take his place as an integer of cultural structure exactly as does the Jewish, the European Nationals, the Oriental peoples, as well as the many strands of a world society inevitable in the total fabric of America now the cultural as well as economic and political capital of the world. Such a conversion brings with it no more compulsion or specifications for negating the facets of race and ethnic minorities, supreme in whatever personality and cultural loyalties they may wish. Such a conversion automatically, as in any organic structure or process, carries with it the inevitable continuity of separateness, autonomy, and segregation inherent in not only the American ideal but in all the newer reaches of social science, philosophy, freedom for all the differential-groups to have a say in how they shall integrate themselves into the new world society.

One illustration of the limitations and difficulties of our problem of negotiation may be seen in the suggestion made by the Southern Regional Council a few years ago that President Franklin D. Roosevelt appoint a National advisory commission to work with Southern leaders on interracial relations. Yet at the national level, pressures were so varied and

insistent about who should or should not be appointed on the Commission that, of course, the project was abandoned. But this is more than equalled in the South in the spectacle of a Southern Regional Council not being able to attract as president, or as prominent members of its board, or financial backers, the most prominent and influential leaders, exclusive of leaders in the fields of religion and sometimes education. It must be clear that their fear of assuming such responsibility is not always due to being afraid of criticism but it is also a fear of not being able to succeed and of being involved in issues and policies over which they have no control. As yet, from the present vantage point, the greatest opportunity in the whole nation might well be hidden in a million dollar contribution to the successful ordering of that Council and what it might mean to the South and the Nation. And it might well be that no federal commission of authorized deputies for discussion and agenda would be more significant than one appointed by the president of the United States to confer with governmental and administrative officers of Southern states.

There are several other aspects of the situation with reference to segregation in education that carry a heavy load of responsibility. One is the continuity of the remarkable record of self development, distinguished achievement and high morale of Negro schools and colleges. For those who know the high motivations, the effective work, the institutional loyalties, the student bodies, the professors - it is no easy decision to recommend anything but an increase of support and appreciation of both what they are doing and of the opportunity for students and faculty to work together without frustration and agression.

Another aspect of the situation is found in the terrible responsibility of those who teach hate and discouragement to Negro children and youth, millions of the finest youth of any race. For here the frame of referenc

is bitterness and pessimism during the years which every one knows are years of transition, and at the particular time when impressionistic youth need high motivation and support. Anyone who is not naive enough to try to repeal the laws of individuation, of personality, of freedom, of opportunity, of classification, knows that the major construct is not segregation or non-segregation but non-segregation and segregation, developed through total processes of interaction and of growth, of means and ends, of moral imperatives and administrative reality.

One of the startling paradoxes of this era is found in the seeming inconsistencies of social scientists and philosophers, especially of anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, and moralists. That is, in a notable era of increased emphasis upon the individual, personality, the autonomy of peoples and culture groups, and upon provisions for differentiation in education and schooling, directives are prepared and recommendations made for enforcing, in cultures throughout the world, conformity to standardized specifications of American urban and intellectual regimentation. Millions of dollars from private foundations, besides billions for governmental finances, are allocated to the acceleration of uniformities in the wake of the impact of technology upon the solidarity and cohesiveness of simpler folk and simpler cultures. The degree of resentment which thousands of folk cultures feel toward the luxurious living of American representatives, often assigned to make over old cultures, would appear astronomical if it could be measured. Yet measures are abundant in individual cases, whether in Japan of today, or China of yesterday, or in Africa, or Pakistan or India. At a time when the United States bemoans its past policy and treatment of the American Indian or the old patterns of imperialism in other lands, similar types of policies and standards set the incidence for the assumptions of the same old dominance over subject cultures.

A second paradox is almost equally startling. At a time when communications technique, and the highly motivated urge for freedom of speech dominates our ideology, the clearly dominant power is often that of minority potential control especially in the areas of economical commericalism, such that pressures from a few may overpower the facilities of the many. All this is powerfully evident in the pressures of the communications power structure and of political balance of power in urban national control, as they are structured in the national approach to the bi-racial situation of the Southern United States. Here again, and again, but finally, we must ask: Is it true? And what else is true? And what are the interrelations between these truths, in the projection of a cultural statesmanship which will integrate our regional cultures into an America at her best rather than to divide and conquer in another primary conflict that is inconsistent with all of the highest ideals of that America which presumes to lead the world.

Among the other contradictions so prevalent in the Southern picture is what might be termed the negation of all excellence in southern civilization in the verdicts of a majority whose judgments are based upon inflexible measures of non-segregation. This is nothing short of tragic. For nothing in the traditions of rich living, in the stability of institutions and the achievements of industry, agriculture, public works, and in the creative work of the South, receives more than a third or fourth rate appraisal so long as the South's culture balance remains in the red with reference to the Negro. Everywhere, here is a region which geographers have ranked near the top in all those resources and physiographic situations which make for greatness. Here is a region of beauty and abundance, with millions of people happy in the prospect of future prosperity - that is, happy until always and ever, the shadow of a tragic people, of two tragic peoples, falls

athwart the path of progress and peace. It is not so in other regions where no single phase of culture and economy is allowed to determine the final verdict about the total. In no other region, again, are the achievements of a dynamic minority group, such as the Negro, rich in romance and realism, marked down with a price tag of "slightly blemished" or imperfect finish, as is the case in the South. It is a strange situation ripe for first hand observation and research by outside appraisers, the results of which might well provide the basis for intergroup and interregional accommodation; instead of which vast ignorance prevails about most of the structure and functioning of the Southern culture. A few million dollars from endowed funds, or from government appropriations, for full and normal inquiry and planning might well go a long way toward resolving conflicts and reducing the power structure of propaganda and threats if operations were pursued with the same impartiality as other research and negotiations. Instead, minds and doors appear closed on both fronts of the bitter-enders.

Just twenty years ago I wrote about the South in An American Epoch "So came an American Epoch that was the South. An era had ended. An era had begun. Old golden pages of history, shining parchment records of culture, then yellow and faded, scorched and seared with years of embattled conflict, and epic struggle . . . Gallant figures on black horses and white . . . and crude, simple folk, sore with the footfall of time, passing across an epoch which was to be destroyed by physical and cultural conflagration and to rise up again in another American Epoch strangely different and vivid and powerful. Cultures in the making, social processes at work, portraiture descriptive of how civilizations grow. All the South's yesterdays, with their brilliant episodes and with their sordid pictures receding, giving way to the South's tomorrows, through a sweeping American development reminiscent of universal culture."

I submit this anew feeling sure it is a fair appraisal. But we have not gone as far by 1950 as I had anticipated in another verdict at the same time, when I wrote "The picture of the South realizing its possibilities in the New American Epoch was therefore a colorful picture of an achieving region rather than a pale print of the sensitive South. It was a South thinking less highly of the past than of the future; a South seeking to do all things well rather than merely a few things big; a South which appraised work higher than talk, truth more than dogma, integrity more than acclaim. It was a South unafraid; not afraid of Sinaic thunders echoed by false prophets; not afraid to do its own thinking nor to create in pioneer fields; not afraid of the truth and the freedom which truth reveals; not afraid of the past, the present, or the future. It was a South devout with religio poetoe, with the humility of the scientist and seeking to conserve its fighting energies through eminence in achievement rather than in wasteful conflict. It was a South set to the task of conserving and developing its limitless resources in materials and men and to stopping its vast leakage from economic and social waste. It was a South seeking to extend the bounds of its work to the whole range of human endeavor; to measure its efforts only by the highest standards of excellence, and to appraise its contributions in terms of broader national and international application and of permanent values. It was, in fine, an American South of continuing and new achievements, transforming its deficits to a balance of gain, and becoming representative of the best that America could produce."

Now, finally, out of appreciation for this opportunity to address this notable assembly, representative of the best that sociology affords in the southern region in all its states, I have tried to envisage the next half century from the viewpoint of a science of society, looking at the continuities of growth, development, survival and in the framework of the changing structures of all society. Next I have tried to envisage this South and

its dilemmas in the framework of what must be understood in any logical brief that should be studied by those who render judgments from the courts of this nation. For surely, there are judicial aspects of far reaching significance.

But, thirdly, I should like for a moment to forget all of us as social scientists or as educational leaders, or as colleagues striving to be critical of our theories and structures. I should like for a moment to look at you as a testing ground of communications and exhortations. And I should like to revert to our old time Southern custom of quoting Scriptures and giving affectionate saluation. I should like to ask you to say for us to all the Southern people:

Listen, Honey, let's make this the era of the Great Initiative, in which we achieve something better voluntaristically than something worse coercively. And we think we love the South more than all the fighters, and do-gooders, and publicity seekers, and those full of complexes, on the one hand of "vested frustration" from abroad, and of guilt and inferiority frustration from within our borders.

And listen, Honey, the saddest words of tongue or pen are not "It might have been," but "How oft would I and ye would not."

And, listen, Honey, destiny doesn't ask why we didn't do it, but did we?

The South — Gene
1 two

Dear Gene:

By the end of the week, I can send you a few mimeographed copies for use with your committee.

Cordially

Hale

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Southern Sociological Society

Howard W. Odum
April 27, 1951

THE MID-CENTURY SOUTH: LOOKING BOTH WAYS

Charles Horton Cooley, you remember, wrote a little classic called Life and the Student, which I have sometimes thought symbolized "Life and the Student at their Best." Tonight it seems likely that you may have "Life and the Professor at their best and their Worst" or words to that effect, in so far as the professor tries to be both dreamer and realist; tries to present current facts and normative perspective for the future; tries to liquidate prevailing pessimism with social morale for sure success; tries to combat sterile intellectualism with folk dynamics; tries to be more afraid of wrong judgments than of being labeled a liberal or non-liberal; envisages a peace where there is no peace, unity where there is no union; and posits a social relativity of time, region and process as unerring as ever was Einstein's relativity of time, place and motion.

Not long ago I heard of a little three year old boy, all mixed up in his play, and throwing his blocks all over the place. Then his mother scolded him a little, he replied, "But, Mommie, I was angry." Then he threw his head back in a fine gesture of a great big belly laugh, Then I heard of another three year old who responded, "Watch out, I'm beginnin' to get mad." Well, if some of the things I put down in this "Looking Both Ways At The Mid-Century South" may give

the impression that somebody is "angry" or may make everybody "mad", I am afraid there isn't very much we can laugh about except perhaps some of the things homo Americanus does, in the polarity of unreasonable extremes, but still characteristic of good old American human nature forever violently articulate in its tropism toward self-expression, freedom of speech, and challenge for every premise presented in every facet of our complex dilemma at this mid-century point.

And challenge is what we need for every assertion and every premise made in this discourse. Is it true? Is it all of the truth in realistic perspective to other truths? And is it nothing but the truth? If true, what of it? And if not true, what else is true? Are our implications and interpretations of current situations powerfully valid enough to form the basis of solid achievement? If so, how can we move on in unity and singleness of purpose and without overweening fear? If not, what else is better?

My father, William P. Odum, who is still a good American in his ninety-first year, reflecting something of his Irish and religious traits, has often been pretty positive in many of his assertions. For instance, he would say, "Any man who says he loves the Lord and hates the Negro is a liar and I'll tell him so." Then he would smile blandly and say, "At least, that's the way it seems to me;" (Now, what I am trying to say here is presented as positively as I know how but in the sense of "This is the way it seems to me") and how does it seem to you? And all along, we will keep asking whether what we say is seemly and true. And you will keep checking up to see if it is so. If our language is couched perhaps more in

terms of "approach" than finality, remember that this is an academic gathering; that we do not know the answers; and that we must be willing to look at multiple and hidden meanings, through the liberalism of total perspectives, before we can arrive at enduring procedures. If someone says: if you mean it, why don't you say it; my answer is, "I do and I do, if you know what I mean."

There was another thing that my father said that seems relevant and symbolic of the folk-strength that we must continue to conserve on this earth. On his ninetieth birthday, with nearly all of the children and grandchildren gathered for the birthday dinner, I think some of us might have been afraid his dinner blessing would be a too long prayer, too full of feeling. But what he said was, in substance, "O Lord, we thank Thee for this country of ours with its freedom and opportunity and its Christian democracy. Help us to keep America so. Give us enough of Thy strength to guide us to the last day." And that was enough, but not too much, to be appropriate for all of us here and now, in the special decisions we must make in the widening and deepening dilemmas which come from within and without our own regional domain.

For it must be clear to all that the crises and problems of the South that are extra and distinctive from those of the other regions of the nation are not the figments of our imaginations nor primarily the fabric of our weaving. For even now there come requests for counsel and for judgment from national associations of American Universities; from State Departments of Education; from City Departments

of Education; from universities, asking how shall we do this thing that is required of us? In addition to our consciousness of what must be done, and our conscience about what is not being done, the South is called upon day in and day out, year in and year out, to make new and important decisions; to abide by decisions made by others, to show cause why we should not adjust our bi-racial culture to the projected norms of the changing structure of a one-world society in conflict and travail. And besides, the impatient demands are for the present Southern generation to bear the burden, to pay the costs for past deficiencies, and show deeds meet for repentance for the sins of the fathers of all America unto the third and fourth generations of them that have gone before us. But let us not forget that it takes a stronger people to meet a greater crisis and that some have always had to carry the burden of what others have done and left undone. It is, then, wisdom and strength that we want more than bitterness and defeatism.

Now the "last day" reference to the need for strength for the profound tasks to which we must set our hands and seals at mid-century, would be the last long mile of 1999, from which vantage point, the end of the second half-century we need to ask: how will that which we are saying today and covenanting together to do tomorrow, look then? And can we afford a shorter time period or lesser maturity through which to envisage our prospects than so short a span as the second half of this century? But even that brief span is too long for a restless intellectual, and scientific leadership, en-

dowing mass man with the vibrant tools of impatience, conflict and power. So, in the meantime, how do our beginnings in the first decade of the new half century look? And the second decade? And the third? And the fourth? And next steps, preview to still other next steps, how will they look? And how will some of the things we now say and do look in the light of what must be?

For we speak not just for today but for tomorrow and, fully understanding the total complex situation and its hazards, I propose that we underwrite and covenant together, in unity and integrity, with courage and faith, and without fear or favor to insure the accommodation and conversion of our Southern bi-racial civilization into an integrated multiple-cultured American democracy at its advanced best, providing for the integrity, rights, participation, opportunity, and cultural autonomy, of both the white and Negro people in the framework of the American Dream and in the regional setting of a Southern people more prosperous and happy, better integrated into the National fabric and contributing more to a greater America than we have ever done before. — HOWARD ODUM

And I propose that we shall achieve these ends adequately and more quickly than has ever been recorded in the annals of human society, provided we can attain Southern awakening and unity and can succeed in working out agenda for national and interregional cooperation and collective diplomacy, according to the rules of administrative and representative democracy, intercultural relationships, balance and equilibrium between voluntaristic and coercive

pressures, according to the universal laws of cooperative and competitive processes of growth and stable progress.

Our appeal for unity is of several sorts; unity of the South and of the nation; unity of the white South; unity of the white and Negro South; and unity among the Negroes themselves - all in the search for working specifications more than for mere ideologies. And with unity we plead for understanding and sympathy - each unit of people trying to put itself in the place of the other. To this end we want the South to listen before protesting; we want the Nation to listen before attacking; we want the world to listen before generalizing. But we want us all to look more than listen, because our premises are more basic to achievement than to propaganda. And we want to look at the total conditions and specifications rather than to rationalize from a partial perspective. And we want to see the whole picture before we get too excited about a part of it.

But we shall not make the mistake of assuming the specifications are not difficult or that conditions are not extremely critical; for we know that our current dilemmas are such that, without wisdom, devotion, cooperation, compromise, and courage, we might lose this America of ours. And we know that such a loss would not come from any one-way hazard but from several. We must therefore comprehend our dilemmas and work out our specifications in relation to at least three main levels. First, what are the conditions and the situations inherent in a convulsively changing world society and

America's role of leadership in it? Second, what are the conditions and the situations inherent in the changing South and its role in the new society? And, third, what are the conditions and the situations inherent in the changing national attitude toward the South's bi-racial culture and the federal government's coercive pressures? Within these three inseparable situations we find both the processes and products of our dilemmas and the foundations of the future structure which we must build.

II

First, then, how new and how different is the world at the mid-century and what has that got to do with the South's next fifty years of unprecedented growth and enrichment of its culture and integration into the national and world picture? Can we make the identification of the character of the new mores, and the answering of emergency questions about it, help us to insure adequate diagnosis and direction of the South's promise and prospect. For, from the East and West, from the North and South, and from all the hinterlands of this America; and from all the way-places of the earth where folk are articulate, men and women, elders and youth, mass and class come asking for answers to their troubled questionings about the complexity and dilemmas of this contemporary world of ours. And they want answers that satisfy. They not only want to know what we are and how we have come to be as we are, but they want to know what we may become tomorrow and how we shall go on from today. And they want somehow to

understand the long succession of human strivings and achievements in some continuum which explains not only the ways in which we have come to now but in which also there is consistency enough to guide them well into the paths of the future.

In their searchings for truth and ways the people ask many specific questions. Why is it that there is so much doubt about survival? What is all this talk about fear and terror? Why do they tell us that the future of the human race will be decided in our life time or that we now live on borrowed time? Or that human society is well on the way to commit suicide? Why, in the most enlightened era of all mankind, is there so much darkness over the face of the earth? Why can't men learn to live together and resolve their differences? Why is it that in the most civilized communities on earth, men have the most jitters? Why are men in the upper brackets of culture and leadership so tired and discouraged? Why is it that often the profoundest expression of discouragement is found among the highest educated of the people?

More specifically, they ask why the dilemmas of race relations and the conflict of great moral ideologies cloud horizons and why the articulate aspirations of men exceed the capacity of any culture-economy yet devised to meet the needs. Why is it that science wants to substitute machines for men or study interplanetary life instead of human life on this earth? Why is it that the most intelligent and skilled men in the world devote their highest energies and abilities to means for destroying man? Why do men kill each

other in multiplied ratios and why has the cost of killing a fighting man risen from seventy-five cents in Caesar's day to $50,000 in western civilization? Why is it that production, the civilized index of rich living, is channelled into tragic dying? Why is it that men with the highest moral codes and ideology consent to the wholesome slaughter of masses of people in rationalized peace crusade? Why have the most "christian" and humane people in the world sponsored "operation killer"? And why, just as man has achieved the miraculous and civilization has flowered into beauty and abundance, have men lost their faith or placed such low evaluation upon the spirit of man and his divine destiny?

Many writers have tried to answer these and many other questions. From among the historians, natural scientists, philosophers, and other scholars and writers, who have tried to diagnose contemporary civilization, the most common efforts have apparently been directed toward the understanding of society in terms of some continuum reflected in the rise and fall of civilizations. From among the social scientists and scholars who have sought the answers in terms of collective behaviour, the prevailing diagnosis seems to be in terms of the impact of science and technology upon culture and the resulting frustration and conflict arising from mass civilization sweeping away the moorings of tradition and norms of value and the lessening role of primary institutions. From among those who have preached from pulpit and press, the prevailing diagnosis has apparently been in terms of moral

decay and the dulling of human aspiration and spiritual faith.

Our first task, therefore, in the diagnosis of our own problem is to sense the nature and meaning of our current discontents and dilemmas in which science, technology and other forces have made our contemporary world so complex that it is hard to understand. In many ways it is a different and a new world with vast distance between the swift moving drama of current civilization and the slow journeyings of mankind in all earlier cultures and even in our own recent past. Yet, our world is still changing so rapidly that speed, bigness, technology, complexity and change appear to be the new masters, dominating the scene as they have never done before. There is, therefore, apparently a greater chasm of distance between the technological order of contemporary civilization and the folk-culture and capacity of the people and their institutions than has hitherto been recorded. Yet, in spite of this unprecedented distance between technology and the folk, the restlessness and power of all the peoples, made articulate through science, communications, and intercultural ideologies, constitute perhaps the chief social dynamics of the time. Our world appears also to be a confused world, lacking in focus of faith and purpose, bordering on despair and hysteria, in which doubts and fears for the total future and destiny of mankind appear as a central theme, perhaps for the first time. Our world, therefore, is fabricated of so many different levels and complexities of structure and func-

tion that it is not only difficult for the scientist to analyze and diagnose, but it is hard for the average individual to live in and for leadership to plan the way on.

This complex society of the world we live in may best be characterized by the term state civilization, as comprehending the total traits of the most advanced technological and organizational society in a continuum which has its genesis and constant growth and survival processes in the contrasting folk culture, symbol also of the close knit societal integration of all growing civilizations. The state civilization, symbolizing the secularization of the folk culture, is fabricated of five main threads so thoroughly interwoven in warp and woof as to make a clearly defined and powerful pattern of human relationships. The first is science, invention, and technology. The second is industrialization and urbanization. The third is intellectualism and cultural specialization. The fourth is centralization and power. The fifth is totalitarianism and the super-state society. Each of these is fabricated of still other weavings of multiple minor designs.

Interwoven with science, invention and technology are unprecedented achievement, with speed, technics, standardization. Interwoven with industry and urbanism are the machine economy, stratification, a new way of community living, an extraordinarily high standard of living, and great concentrations of art, drama, and wealth. Interwoven with intellectualism and cultural specialization are scientific humanism,

the concept that the intellect is the supreme guide for living, the standard of living as a chief index of social values, and undreamed of contributions in creative art and literature, science for science's sake. Interwoven with centralization and power are bigness, concentration, corpocracy, organization, limitless production, efficiency like a miracle. Interwoven with totalitarianism and the super-state are coercion, regulation and secularization with power more relevant than liberty and with force as a living ideal. Needless to say, all these are inseparably related in an indescribably rich fabric of human achievement and constituting a continuum of interaction processes in the loom of societal development.

The state civilization is sequel to and an extension of the universal folk culture, the two constituting the main currents and levels of cultural development in the universal societal continuum from early folk society to late state society. The folk culture is also fabricated of a number of threads with their multiple qualities of interaction between the folk and nature, between the folk and their own cultural environment, and between the folk of one culture and of other cultures. First, the folk culture is identified with nature with reference to natural laws, time, climate, geographic environment, close to the soil. Folk culture is further characterized by primary relationships and institutions, kith and kin in ethnic relationships, and primary occupations. The folk culture conforms essentially to rural and religious institutional character reflecting primarily the solidarity

of a moral order. It is essentially institutional, deriving its social character from societies that are small, isolated, reflecting love of liberty, loyalties, homogeneities of structure. The folk culture is closely knit, cohesive, non-organizational, with behaviour primarily spontaneous, personal, traditional, yet strongly integrated through its community of growth and moral order. The folk society is thus essentially in contrast to the state society, the one geared to nature and to ethnic and moral structure and the other to technology and to civil organization and specialized structure.

In contrast to the folk culture, where behaviour is characterized primarily by the folkways and mores, and by the solidarity of institutional character and sacred traditions, the state civilization is characterized primarily by the stateways and technicways and the consequent secularization of culture. In the folk culture there is gradualness of change with the usual corollary of culture lag, in which material progress seems to exceed cultural change, while in the state society ideological conceptualizations greatly accelerate change which then is followed by achievement lag in which the cultural and ideological specifications are in advance of material ways of achieving the specified ends.

Now, it is in the understanding and measurements of the processes of social change through the folkways and mores on the one hand, and the stateways and technicways on the other that the scientific study of contemporary society becomes realistic rather than through the mere cataloguing of the

products of change brought about by such inventions and technological tools as the automobile, radio, television, other communication techniques and the revolutionary achievements of science, invention and technology. By the same token it will be through the utilization of the social technicways of social planning comprehending the organic survival values of the folk culture and matching the material technicways which evolve from technology, that the new directions of society may be effected, through balance and equilibrium between the folk culture and state civilization, rather than through mere moral imperatives or a moratorium on science, on the one hand, or through totalitarian directives, on the other.

Keeping in mind that both folk culture and state civilization are "ideal types" or mental constructs of which no known pure examples can be cited, and both of which occur in the social character of every society, we note that society changes from the folk culture to the state civilization when quick moving technological innovations exceed the slow developing traditional culture patterns and when the mode of mass behaviour is reflected in the secularization of culture within the framework of stateways and technicways which are in conflict with and subversive to the folkways and mores. Such a state civilization, flowering into its complex attainment of technology, industrialization, urbanization, intellectualism, cultural specialization, organization, centralization and power, tends to assume the nature of a technological order rather than a human society or a moral order the universal

constant in all growing human societies. Inherent in such a technological order could be not only complexity as to accelerate antagonisms, conflict, derangement, breakdown and disintegration, but the capacity to weaken or destroy human society, through decay from non-use of cultural processes, from the exhausting and destructive power of science and technology, and from the assumption by the totalitarian state of the functions of all the other institutions which are the creators and creatures of the total healthy societal system. The decay of civilization, therefore, could reflect primarily, not cyclical inevitability but, on the one hand, the failure to conserve the growth and survival values of the folk culture, and on the other hand, the burden of demands of supertechnology and artificial society which exceed the capacity of the people and their resources and institutions. The crisis of contemporary society is reflected in two ways: on the one hand in continuing and accelerated trends now universally characterized as hazardous; and on the other in an apparent possibility of an alternative future direction in societal evolution which would achieve balance and equilibrium between the folk culture and the state civilization through the maturing services of science and social science in the framework of sound social planning. Inherent in such societal planning, in addition to the time quality and long time priority schedules; skills and expertness, specifications and integration, are research and the discovery, through comparative folk sociology, of the folk culture to be recaptured and reintroduced into the

streamflow of civilization.

III

Now the South, rich in its folk potentials, finds itself in fullfledged participation in contemporary state civilization with the same hazards of adjustment that all peoples have but with many special facets different from the other regions of the United States; and, due to its organic membership in the union of states, its problems are technically different from those of separate nationals or independent peoples' cultures; and due to the long and complex heritage of bi-racial culture, its conflicts and tensions are somewhat different from the conflicting ideologies of many world cultures, the resolving of which Northrop has estimated to be the crucial problem of this age. But there is one over-all way in which the South's situation is not different and that is in the fact that the sweep of time and technology has so made a new world that the radically different bases and directions of human behaviour require radical new adjustments and outmode isolationism and secession from the rest of the world. The South has little choice in determining the nature and tempo of pressures, communications, and impacts made upon it.

It comes to pass, therefore, that the social technicways of societal planning are powerfully relevant to the ongoings of our cultural and economic development, American style. Debate and argument, satire and caricature on the folkways

and mores, or on superior and inferior races must be transcended by dynamics of arrangement and program. In particular, the South has a double portion of what we have identified as "achievement lag", due to the over-reach of ideologies and the consequent moral directives and coercive pressures often projected in the framework of vested frustration. For no culture economy or organization control has yet been devised capable of containing the ideological floodwaters of Winter downpour and Spring cloudbursts following in the wake of cold fronts and high pressure areas of irresponsible agitation for the quick equalization of all differentials of time, place, and process, with no retaining dykes of classification structures nor reservoirs of cumulative standards, covenants and agreements, comprehensive knowledge and administrative guaranties and integrity. The South might be likened to the Oklahoma of an old timer who, when asked if the wind blew like this all the time, replied, "Oh no, sometimes it blows from the North."

But the South, even at its stormiest periods of throwing up sandbags for temporary defense, is not altogether different from the rest of the country in its manifestation of excessive zeal whether in the orgies of seven league boots hot headed talkers or seven million mass man concentrate in New York shouting hosannas to an old man returning from the wars of "Operation Killer." All these, including the Rankins and McCarthys, are normal part and parcel of the powerful adjustment process as well as the hazards of survival and we take them in our democratic stride as we always have in America.

Now, since the South's adjustment to the industrial and technological demands of the new age tend to be equal or above the rate of the rest of the nation, as is the case with general overall advancement, it must be clear that our chief concern is in the mastery of our bi-racial culture, made imperative (1) because it is right; (2) because it is inevitable if we are to make history and meet destiny as a strong young people; and (3) because the nation and the courts, of which we are a democratic part, require it. It is in the nature of our mastery, the specifications of our achievement, the tempo of our process and the soundness of our structure that the South and the Nation are to be tested in the crucibles of that destiny and the perpetuation and expansion of what this America has gained for the world.

Here are some of the facets of the Southern situation which are fundamental to the new history and destiny which we make, geared to a titanic struggle for balance and equilibrium and for the resolving of powerful and sacred differences for which the whole world works and prays. And here is laboratory for peace and permanence as concrete and critical as ever were Palestine and Pakistan, Arabia and Asia, Kremlin and Korea.

First in the southern situation is the cumulative racial and conflict heritage that has gone into the architecture of all cultures, whether in the bi-racial South or in India, in Pakistan, in China, in all the way-places of Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and in uncounted little culture islands of the Pacific; and in counted big nations and little democracies

of the western world. This heritage, which is basic to conflict and war, is also the very heart of group loyalties, patriotism and institutional solidarity, symbolic of the universal formula by which men covenant "for God, for country and for home." The Southern culture structure rates the same diagnosis as any other.

In the Southern situation is the same cumulative heritage which leads India's powerful Nehru, as late as yesterday and in tomorrow's news, to beg for the preservation of world peace and world order with hope and faith, but with an appeal for character and patience. But he adds, "Anyway we can't have it suddenly or by decree. One has to grow up to it;" and again, in what he terms "an unbelievable varied world", he protests the quick "imposition of any form of foreign domination against the will of the people", on the structural grounds that "no solution which is not accepted by large masses of the people can have any possible enduring quality." Nor would Nehru relish the stereotype designation of being caricatured as a "gradualist", outmoded echo of superficial rationalization.

But the Southern heritage is more specific with reference to the main conflicts involved in the issues of equality and segregation; and this heritage is different from that of autonomous nations in two main ways. In the first place, in the South the heritage of slavery set the incidence for the patterns of caste and white supremacy. Slavery, however, was later abolished in a conflict of brothers stranger than fic-

tion in which the South lost once and for all the physical and political foundations for its exclusive bi-racial structure. By the same token, then, remaining as a major region in a powerful democratic federation of states, the South is not free to decide those aspects of its bi-racial structure primarily bounded by constitutional guaranties and supported by public funds in the framework of free institutions. Agenda for collective negotiations between the nation and the South as a major region, therefore, must be projected on the informal voluntaristic levels such as those of arbitration procedures in other domestic disputes, rather than on formal diplomatic levels.

From the cumulative heritage of the South there has grown up a powerful backlog of both liabilities and hazards and of limited assets. The liabilities are primarily of five sorts. One is the unenviable record of injustice, inequalities, and brutality. Another is the collective mental and moral concept of the Negro as rating something less than human parity in Southern culture, a powerful construct that not only colors and explains nearly all of the South's deviate behaviour in inter-racial relationships but sometimes appears as well nigh indestructible. A third, following as a sort of corollary, assumes that "The South" is the "White South", a usage that ignores the Negro both by default and by intent. Still a fourth follows logically and that is the white South's lack of understanding and sympathy with the achievements of the Negro and their reasonable expectations and demands.

Finally, the South's sensitiveness to outside criticism and its resistance to Federal direction and moral directives has continuously been revivified by pressures and propaganda.

The South's heritage also includes an extraordinary record of change and of advancement in nearly all of the facets of modern civilization. The fact that we are concerned in this discourse primarily with those aspects of change that have to do with our bi-racial civilization does not mean that this is the whole structural problem but it does imply that we have to master this situation before we can go on to any satisfactory achievements in the quality and integration of the Southern and the National culture at their best. Yet, in this area of inter-racial relations we have achieved both absolute and relative change beyond the highest expectations of such saints as Mary White Ovington and Oswald Garrison Villard in the sense of going further and sooner in many aspects of life than they anticipated. I might illustrate in a personal instance. In the early part of this first half of the century which we celebrate, I had written Social and Mental Traits of the Negro. Professor E. R. A. Seligman, notable economist and philanthropist, and leader in inter-cultural relations, was Chairman of a committee which awarded this manuscript the Grant Squires prize as the best published social gical treatise in the five year period. Yet no University Press, not even in the South, would publish this book today because of its assumptions of segregation as a permanent pattern of social structure. This might well reflect

the fact that in education, in politics, in transportation, in ideologies and other aspects of regional culture, measured by both quantity and quality indices, the societal profile is scarcely recognizable as compared with the beginning of the Century.

In particular, I suppose there would be no contesting the verdict that the Negro in the South has achieved the greatest progress in the shortest span of years that has ever been recorded in the history of cultures. And still more particularly the spectacle of many Southern Negro leaders achieving distinction, influence, character, and role, equal and often superior to many of their white contemporaries, reflects an epoch which history and biography must surely record as phenomenal. And still more particularly, the number and records of Negro educators and scientists in the fields of the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences, adds up to an extraordinary total providing not only actual contributions of note but leverage for greater future achievements. In the total fabric of Southern bi-racial culture, the Negro's weaving of warp and woof shows a distinctive pattern of patience, persistence, plodding, alongside the more colorful exploits of exceptional individuals. Finally, the Negro's total culture operating as a folk society within the state society of the white South has insured a continuum of stable and advanced cultural evolution that reflects both powerful survival values and societal process.

Now, to return to our heritage of liabilities, and with

special reference to brutalities and gross injustices, there can be no possible justification of any of it and nothing can prevent those communities that encourage such practices from suffering the consequences in spiritual and business bankruptcy in the long run. The appeal is for every community to see that a minority of its members are neither encouraged nor allowed to assess such penalties upon them, for our record of brutality is a disgrace to any culture anywhere, any time.

There are several ways in which such community penalties are incurred. One is, of course, the mob and mob spirit - something that the South is rapidly liquidating as a main trait of its collective behaviour and something that the South has learned the hard way is costly beyond reason. Another is the brutality and treatment which a minority of police forces accord the Negro. Besides being inexcusable, this especially undermines the integrity of the South both because most people are not aware of it and because all over the South the movement for a fine police service is reaping substantial results. But even so there is no justification for the extent of such brutality either because of lack of community conscience or community action. This is a big job to be done with relatively little cost as compared with the phenomenal results to be achieved.

Another area is that of injustices and exploitation in the community, too often reflected in the minor courts and civil rulings with reference to the Negro. In community life

this is reflected in discrimination and exploitation in prices and wages, in housing and community services and in lack of respect for personality.

Now turning again to the more constructive side and to the urgency of making the right decisions and undertaking the right actions immediately; in so far as the total situation may be characterized in terms of tasks to be undertaken there appear to be four main segments or levels calling for mature and quick action on a statesmanlike basis. The first is to remedy the inexcusable situation with reference to brutalities, injustices, inequalities, and discrimination to which we have referred. The second is to set up what would currently be designated as "Operation Equal Opportunity" to comprehend all phases of public education. The third is to provide immediately for non-segregation in all university education on the graduate and professional level. The fourth is to move judiciously but speedily toward agenda for negotiations and specifications for future achievement on the total front.

With reference to the monumental task of equalizing facilities for education, this is a big job challenging not only the will, strength and capacity of a strong people but the cooperation, judicial interpretation, and constitutional structure of the nation. The reconstruction of our educational facilities, including buildings, equipment, salaries, and administrative features, involves an extraordinary multibillion dollar industry, which, operated at its best, will enrich the

South, develop its resources, raise its standards of work, income, and living. This done adequately will not only make the South prosperous beyond previous measure but will enable it through its increased prosperity to pay for its new investments and contribute powerfully in turn to the national wealth. But in turn there can be no doubt of the nation's obligation to share this investment both because of the Federal strategy of equalization of funds and reciprocal cooperation with states and regions but because of the Federal ruling which makes mandatory the South's rebuilding of its educational structure.

Now the South's part of the initial added increment for the reconstruction of its educational facilities, in terms of what specifications can be made available and of authorizations and priorities, would be no more than the first expenditure for the first atomic bomb and a small ratio of subsequent such expenditures. The South would surely ridicule the challenge that it could not appropriate two billion dollars for an investment which would net many billions of dollars in the future and contribute powerfully to conservation and development of its human and institutional resources, as well.

For there is here a tremendous difference between the two types of investment in that these new expenditures will be powerfully productive and constructively geared to the development and wise use of resources in the increase of wealth and prosperity and the enrichment of people and institutions as opposed to the negative or destructive nature of atomic warfare. Instead, therefore, of doubts and fears, so

far as fiscal capacities go, the "Operation Equal Opportunity" is something to challenge not only capacities but enthusiasm for the future. Such a raising of standards and doubling of facilities in a brilliant transitional period of our own reconstruction, will provide the structure and facilities, equitably distributed according to local geographic areas and administered through procedures consistent with educational standards, through which the problems of segregation may ultimately be adjusted in the American way of balance and equilibrium between voluntaristic effort and coercive decree; between compromise and inflexibility, as has been the prevailing mode of American democracy from the first.

The above agenda for equalizing educational opportunities applies to all levels of schooling and assumes the normal status and processes of segregation <u>and</u> non segregation consistent with the development and administration of educational systems everywhere. It assumes a certain inevitable continuity of the sub system featuring primarily segregation in the public schools but with both non segregation and segregation modes and privileges in institutions of higher learning. This is necessary to insure equality of opportunity for the extraordinary Negro institutions, teachers, students, and administrative officers in ways which will give maximum recognition and opportunity for Negro professional folk and students.

Now in the case of graduate and professional education the situation is both practically and judiciously relatively clear. In the first place the court rulings are increasingly unanimous and the South not only has no intention of not

abiding by the equitable laws of the land but will take pride in achieving the best possible accomodation in conforming with the best traditions of fairness and sympathy. It must be clear, as I have often pointed out, that up to now the South has had no American universities but Southern universities in so far as the color of a man's skin would preclude him from receiving either instruction in the highest brackets of graduate and professional work or an honorary degree for cause of notable achievement or service. And it is not only from the Supreme Court but from the American associations of professional schools and universities that requirements are being imposed for validating the highest standards of graduates and professional instruction. That this is a structurally different situation from elementary and secondary schools, in the framework of America's private, religious, and public school system will be as manifest to the courts as it is to the executive and legislative units of government and to the practical administrative constituency of American education.

IV

Now we come to our most definitive and difficult task, namely, the problem of providing agenda basic to the statesmanlike collective diplomacy through which region and nation may work together for the desired ends. I think Mr. Justice Brandis back in the 1930's had in mind this task of the integration and enrichment of the Negroes in the national fabric and the resolving of primary conflicts when, upon receiving

an early copy of Southern Regions, he wrote offering his congratulations and best wishes, for what he designated "The first step in grappling with our most serious problem." Here again, we must keep asking the question whether what we are saying is true and if so what of it: and what else, besides is true, and how from the interrelations and perspectives of these truths, we may come to matured conclusions and right actions. For then it must be clear that we must be vigorously critical and honest in facing facts, raising questions, urging integrity and trying new ways geared more to enduring strategies of cultural excellence and democratic structure than to excessive zeal and unbalanced directives.

To begin, three major crucial points of emphasis loom large. First is the importance to the United States of not allowing world crisis and war scare either to obscure our obligations or warp our strategy to work harder than ever on our domestic situations, basic both to advancement and survival, or to reconstruction in case of catastrophe. The second point of view is the importance, in the processes of resolving our bitterest conflicts, or utilizing peaceful methods of negotiation and understanding rather than challenge to conflict and the teaching of hate. Threats, name calling, hate mongering, inflexible dogmas and the imposition of coercive decrees, are no more defensible nor less disastrous in America than in the world of international tensions. It is true that any record of undemocratic practices will affect our influence abroad; but it is equally true that whether we achieve our

advances by peaceful means or by violence and bloodshed, is equally important in a world-leading nation urging universal peace.

The third point of emphasis is that we are assuming not only that this accomodation and conversion of bi-racial civilization to a richer, integrated American culture can be done and that people everywhere want to know the best way to do it. This does not mean that we are so simple minded as not to understand the hazards involved. Stuart Chase in his forthcoming volume, Roads to Agreement, which I have reviewed for the Saturday Review of Literature for May 12, catalogues eighteen levels of conflict and firm principles of agreement for the resolving of differences. Yet few, if any of the experimental techniques recommended are utilized in the current conflict of ideologies and policies with reference to segregation which has become the sine qua non of all negotiations. And yet the United States, of all peoples, has built its democratic structure on the foundations of voluntaristic negotiations and freedom of discussions in the framework of administrative, legislative, and judicial procedures. What then, in addition to the heritage of liabilities which we have catalogued for the South, are obstacles and hazards in the way?

Our first and major task is a neglected one, namely the working out of agenda for programs of agreement and action on the part of the South and of the nation. These agenda are of two sorts, conforming to the American principles of balance and equilibrium between the voluntaristic effort and coercive

mandates. One is on the level of negotiation between regional and national voluntary agencies, and their deputies, functioning in the field of interracial policies and practices. The other is on the level of official governmental commissions for research and negotiations between regional and federal agencies looking toward the achievement of equality of opportunity and fair practices. Here the assumption seems reasonable that our domestic conflicts merit the same sort of mature and extended peaceful negotiations that are accorded problems of international tensions and differences.

Our covenanting together to face facts, perspective, and responsibilities, challenges scrutiny of our total situation and dilemmas in the national picture. A little while ago we gave a typical American dinner honoring the Nobel Peace Prize winner with nearly 2000 guests from all regions of the nation and from many hinterlands of the mores. And from the momentum of this occasion emerged contributions of approximately a quarter million dollars as pace maker for a much larger sum, a part of which is to be devoted to procedures which will make the bitterness and conflict between Palestine and Arabia look like yesterday. Is the bitter drive for Federal coercive measures to eliminate segregation in the most difficult situations, say, in South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, really worthy of American standards of peace negotiations? Is it expecting too much for a really great leader like Ralph Bunche, to experiment with the same sort of diplomacy which justly earned his acclaim in the area of regional natio-

nal conflict instead of name calling, bigotry accusing, guilt by association techniques now so conventional in America. On the other hand, is it expecting too much of Jimmy Byrnes, rich in years and experience and in opportunity and influence to utilize the best that he gleaned from his international diplomacy rather than to project threats and fan the flames of bitterness, in a surrender of the cause of millions of our children's children who have the right to expect opportunity commensurate with their heritage and capacities.

In the pressure propaganda for achieving the desired ends of societal conversion there are dangers inherent in the lack of integrity of purpose and method, in the partisan political balance of power, and in the advocacy to endanger the organic vitality of the nation through major operations for temporary eruptions. If there are those who hold that the South, having too many people of both races anyway, would profit by a certain amount of violent revolution, and slaughter of the people, as I have heard prominent metropolitan leaders say, that might be a democratic prerequisite; but to urge the Supreme Court to set the incidence of such a conflict is something else. To boast that one is not interested in the millions of Negroes as persons or in their present welfare but only in winning a cause; or, around cocktails to chuckle over the panic of the folk in Southern dilemma is still again the privilege of American democracy, but reflects little of the excellence and integrity of American statesmanship. Partisan "vested frustration," often in the past approaching

dangerously near subversive activities, is not a satisfactory substitute for American fellowship and national counsels.

Now, manifestly, part and parcel of our diagnosis and direction must inhere in the comprehensive understanding of what this American democracy is in its total structure and changing profile. What is meant when we guarantee the conversion of the Southern compound bi-racial culture to an American complex integrated multicultured society? It must be clear that we mean exactly that: the moving of the South from isolation and separatism, from conflict and organic structures which prevent large segments of the people from having equal access to opportunity, resources, work, personality recognition, into cultural arrangements which permit free movement toward all opportunities. This means not only in the South but all over the nation. It means freedom for the Negro to take his place as an integer of cultural structure exactly as does the Jewish, the European Nationals, the Oriental peoples, as well as the many strands of a world society inevitable in the total fabric of America now the cultural as well as economic and political capital of the world. Such a conversion brings with it no more compulsion or specifications for negating the facets of race and ethnic minorities, supreme in whatever personality and cultural loyalties they may wish. Such a conversion automatically, as in any organic structure or process, carries with it the inevitable continuity of separateness, autonomy, and segregation inherent in not only the American ideal but in all the newer

reaches of social science, philosophy, freedom for all the differential-groups to have a say in how they shall integrate themselves into the new world society.

One illustration of the limitations and difficulties of our problem of negotiation may be seen in the suggestion made by the Southern Regional Council a few years ago that President Franklin D. Roosevelt appoint a National advisory commission to work with Southern leaders on interracial relations. Yet at the national level, pressures were so varied and insistent about who should or should not be appointed on the Commission that, of course, the project was abandoned. But this is more than equalled in the South in the spectacle of a Southern Regional Council not being able to attract as president, or as prominent members of its board, or financial backers, the most prominent and influential leaders, exclusive of leaders in the fields of religion and sometimes education. It must be clear that their fear of assuming such responsibility is not always due to being afraid of criticism but it is also a fear of not being able to succeed and of being involved in issues and policies over which they have no control. As yet, from the present vantage point, the greatest opportunity in the whole nation might well be hidden in a million dollar contribution to the successful ordering of that Council and what it might mean to the South and the Nation. And it might well be that no federal commission of authorized deputies for discussion and agenda would be more significant than one appointed by the president of the United States to confer

with governmental and administrative officers of Southern states.

There are several other aspects of the situation with reference to segregation in education that carry a heavy load of responsibility. One is the continuity of the remarkable record of self development, distinguished achievement and high morale of Negro schools and colleges. For those who know the high motivations, the effective work, the institutional loyalties, the student bodies, the professors - it is no easy decision to recommend anything but an increase of support and appreciation of both what they are doing and of the opportunity for students and faculty to work together without frustration and agression.

Another aspect of the situation is found in the terrible responsibility of those who teach hate and discouragement to Negro children and youth, millions of the finest youth of any race. For here the frame of reference is bitterness and pessimism during the years which every one knows are years of transition, and at the particular time when impressionistic youth need high motivation and support. Anyone who is not naive enough to try to repeal the laws of individuation, of personality, of freedom, of opportunity, of classification, knows that the major construct is not segregation <u>or</u> non-segregation but non-segregation <u>and</u> segregation, developed through total processes of interaction and of growth, of means and ends, of moral imperatives and administrative reality.

One of the startling paradoxes of this era is found in

the seeming inconsistencies of social scientists and philosophers, especially of anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists and moralists. That is, in a notable era of increased emphasis upon the individual, personality, the autonomy of peoples and culture groups, and upon provisions for differentiation in education and schooling, directives are prepared and recommendations made for enforcing, in cultures throughout the world, conformity to standardized specifications of American urban and intellectual regimentation. Millions of dollars from private foundations, besides billions for governmental finances, are allocated to the acceleration of uniformities in the wake of the impact of technology upon the solidarity and cohesiveness of simpler folk and simpler cultures. The degree of resentment which thousands of folk cultures feel toward the luxurious living of American representatives, often assigned to make over old cultures, would appear astronomical if it could be measured. Yet measures are abundant in individual cases, whether in Japan of today, or China of yesterday, or in Africa, or Pakistan or India. At a time when the United States bemoans its past policy and treatment of the American Indian or the old patterns of imperialism in other lands, similar types of policies and standards set the incidence for the assumptions of the same old dominance over subject cultures.

A second paradox is almost equally startling. At a time when communications technique, and the highly motivated urge for freedom of speech dominates our ideology, the clearly

dominant power is often that of minority potential control especially in the areas of economical commericalism, such that pressures from a few may overpower the facilities of the many. All this is powerfully evident in the pressures of the communications power structure and of political balance of power in urban national control, as they are structured in the national approach to the bi-racial situation of the Southern United States. Here again, and again, but finally, we must ask: Is it true? And what else is true? And what are the interrelations between these truths, in the projection of a cultural statesmanship which will integrate our regional cultures into an America at her best rather than to divide and conquer in another primary conflict that is inconsistent with all of the highest ideals of that America which presumes to lead the world.

Among the other contradictions so prevalent in the Southern picture is what might be termed the negation of all excellence in southern civilization in the verdicts of a majority whose judgments are based upon inflexible measures of non-segregation. This is nothing short of tragic. For nothing in the traditions of rich living, in the stability of institutions and the achievements of industry, agriculture, public works, and in the creative work of the South, receives more than a third or fourth rate appraisal so long as the South's culture balance remains in the red with reference to the Negro. Everywhere, here is a region which geographers have ranked near the top in all those resources and physic-

graphic situations which make for greatness. Here is a region of beauty and abundance, with millions of people happy in the prospect of future prosperity - that is, happy until always and ever, the shadow of a tragic people, of two tragic peoples, falls athwart the path of progress and peace. It is not so in other regions where no single phase of culture and economy is allowed to determine the final verdict about the total. In no other region, again, are the achievements of a dynamic minority group, such as the Negro, rich in romance and realism, marked down with a price tag of "slightly blemished" or imperfect finish, as is the case in the South. It is a strange situation ripe for first hand observation and research by outside appraisers, the results of which might well provide the basis for intergroup and interregional accommodation; instead of which vast ignorance prevails about most of the structure and functioning of the Southern culture. A few million dollars from endowed funds, or from government appropriations, for full and normal inquiry and planning might well go a long way toward resolving conflicts and reducing the power structure of propaganda and threats if operations were pursued with the same impartiality as other research and negotiations. Instead, minds and doors appear closed on both fronts of the bitter-enders.

Just twenty years ago I wrote about the South in <u>An American Epoch</u> "So came an American Epoch that was the South. An era had ended. An era had begun. Old golden pages of history, shining parchment records of culture, then yellow

and faded, scorched and seared with years of embattled conflict, and epic struggle . . . Gallant figures on black horses and white . . . and crude, simple folk, sore with the footfall of time, passing across an epoch which was to be destroyed by physical and cultural conflagration and to rise up again in another American Epoch strangely different and vivid and powerful. Cultures in the making, social processes at work, portraiture descriptive of how civilizations grow. All the South's yesterdays, with their brilliant episodes and with their sordid pictures receding, giving way to the South's tomorrows, through a sweeping American development reminiscent of universal culture."

I submit this anew feeling sure it is a fair appraisal. But we have not gone as far by 1950 as I had anticipated in another verdict at the same time, when I wrote "The picture of the South realizing its possibilities in the New American Epoch was therefore a colorful picture of an achieving region rather than a pale print of the sensitive South. It was a South thinking less highly of the past than of the future; a South seeking to do all things <u>well</u> rather than merely a few things <u>big</u>; a South which appraised work higher than talk, truth more than dogma, integrity more than acclaim. It was a South unafraid; not afraid of Sinaic thunders echoed by false prophets; not afraid to do its own thinking nor to create in pioneer fields; not afraid of the truth and the freedom which truth reveals; not afraid of the past, the present, or the future. It was a South devout with <u>religio poetae</u>, with the humility of the scientist and seeking to

conserve its fighting energies through eminence in achievement rather than in wasteful conflict. It was a South set to the task of conserving and developing its limitless resources in materials and men and to stopping its vast leakage from economic and social waste. It was a South seeking to extend the bounds of its work to the whole range of human endeavor; to measure its efforts only by the highest standards of excellence, and to appraise its contributions in terms of broader national and international application and of permanent values. It was, in fine, an American South of continuing and new achievements, transforming its deficits to a balance of gain, and becoming representative of the best that America could produce."

Now, finally, out of appreciation for this opportunity to address this notable assembly, representative of the best that sociology affords in the southern region in all its states, I have tried to envisage the next half century from the viewpoint of a science of society, looking at the continuities of growth, development, survival and in the framework of the changing structures of all society. Next I have tried to envisage this South and its dilemmas in the framework of what must be understood in any logical brief that should be studied by those who render judgments from the courts of this nation. For surely, there are judicial aspects of far reaching significance.

But, thirdly, I should like for a moment to forget all of us as social scientists or as educational leaders, or as

Quarterly Report - 13
Oct., Nov., Dec., '54

LONG RANGE ON FUNDS

The Board meeting made provision for a place as treasurer of the Southern Regional Council, and it is intended to build the Finance Committee around that position. As yet, in spite of diligent efforts, we haven't found the treasurer, but we are trying and hope that before many weeks an effective Finance Committee will be at work.

Meanwhile, we see ourselves within reach of the fund-raising requirements placed on the central office for 1954-55 by the Fund for the Republic. There is a gap of three or four thousand dollars in the figures I keep on a memo pad, but we expect to close it.

Miss Stoney, as Secretary-Treasurer, will forward a complete fiscal report as soon as the auditor has reviewed the figures.

Board Comes.

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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P. B. YOUNG, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
HOMER P. RAINEY, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

In accordance with the vote of a brief meeting of the Board of Directors which was held on December 6 just after the meeting of the Council members, I am notifying you that the Board will meet on January 31, 1945. This meeting is called for 10:30 A. M. in the Exhibition Room of the Library Building at Atlanta University, 273 Chestnut Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

This will be a very important meeting of the Board, and you are urged to be present if you possibly can. Among the matters of business to be considered are: election of officers and executives for the year, reports of the standing committees, discussion of details of the Council program for 1945, and the consideration of certain important questions of policy.

I have appointed a Committee on Nominations and I feel sure they will be glad to have suggestions from you. The Committee on Nominations includes Dr. Horace M. Bond, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Mr. Leonard Haas, Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Mrs. Henry Havens, Dr. Luther P. Jackson, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Msgr. T. James McNamara, and Miss Josephine Wilkins.

I hope to see you at the meeting. Let us all work hard to make the Council a strong force for progress.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM
President

P. S. Please notify Miss Clay whether you expect to attend the meeting or not.

I (accept) election to charter membership in the Southern
(do not accept)
Regional Council, Inc.

IF YOU ACCEPT, PLEASE FILL IN THE FOLLOWING:

I (shall) attend the meeting on February 16-17.
(shall not)

(If you accept but have some doubt as to whether you will be able to come to the meeting, please fill in the proxy blank provided below and mail it to Miss Emily H. Clay, 710 Standard Building, Atlanta 3, Georgia, as soon as possible.)

Signed _____

Address _____

Date _____ _____

PROXY

The undersigned, a charter member of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., hereby constitutes and appoints Howard W. Odum, Rufus E. Clement, Charles S. Johnson, Arthur J. Moore, and Ralph McGill, or any one or more of them (with full power to act without the other), the proxy of the undersigned with full power of substitution to attend a meeting of the members of the Council to be held on February 16, 1944, and any adjournment thereof, and to vote on all questions at the Proxy's complete discretion, with all the powers the undersigned would possess if personally present at said meeting.

Signed _____

Date _____

SOME NOTES ON THE PROPOSED BY-LAWS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

NOTE: Certain sections of the by-laws need no particular explanation. The questions and comments presented below relate to the more important provisions which determine the structure and government of the Council.

ARTICLE I. NAME AND AREA

Sec. 1. Name — Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Sec. 2. Area — The states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

ARTICLE II. MEMBERS

Sec. 1. Members — Members are, of course, the source of all authority in the corporation. Beginning with the basic charter members, new members might be nominated by the Board and elected by the members. Shall there be wide membership, open to all persons who pledge to support the work of the Council? Restricted membership? Shall members have definite terms, or shall they continue as long as they are in good standing? Shall they pay dues?

Sec. 2. Annual Meetings — We are suggesting second Wednesday in October.
Sec. 3. Additional Regular Meetings
Sec. 4. Special Meetings
Sec. 5. Place of Meetings
Sec. 6. Notice of Meetings
Sec. 7. Quorum
Sec. 8. Vacancies
Sec. 9. Removal

ARTICLE III. FELLOWS AND AFFILIATES

Sec. 1. Fellows

Selection — Young Southerners of 25 to 40 who have shown exceptional talent for leadership may be chosen as honorary fellows. Please be prepared to nominate several from your state.

Duties — To assist as observers, correspondents, etc.

Sec. 2. Affiliates — Provision shall be made for the affiliation of similar organizations or subsidiaries of the Council.

ARTICLE IV. BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Sec. 1. Election and Powers — We suggest that the first Board have not more than 50 members; that terms be for four years, with one-fourth expiring each year; and that some limit be placed on the number of terms a person may serve, in order to prevent undue "ageing" of the Board. Would it also be advisable to provide that each of the thirteen states be entitled to at least two members, one white and one Negro, on the Board?

ARTICLE IV. BOARD OF DIRECTORS (Cont'd.)

Sec. 2. Regular Meetings	Immediately following the annual meeting of members.
Sec. 3. Additional Regular Meetings	
Sec. 4. Special Meetings	
Sec. 5. Place of Meetings	
Sec. 6. Notice of Meetings	
Sec. 7. Quorum	
Sec. 8. Vacancies	
Sec. 9. Removal	

ARTICLE V. COMMITTEES

Sec. 1. Executive Committee	A committee of not more than ___ members, with the usual executive committee powers.
Sec. 2. Meetings of Executive Committee	
Sec. 3. National Advisory Committee	To advise with the Council on the coordination of its work with similar agencies outside the South.
Sec. 4. Other Committees	

ARTICLE VI. OFFICERS

Sec. 1. Executive Officers	
Sec. 2. President	President would preside over meetings of members. He could also be chairman of Board if members wish to provide thus.
Sec. 3. First Vice President	
Sec. 4. Additional Vice Presidents	
Sec. 5. Executive Director)	These two officers are charged with execu-
Sec. 6. Associate Exec. Director)	tion of program of the Council.
Sec. 7. Secretary)	Offices of the Secretary and Treasurer may be
Sec. 8. Treasurer)	held by the same person.
Sec. 9. Controller)	
Sec. 10. Counsel)	These offices may be created at discretion
Sec. 11. Assistant Officers)	of the Board.
Sec. 12. Subordinate Officers)	
Sec. 13. Removal of Officers	Any officer or agent removable by the Board.

ARTICLE VII. FINANCE

Sec. 1. Checks, Drafts, etc.	
Sec. 2. Fiscal Year	
Sec. 3. Board of Trust	May be created, if necessary, to administer bequests, endowments, etc.

ARTICLE VIII. SUNDRY PROVISIONS

Sec. 1. Seal	
Sec. 2. Bonds	
Sec. 3. Audit of Books	
Sec. 4. Amendments	By-laws may be amended by majority vote of members entitled to vote.

March 11, 1960

Mr. J. D. Nobel
Director
The Council on Human Relations
281 The Arcade
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Dear Mr. Nobel:

We were happy to receive the copy of the excellent Resource Handbook which you were kind enough to send us. It is a very useful publication, and we are calling it to the attention of the State Councils on Human Relations.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

281 THE ARCADE, CLEVELAND 14, OHIO • TELEPHONE: SUperior 1-6630 AND 1-6631

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Ben D. Zevin

James Dodman Nobel
Director

February 23, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
N. E. Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am very happy to send you, under separate cover, a review copy of our new RESOURCE HANDBOOK in HUMAN RELATIONS. You may be receiving an announcement of this publication through John Lassoe and the new Intergroup Relations Journal.

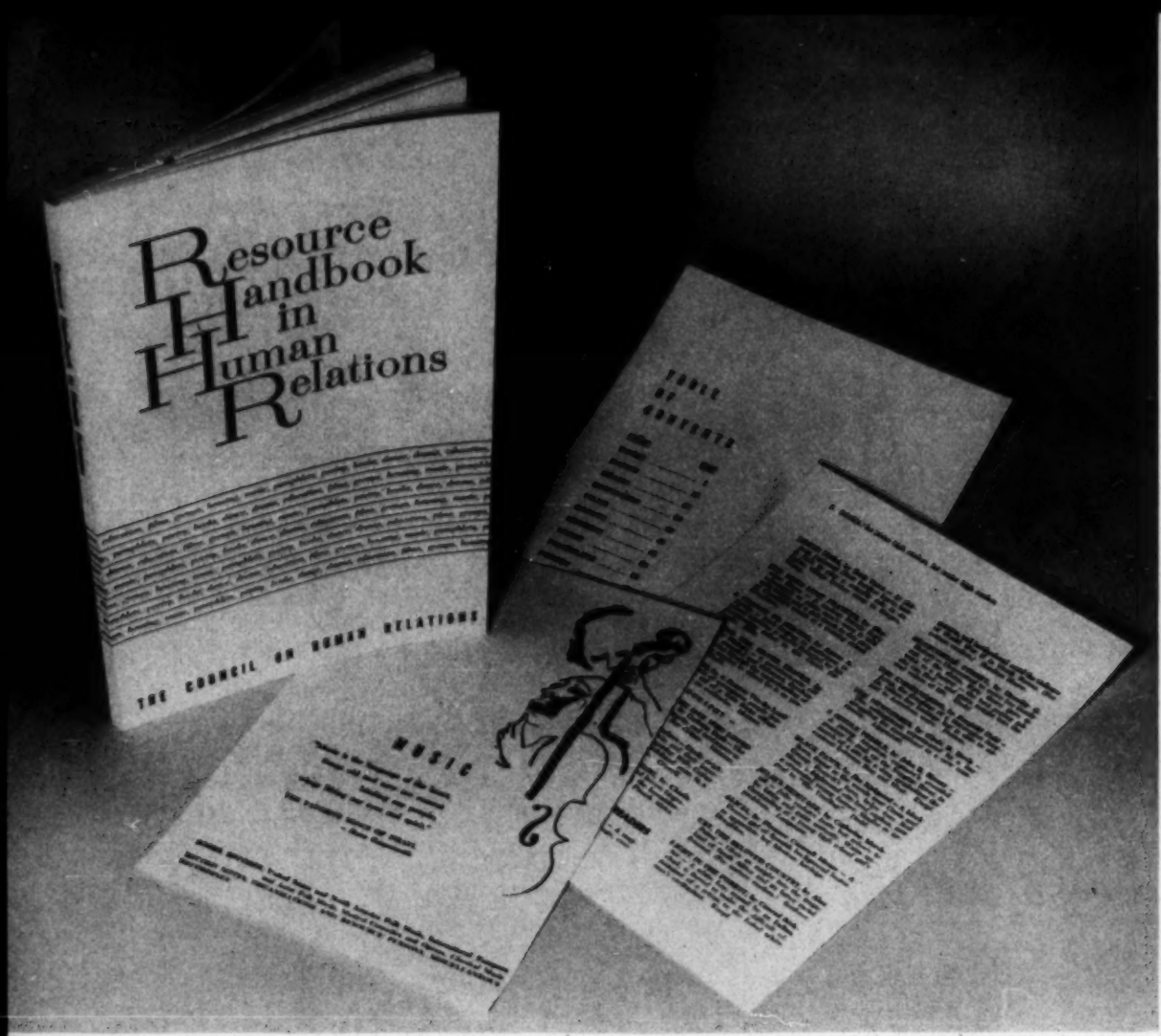
I am taking the time to address this personally because I feel that this publication might be a very important aid as your State Councils seek to develop better relations in the cities of the South.

Sincerely yours,

J. D. Nobel
Director

JDN:ah

Contributions are tax deductible



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THE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
281 The Arcade — Cleveland 14, Ohio
Tel. SUperior 1-6630

Please send me _____ copies of the Resource Handbook in Human Relations, for which I enclose $_____.

Name_____

Street_____

City_____ **Zone**____ **State**_____

The Cleveland Press

EMERSON PRICE
BOOK EDITOR

December 7, 1959

Mr. J.D. Nobel
Director
The Council on Human Relations
281 The Arcade
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Dear Mr. Nobel:

Your RESOURCE HANDBOOK IN HUMAN RELATIONS seems to me to open the way for using those strong and subtle ties that bind men together in relations both wholesome and perpetual.

In a world that has been brought to the brink of ruin by the cultivation of hatred and bigotry, this is a highly important restoration.

It is particularly important that much of the work defining wholesome human relations is directed toward youth -- a period when the mind may be expanded by developing substantial human habits, or may be twisted by attitudes that are destitute of sympathy, understanding and brotherhood.

This is a little book that should be in the hands of every parent, every teacher, and every person engaged in social work. My hope is that it will have the wide circulation it so richly deserves.

Sincerely yours,

Emerson Price

December 29, 1960

Mr. J. D. Nobel
Director
The Council on Human Relations
281 The Arcade
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Dear Mr. Nobel:

Enclosed is a directory of persons in the South who might well be interested in your Resource Handbook in Human Relations.

On receipt of the copies ordered with this letter, the editor of our monthly magazine, New South, will arrange to have the book reviewed.

If we can be of any other help, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 2.
(Directory and Check #2592; $2.30)

THE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

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Member, The Cleveland Welfare Federation

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Mrs. Homer F. Tielke
Malcolm B. Vilas
Walter M. Weil
Judge Charles W. White
Alonzo Wright
Ben D. Zevin

James Dodman Nobel
Director

Audrey M. Holman,
Office Secretary

December 21, 1960

Mr. Paul Anthony
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am interested in getting word out about our RESOURCE HANDBOOK in HUMAN RELATIONS. Do you have lists of persons or agencies in your state who would like to be informed about this book?

It has proved to be of valuable help to curriculum people as well as to people in churches and those involved directly in intergroup relations.

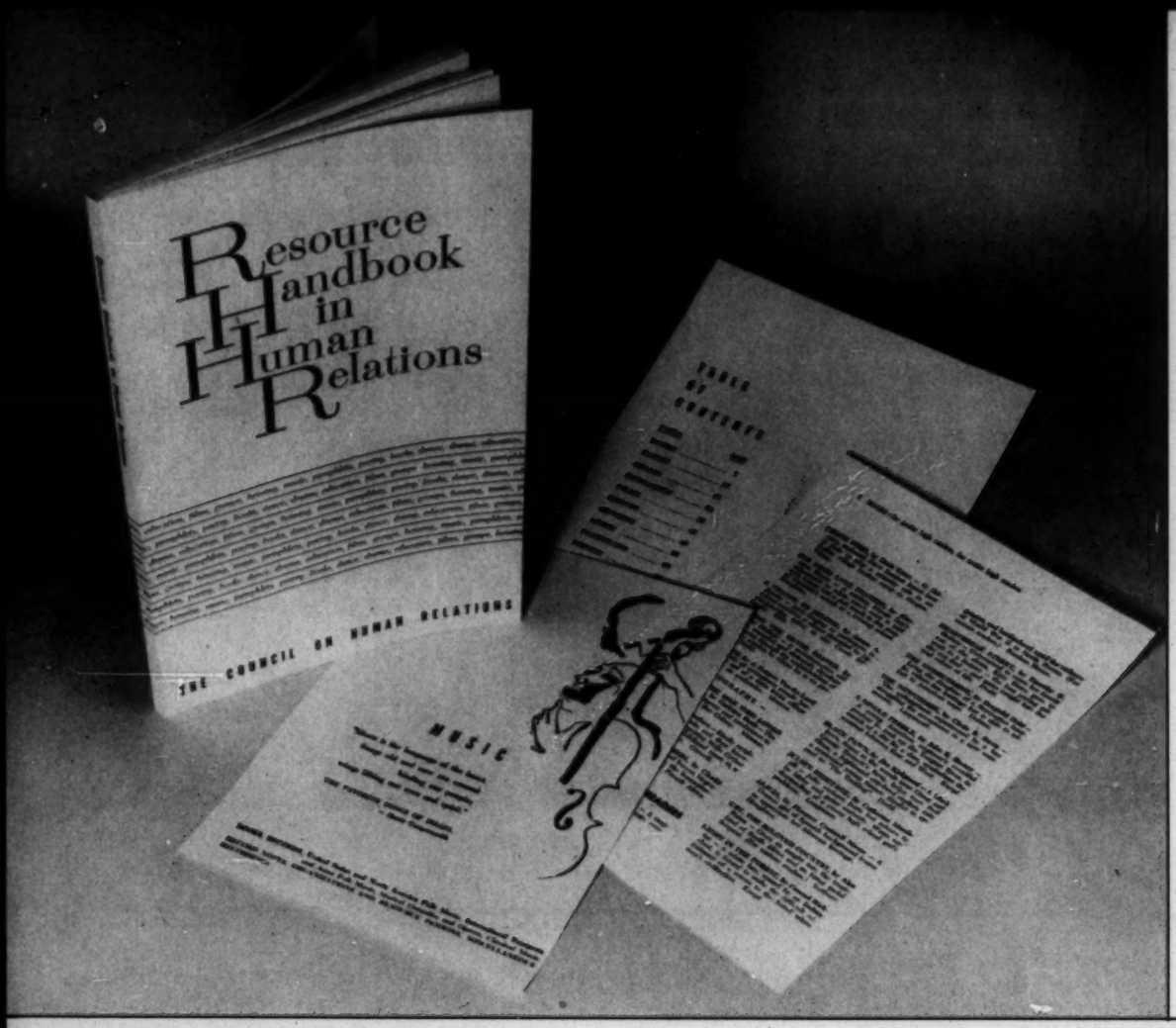
I would appreciate any suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

J. D. Nobel
Director

JNH:nh

Contributions are tax deductible



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January 9, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of December 29, enclosing a copy of the Directory of Organizations and personnel engaged in Human Relations Activities in the South. I appreciate your order for two of our RESOURCE HANDBOOKS in HUMAN RELATIONS, and also your suggestion of having the handbook reviewed in NEW SOUTH.

The Directory is of great interest to us. Many of the persons listed are members of N A I R O, and have received our literature. We are mailing flyers to all others.

I shall be interested in receiving a copy of NEW SOUTH in which the handbook is reviewed.

Sincerely yours,

J. D. Nobel
Director

Contributions are tax deductible

file
"4H" Section
Human Relations Commission
(if there is no file for
Cincinnati - file in
"Gen.")

April 27, 1966

Mr. Carl A. Benson
City of Cincinnati
The Cincinnati Human Relations Commission
Room 158, City Hall
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

Dear Mr. Benson:

In reply to your recent letter our personnel practices are as follows:

1) Vacations for all staff is accumulated at the rate of one and one half days per month.

   A total of 24 days can be accumulated.

2) Sick leave. Same as above.

3) Employees are given two weeks severance pay upon termination.

4) Employees are reimbursed for all expenses on automobile travel at the rate of .08¢ per mile.

Trust this answers your questions.

Sincerely,

Edwyn Lewis
Executive Assistant

EL/km

City of Cincinnati

THE CINCINNATI HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION
ROOM 158, CITY HALL
CINCINNATI, OHIO 45202
421-5700 LINE 237

April 21, 1966

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CARL A. BENSON
COMPLIANCE INVESTIGATOR

Gentlemen:

The Cincinnati Human Relations Commission is in the process of revising its personnel practices, and are studying the same of other Intergroup agencies and Commissions.

We are interested in any information you can supply in the following areas:

1. Vacations
2. Sick leave and days
3. Hours of work and overtime compensation
4. Termination
5. Expense accounts
6. Severance pay

Would you please indicate if your personnel practices are the regular civil service policies of the city or state. Thank you in advance for your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Carl A. Benson

Carl A. Benson

CAB:dw

via air mail

November 8, 1960

Mr. Olen Nalley
Executive Secretary
Committee on Human Relations
320 Park Avenue
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Nalley:

Your letter of October 25 was most welcome. You can be sure that we will discuss with Mr. Stewart ways in which we may be helpful to the Committee on Human Relations.

The press release file mentioned in your letter has not been received here. I trust this only means that it hasn't been mailed as yet and that we need not fear it has gone astray. If it was sent, do let me know at once.

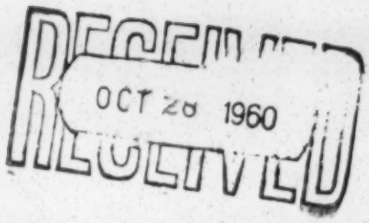
With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Did we get this??



STATE OF OKLAHOMA
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J. HOWARD EDMONDSON
GOVERNOR

OKLAHOMA CITY

COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RELATIONS
320 PARK AVENUE

October 25, 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We have been informed that Mr. James Stewart who is a member of our Human Relations Committee is going to attend your annual meeting in the near future and we would appreciate your sharing with him any information you may have which will be beneficial to our Committee.

Dr. John Hope, Dr. Kenneth Morland, and Dr. A. Lee Coleman visited the Committee June 9, 1960 and gave us invaluable information which has been most helpful; you have mailed us copies of your publications which have also been most helpful and we are sincerely grateful to you.

We are sending you under separate cover our press release file and request that you study it and if possible offer us suggestions. This is our only copy; therefore, as soon as you have reviewed it I shall appreciate your returning it. Thank you and I shall look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

Olen Nalley

Olen Nalley
Executive Secretary

ON/p

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

December 7, 1960

Mr. Olen Nalley
Executive Secretary
Committee on Human Relations
320 Park Avenue
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Nalley:

I have read with interest the publicity file of your Committee, which I am returning herewith.

The newspapersstories reflect great credit on your work as spokesman and as catalyst of positive public sentiment.

It does strike me that the dailies are perhaps unnecessarily "neutralist." They could perform a valuable community service by presenting more constructive information and analysis of comparable experiences elsewhere. We have yet to find a better tool than case studies or summaries of successful precedents in desegregation.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure

C O N F I D E N T I A L

November 1, 1963

Theodore M. Berry, Esq.
509 Central Avenue
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Mr. Berry:

Mr. Branton has suggested you as a possible resource person for an evaluation and analysis of the modus operandi and program of an organization called Operation Freedom, located at 932 Dayton Street, Cincinnati 14, Ohio. The officers are as follows: Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson, chairman; Miriam Nicholas, co-chairman; Rev. L. Richard Hudson, secretary; and Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin, treasurer.

According to a letter received here at the Council, Operation Freedom has conducted programs in Haywood and Fayette Counties, and has recently expanded into the delta of northwestern Mississippi. Their primary concern seems to be aiding those persons who suffer intimidation and economic reprisal as a result of trying to register to vote, or exercising some other right as a citizen. The organization's problem is financial assistance and they have raised the question of financial assistance from the Southern Regional Council and a possible exchange of mailing lists. We would appreciate very much a confidential memorandum from you giving us your candid views concerning Operation Freedom, its personnel, program, and objectives.

We would also appreciate a response at your earliest possible convenience. Mr. Branton sends his very best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Acting Assistant Project Director

VEJ:nm

November 1, 1963

Reverend Otis Moss
Pastor
Mt. Zion Baptist Church
325 N. Wayne Avenue
Lockland, Ohio

Dear Otis:

I am writing to seek your immediate help concerning "Operation Freedom" located in Cincinnati, Ohio.

You will remember that when I was in Cincinnati during the latter part of August, we conversed by telephone briefly about Operation Freedom, wherein you gave me some insight into the modus operandi of Operation Freedom; much of which is somewhat vague to me now.

The Council has received an inquiry from Mr. Maurice McCrackin, treasurer of Operation Freedom, concerning possible financial aid to their program. They also suggested an exchange of mailing lists for the mailing of Operation Freedom literature. Mr. McCrackin sets forth the work of Operation Freedom in Haywood and Fayette Counties and makes reference to its recently expanded program in the delta of northwestern Mississippi. It would appear, however, that the problem of Operation Freedom is financial.

What I am requesting of you Otis, is a letter outlining your observations and opinions of Operation Freedom on its effectiveness as a civil rights organization, performing what appears to be, un unique service in the South. An evaluation by you will give us a keen insight into the operations and program of Operations Freedom.

I am certain that you are pressed for time, but we would appreciate a response at your earliest possible convenience.

I certainly enjoyed fellowshipping with you at the SCLC Conference.

Best wishes to your wife, and thanks very much.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJJr:nm

See next file

December 3, 1963

Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin
Treasurer
Operation Freedom
932 Dayton Street
Cincinnati 14, Ohio

Dear Mr. McCrackin:

I want to apologize for the delay in replying to your letter of October 28, but we have not been entirely inactive in behalf of the need it presented. We have had a request for comments from one foundation to which you have applied, and have responded to it.

We, of course, have been long familiar with the good work of Operation Freedom. We are not in a position, however, to help financially. We are not a grant-making body, except in the special case of the Voter Education Project, and grants there have to be restricted to registration work. In a sense, they produce some of the hardships which Operation Freedom tries to alleviate, and so make your job harder.

I am afraid this letter may seem altogether negative, but I have to say also that we cannot mail out your literature or include it in our own mailings. Quite a while ago we adopted a hard and fast rule against doing this for any organization. The reason is, rather simply, that there are many organizations now, and one such as ours must either do for all or none. We have recently made the first exception to this

rule, by agreeing to send out with New South a flyer for the Council of United Civil Rights Leadership; but that, as you know, is a grouping of all the principal civil rights agencies.

What we can do, I am afraid it isn't much, is respond as I indicated above we have recently, with a good word to potential donors who invite our comments. If I may presume to offer a suggestion, I think you might find it advantageous to keep some of the Mississippi leadership, such as Aaron Henry and Robert Moses, fully informed about your work and plans; but perhaps you are doing this.

Thank you for your word about Linda. She is a great admirer of yours. After two good years at Swarthmore, she unexpectedly transferred to the University of Wisconsin last September. Now she is planning to go back to Swarthmore!

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Bc: Wiley Brantom

OPERATION FREEDOM

c/o Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin
932 DAYTON STREET
CINCINNATI 14, OHIO

Chairman: Rev. Clarence Nelson
Co-chairman: Miriam Nicholas

Sec'y: Rev. L. Richard Hudson
Treas.: Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin

Corr. Sec'y: Ernest Bromley
Coordinator: Jack McKart

Rec'd 10/30/63

October 28, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

As you know, for nearly three years Operation Freedom has attempted to help those people in Haywood and Fayette Counties, Tennessee who have suffered economic reprisals because of their participation in voter registration drives. As in many other Southern counties, Negroes in Haywood and Fayette Counties who attempted to register were fired from their jobs, evicted from their homes, refused credit at banks and grocery stores, and subjected to numerous other reprisals.

In order for these people to maintain their struggle, they must be enabled to make a living - to feed and clothe their families - in the face of this economic pressure from racial segregationists. In short, Operation Freedom's work is concerned with what happens to people when the demonstrations are over or when a father of eight children loses his job because he has stood up and demanded to be counted as a human being.

Operation Freedom, which began its work in Haywood and Fayette Counties, has recently expanded into the Delta of northwestern Mississippi. The need in these areas is overwhelming but Operation Freedom has been able to help a number of people by making crop loans, paying medical expenses, and paying living expenses. The conscience of a people can be stirred by headlines of dramatic action, but when the headlines stop, people forget and the people who were behind the headlines become the forgotten. This is when Operation Freedom attempts to help sustain the spirit and power of a movement by meeting the practical needs of the people.

In the nearly three years of attempting to do this, Operation Freedom has provided over 100,000 dollars to help these people. Now little money is coming in to Operation Freedom because people who continue to give support to the dramatic (the action that makes the headlines) do not always remember that there are living people behind these demonstrations; people who, because of the stand they have taken, are suffering and need immediate aid. What is needed is aid that will sustain people until they can work ahead to more concrete and permanent solutions to their economic ills.

We are writing to let you know that since it is so difficult for us to continue at present, we are considering just what to do in the coming months. We are sure you are aquainted with our work and we ask you for any suggestions or ideas concerning it. Does your organization, the Southern Regional Council, provide any financial (1) assistance for the embattled people in the South, such as Operation Freedom does? Might we hope for cooperation with you in the future, such as mailing Operation Freedom literature to the people on your mailing list or occasionally mentioning the work of Operation Freedom in your own (2) literature?

We ask you to think about these things and then write to us as soon as possible giving your reactions. For your information we are enclosing a copy of our current brochure.

We shall be looking forward to hearing from you.

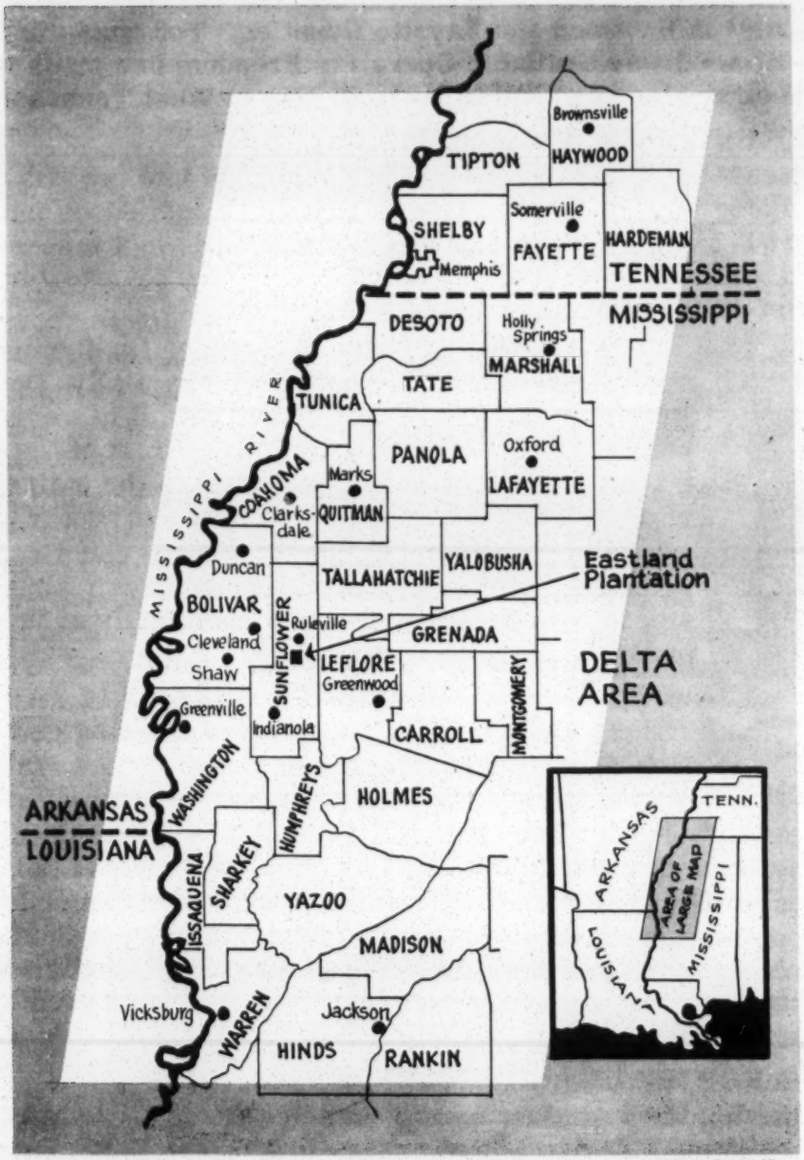
Sincerely,

Maurice McCrackin

Maurice F. McCrackin
Treasurer

P.S. Please give my warm regards to Linda. I hope her school work is going well - S

Operation Freedom Expands Its Aid Program ....



—Southern Patriot Map

In expanding its aid program, Operation Freedom did not have far to go, for Haywood and Fayette Counties (where Operation Freedom had for two years been working) is next to the Tennessee-Mississippi line, and borders on the Mississippi Delta — an area which includes 18 counties lying between Memphis and Vicksburg. This alluvial plain, in the state of Mississippi, should not be confused with the delta of the river itself — which is in Louisiana (see insert map).

The Mississippi Delta is considered to be the core of the segregation problem in the United States. At its center is the large plantation of U. S. Senator James O. Eastland who leads the attacks on integrationists and others who believe in civil rights. Not far from his plantation, in Indianola, the White Citizens Council movement had its origin. Jackson, the state capital, is on the southeastern edge of the Delta. Oxford, home of Ole Miss, is on the northeastern edge.

WHILE CONTINUING

IN WEST TENNESSEE,

OPERATION FREEDOM

MOVES INTO MISSISSIPPI

What does the future hold for this little boy?

WHEN OPERATION FREEDOM BEGAN

In the spring of 1961, when landlords in Haywood and Fayette Counties, Tenn., were evicting Negroes who registered to vote and banks were cutting off their credit, a group of concerned citizens came together in Cincinnati, Ohio and formed an organization to help.

The organization was called Operation Freedom. It launched a nationwide drive to raise money to enable the Negroes of West Tennessee to survive economically as they organized to win their freedom at the ballot box.

During the past two years, Operation Freedom has loaned about $80,000 to Negroes (and a few white supporters also suffering reprisals) in Haywood and Fayette Counties. Ten times that much could have been put to good use, but with what was available Operation Freedom has made it possible for scores of families who would otherwise have had to leave to stay in West Tennessee.

EXPANDS INTO MISSISSIPPI

Now the problem that Operation Freedom was set up to meet has expanded into the Mississippi Delta, and Operation Freedom is expanding with it. It has voted to extend its operations into the Delta area and attempt to do there what it has been doing and will continue to do in Tennessee; in the words of its charter, "promote brotherhood, especially by helping to secure the economic conditions conducive to the free exercise of civil rights."

This home of a sharecropper on a plantation between Ruleville and Cleveland, Mississippi, is typical of thousands.

The need in the Delta is crucial; its dimensions are tremendous. To meet it even partially, Operation Freedom will need more money than it has ever had before. But, in the words of one official of the organization, "the task is too important to the entire future of democracy for us to even think of saying 'we can't.'"

And the need in the two Tennessee counties also remains crucial. The people there have maintained a steady, patient struggle while continually undergoing pressure that has never let up.

18-COUNTY AREA

The Delta area of Mississippi covers 18 counties (see map) and includes some of the richest farming land in the world. Each year nearly one half billion dollars worth of cotton is farmed in this area. Here live approximately 300,000 Negroes — about two-thirds of the total population and in some counties as much as 80 per cent.

Until recently, virtually no Negroes in this area were registered to vote, and the number is still minute because officials use every possible device to prevent it. For example, in Sunflower County there are 30,000 Negroes, of whom 13,000 are of voting age. Of these 13,000 only 141 were registered at the end of 1962. But in the past year intensive registration drives have been launched in the area by several civil rights organizations.

ECONOMIC REPRISALS AND VIOLENCE

When the registration efforts stepped up, the reprisals began. In some cases there has been violence; homes have been shot into; two student registration workers in LeFlore County narrowly escaped being lynched.

But when people make up their minds to be free, terror of this kind won't stop them. The most effective weapon the segregationists have — and they know it — is economic pressure. In the Delta, as in West Tennessee, people who try to register are being put off the land, fired from their jobs, and cut off from credit.

While working in West Tennessee during the past two years, Operation Freedom personnel have been subject to much harassment from local police and have even been jailed. Rev. Maurice McCrackin, treasurer, was arrested in late 1961 on a false charge and jailed for more than 40 days.

OPERATION FREEDOM'S PROGRAM

Operation Freedom proposes to defeat this weapon with a fund that will be used to (1) enable those who have land to make their crops when banks cut them off from credit, (2) stop foreclosures on homes and farm equipment, (3) help landless Negroes who lose their jobs survive until a permanent solution is found.

Three well-known leaders in the Delta, Aaron Henry, Bob Moses, and Amzie Moore, are among those working with Operation Freedom in setting up the necessary machinery. The money from Operation Freedom is generally made available to those who need it in the form of loans, although outright grants are sometimes made when it is necessary. Local committees will process loan applications. The loan fund is revolving, and as loans are repaid, the money can be loaned out again.

It should be noted that no funds for administrative costs of Operation Freedom are taken out of the money raised for the loan fund. Every cent given in response to appeals goes to the people in Tennessee and Mississippi. Administrative funds are raised occasionally through special appeals for that purpose.

SOME PEOPLE OPERATION FREEDOM HAS HELPED

In Haywood and Fayette Counties, Tennessee, Operation Freedom has provided loans for planting crops, loans for living expenses until crops could be harvested, loans to save farms, equipment, and homes from foreclosure, and funds for objects of community need, such as wells. Also provided were tents for both counties, wooden floors for the tents, wiring, etc. (The tent city in Haywood County no longer exists.)

Operation Freedom provided funds to build this house for David Mac Jones, oldest voter in Haywood County, Tenn., when he and wife were evicted in 1961 from land on which he had lived since childhood.

In the Mississippi Delta, Operation Freedom has begun helping Negro sharecroppers and workers. Some people Operation Freedom has helped:

A man in a small Delta town was employed in the city sanitation department. His wife went to register to vote. He was fired; she lost her job as a cleaning woman in a public building. They have a son; they own their house but have an $800 mortgage on it. Occasionally they get odd jobs; nationwide food drives have helped them to eat. Operation Freedom has loaned them $120 to take care of food and living expenses for a two month period. Asked how she feels about registering after all the trouble she has had, this woman said: "I feel wonderful about it. I'd do it over again."

Another man, his wife, and seven children worked on a plantation. His mother and sister tried to register; he was fired. He then got a job in a plant. People from the plantation found out about it and got him fired. Meanwhile his wife got a job as a cook in the cafeteria of a white school. Someone who had known her on the plantation saw her there and got her fired. She told Operation Freedom: "I don't know how we will live; we have no money and no food." Operation Freedom has loaned $65 as a monthly subsidy for a two month period. It is hoped that a permanent solution can be found.

Although the district where Negroes live in Cleveland, Miss., is near the heart of the city, it has unpaved roads, open ditches, unpainted frame houses, and unlit streets at night.

A man who owns a few acres of land and who has been extremely active in the voter registration campaign, found bank loans unavailable to him. In December of 1962 the balance owed on his tractor came due. Operation Freedom loaned him nearly $300 in order to pay this balance and save his tractor from foreclosure. Without a tractor, he would have been unable to farm his land.

Multiply these cases by the hundreds and you get a picture of the problems in the Delta. Economic strangulation is the only weapon strong enough to defeat these people; if the people who believe in democracy provide the money to help them defeat this weapon, they will win. It is as simple as that.

An emergency program like that of Operation Freedom cannot solve the problem forever. For Negroes without jobs or land there must eventually be other solutions — perhaps cooperatives, government redevelopment programs, and new industry. But these things take time, and meanwhile people must live this year and next if they are to stay. Operation Freedom can provide this stop-gap.

It can also let the Negroes of Mississippi know they are not alone, let them know that as they lift their eyes toward freedom there are people all over America, white and Negro, who are grateful for their courage, and who care enough to give of their own substance in support.

OFFICERS AND BOARD MEMBERS

Officers of Operation Freedom are: Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson, chairman; Miriam Nicholas, co-chairman; Rev. L. Richard Hudson, secretary; Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin, treasurer; Ernest Bromley, corresponding secretary; Jack McKart, coordinator.

Board members are: Rev. J. W. Adams, Anne Braden, Rabbi Stanley Brav, Pauline Brokaw, Lloyd Danzeisen, U. S. Fowler, Lois Haswell, Virgie Hortenstine, Paul Laprad, Howard Lipton, Carlton Mabee, Rev. M. J. Mangham, Wallace Nelson, Rev. Wilbur Page, Marjorie Ruben, Mrs. Donald Spencer, Alfred C. Stone, Rev. John Wilson.

After 35 years on one plantation, this woman was driven off the land for registering to vote. She is typical of many.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Operation Freedom appeals to people throughout the nation to help it meet the challenge in Mississippi and West Tennessee. This is what you can do:

1. Send money to Operation Freedom, c/o Rev. Maurice McCrackin, 932 Dayton Street, Cincinnati 14, Ohio, to assist those harassed for trying to vote. Make your gift as generous as you can, but do not let the magnitude of the need make you feel that only large gifts are solicited. Whether yours is a dollar or several thousand dollars, it is needed.

2. Send to Operation Freedom suggested names of persons and organizations to whom they may appeal for funds.

3. Write to Operation Freedom at the above address, obtain additional literature and take this matter up with your church, with other organizations to which you belong, and with your individual friends.

4. Order descriptive literature from Operation Freedom and do your own mailing to a list of your friends or enclose in a regular mailing to your organization. Operation Freedom runs on a shoestring, so has little money for postage.

(All contributions to Operation Freedom are deductible for income tax purposes)

February 1963

address here

File

December 30, 1963

Mr. Maurice F. McCrackin
Treasurer
Operation Freedom
932 Dayton Street
Cincinnati 14, Ohio

Dear Mr. McCrackin:

We do not have a program for giving direct financial assistance to people suffering economic reprisal because of involvement in the civil rights movement. I am sorry that my earlier letter did not make this clear. In so far as I know, yours is the only organization specifically for this purpose, though some of the other groups, such as the NAACP, the AFL-CIO, SNCC etc., have been able, on occasion, to assist.

Linda is home for Christmas, and, coincidentally, was in the office when I opened your letter. She was very glad to read the post script.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Operation Freedom
932 Dayton Street
Cincinnati 14, Ohio
December 24, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We want to thank you very much for your reply to our letter of October 28.

In reading your letter we would like to clarify one point, though, and that is, our letter was not intended as a request for financial assistance for Operation Freedom from the Southern Regional Council. What we wanted to know was if the Southern Regional Council makes any provision for giving direct financial assistance, such as Operation Freedom does, to people in the south who suffer economic reprisals because of their involvement in the civil rights movement. This question was asked because we are trying to determine if we are simply duplicating the work of some other civil rights organization. As far as we know, Operation Freedom is the only existing organization trying to reach, through financial assistance, the needs of individuals who are suffering in Haywood and Fayette Counties, Tennessee and the Mississippi delta. If this is true we feel our work is all the more necessary because it is a work someone must do. We don't mean to impose on you, but your thoughts on this would be welcome. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Maurice McCrackin

Maurice F. McCrackin
Treasurer

Thanks for your information about Linda - if she is "home for Christmas" - please give her my best wishes & hope some day she can come back and visit the scenes of her labors for Camp Joy - and we can see her again

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

VJ

Wiley: I have several times been asked about this group & its program by potential donors, & neither I nor Len known enough about it to give much advice. Will you please, asap, look into & give me some evaluation, & give me some advice regarding the question on page 2

FEATURE PRESS SERVICE

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SB

WEEKLY BULLETIN #2169 May 13, 1963

ACLU URGES ACTION IN SLAYING OF DESEGREGATION WALKER IN ALABAMA

The tragic slaying of William E. Moore while on a desegregation protest march moved the American Civil Liberties Union on April 24 to urge the Justice Department to intervene in the case to make certain that his murder was "not swept under the carpet."

The ACLU telegraphed Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy immediately after the 35-year-old Baltimore mailman had been slain near the small northern Alabama town of Keener and before a suspect had been arrested.

"We deplore this terrible crime and urge that swift and vigorous efforts be taken by the Department of Justice to see that Mr. Moore's attackers are apprehended," the Union's executive director, John de J. Pemberton Jr., wired the Attorney General. "In view of the repeated failure of local and state officials to investigate and prosecute assaults on advocates of civil rights in the South, we believe the Federal Government has a special responsibility to see that such terrible crimes as the killing of William L. Moore are not swept under the carpet. This is especially so because the attack was really a reprisal against Mr. Moore's expression of opinion, a federally guaranteed right."

Moore, a white man and former Marine, was slain while walking from Chattanooga, Tenn., toward Jackson, Miss., wearing sandwich boards protesting segregation and carrying a letter he had written to Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett urging that executive to accept integration. An ACLU member, he had consulted with the Union prior to beginning his one-man walking campaign. He had been assured by ACLU that the walk "was an active demonstration of the freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment, as upheld by decisions of the United States Supreme Court".

Along with President Kennedy, Alabama's Governor George Wallace, and numerous newspaper editorial writers, the ACLU Board of Directors expressed deep regret over Moore's death.

"Mr. Moore had an intense belief that all men are created equal," the Board noted in a resolution. "Mr. Moore undertook his journey through a region where some counties have been marked by a tradition of lawlessness, repression of free expression, and disrespect for human rights. He did so deliberately, in the hope both of moving all citizens to respect for equality and, in his words, 'to illustrate that the most basic of freedoms of peaceful protest is not altogether extinguished' in the South....He asserted that he did not want to be a test case, nor, it was clear, did he intend to become a martyr. Yet he died for his belief in civil liberties. The Board notes with alarm that the moral climate in one of the United States can permit one of its roads to be mortally dangerous for an American citizen peacefully exercising his rights."

Among the newspaper editorials protesting Moore's murder was one in The Sun-Bulletin of Binghamton, N.Y., where Moore had been a postman until he transferred to Baltimore last November and where his family still lives. It asked readers to "Remember Bill Moore" by contributing either to the ACLU or to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Thanking the Sun-Bulletin's president and editor, David Bernstein, Pemberton observed that "in the spirit of your editorial we must find renewed courage and determination to carry on the battle in which Mr. Moore was so deeply involved". He assured Bernstein that any funds contributed as a result of the newspaper's editorial would be "used to further advance the cause of human rights to which Mr. Moore gave his life."

TROPIC OF CANCER CASE REACHES U. S. SUPREME COURT LEVEL

Henry Miller's Tropic of Cancer, the novel that blazed a trail of controversy through the nation's courts last year, has now reached the United States Supreme Court level.

The Supreme Court has agreed to review the 1962 conviction of bookseller Bradley Reed Smith, for possessing and distributing Tropic of Cancer which a Los Angeles jury found to be obscene. The Superior Court banned further sale of the book in Los Angeles. The case has become a cause celebre in the nation's literary community on the basis that this is the first time in 14 years that the U. S. Supreme Court has reviewed an obscenity prosecution concerning a book of recognized literary and artistic importance.

More than one hundred prominent authors, editors and publishers filed a brief in Smith's behalf as a friend of the court. Their argument rests on an earlier Supreme Court decision which declared that any attempt to suppress any work of the slightest social significance would constitute violation of freedom of the press, guaranteed in the First Amendment. "We believe," the brief asserted, "that a work which has literary or artistic importance cannot be deemed to be empty of social importance." But the amicus contention is not merely that Tropic of Cancer has this artistic value; the brief contended no judge or jury is competent to determine that any work is completely lacking in artistic importance. "While, on the one hand, it cannot be doubted that Tropic of Cancer has importance for many," the brief argued, "yet on the other hand, there are those persons, even experts, who would deny its importance and urge that the work be suppressed. But we fail to understand how literary or artistic expression can be required to abide by any consensus -- whether public, expert, or jural -- if it is to be free and protected by the Constitutional guaranty." The fact that a court might fail to appreciate the artistic or social value of a given work does not, in the opinion of these literary figures, mean that other individuals, who might be capable of understanding the work, should be deprived of their constitutional rights.

The position advanced in the brief is a rejection of all typical obscenity laws unless some less drastic formula for protecting freedom of expression can be worked out. The brief cited a 1962 policy statement by the American Civil Liberties Union declaring that "limitations of expression on the ground of obscenity are unconstitutional," unless clear proof exists that the material would cause "in a normal adult, behavior which had validly been made criminal by statute," or unless the material was aimed at children, and would lead to juvenile crime.

While the Supreme Court's decision next term will be eagerly awaited, the Miller novel is also sparking a new approach to obscenity prosecutions. This would base prosecutions against the book rather than the author, publisher or bookseller. This new development, known as in rem proceedings, was recognized last fall in a decision of the New York State Court of Appeals, in which the judges unanimously overturned a state Supreme Court ruling dismissing the suit of a Rochester bookseller against the district attorney, requesting a declaratory judgment on the status of Tropic of Cancer. The Court of Appeals, the state's highest court, sent the case back to the lower court for civil trial, stating that a "bookseller, faced with the threat of prosecution if he sells a book condemned by the authorities, may escape from the dilemma by procuring a judicial determination of the legality of the sale of the book without first selling the book and incurring the risk of prosecution. The entertaining of declaratory judgment actions in obscenity cases thus not only serves the interests of booksellers but also serves the public interest by preventing the creation of an extra-legal system of censorship by the local police or prosecuting authorities."

The ACLU has endorsed the in rem proceeding as a prerequisite to the criminal prosecution of any person for publishing, distributing or selling such material

A censorship bill incorporating the in rem principle was introduced into the Rhode Island legislature in February. The bill would not supplant existing criminal obscenity laws, but would permit the state attorney general to petition the Superior Court to review any printed matter and hold a hearing if "reasonable cause" existed.

While the issue of Tropic of Cancer has reached the U. S. Supreme Court level, several other challenges are pending at the state level. The California Supreme Court is considering a suit filed by a Los Angeles bookseller and an English teacher to enjoin the City Attorney from removing the book from the stores. The

ACLU of Southern California is backing this suit which was lost in the lower state courts. In Illinois the Supreme Court has granted a petition from the Illinois Division, ACLU to reconsider its decision upholding an appellate court ruling against the book. A Syracuse County (N. Y.) judge reversed the conviction of three bookstore employees for selling the book, and the district attorney's office indicated it would take the case to the New York Court of Appeals. Last summer, Massachusetts' Supreme Judicial Court overturned a state-wide ban of the book in a decision holding that Tropic of Cancer is a work of literature, not of pornography. In Maryland the highest court in the state has reversed a lower-court decision convicting a book dealer for selling the novel. The court ordered new proceedings to determine whether the book should be considered obscene by contemporary community standards.

ACLU CALLS FOR DUE PROCESS IN FOOTBALL SCANDAL

The Metropolitan Detroit Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan jumped into the muddied waters of an alleged scandal involving the Detroit Lions football team, claiming that civil liberties were denied. In a release dated January 14, the Union complained that Detroit Police Commissioner George Edwards and other members of his department, as well as some segments of the press, were permitting "guilt by association, inference and innuendo" to besmirch the names of players against whom there was "no present evidence of any criminal or illegal act."

The rumors that the ACLU affiliate protested concerned alleged associations of certain members of the Detroit Lions' National Football League team with recognized professional gamblers. According to Detroit newspaper reports, the Police Department added fuel to the fire when Commissioner Edwards announced his intention to publicize the names of persons under investigation, "even though the persons involved may not be prosecuted for lack of evidence." The ACLU affiliate charged that "immeasurable damage" had already been done to private individuals, including team members, as a result of the publicity. "Trial and subsequent punishment for those found guilty is a function of the Judiciary," the statement read, and "not that of the Executive or Legislative arms of government." "Moreover," the release declared, "in all judicial proceedings the presumption of innocence remains with the accused at all times until the ultimate decision of the court or jury is reached. Important due process safeguards, including the right to subpoena witnesses in one's behalf, the right to a jury trial and more, are inviolate -- even for those against whom the evidence is overwhelming and those who have previously been convicted."

CIVIL LIBERTIES BRIEFS

In San Antonio, Texas, a fight developed over speakers for a Junior Chamber of Commerce Americanism seminar, when a member of the local ACLU characterized those slated to address the seminar as the "Bircher-type".... The Oregon Board of Higher Education announced that after January 1, 1963 it will withdraw recognition from any fraternity or sorority in the six state-owned colleges under its supervision which practices racial or religious discrimination.... In the wake of the Supreme Court ruling outlawing "official" prayers in public schools, and the N.Y. State ban on use of a portion of the national anthem, various substitutes have been adopted by Long Island schools -- parts of the Pledge of Allegiance or the Declaration of Independence, or of "America". Though nine states, N. Y. among them, have banned religious exercises, eighteen others continue Bible reading and/or prayers in their schools, some stating that they will do so until the Supreme Court decides the issue of whether some or no religious observances are allowable in public schools.... The death sentence of Larry West Shipley, 21, for the murder of a 16-year-old girl last August has been appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court by the ACLU of Oregon on the ground that 25 hours elapsed after Shipley's arrest and before he was brought before a magistrate. The ACLU claims a confession made during that time should not have been allowed as evidence....Albert C. Barclay, attorney of Hightstown, New Jersey, has notified the Mayor and Council of Princeton of a complaint by the Princeton Free Speech Committee that they were denied the right of free speech by being refused a permit to pass out pamphlets. Barclay wrote the Mayor and Council that the right of free speech "includes the right to speak foolishly as well as wisely " and that the opinions circulated in pamphlets need not be sound or popular.... Three leaders of the Congress of Racial Equality were found guilty of defamation by an all-white jury in Baton Rouge, La.-- Reverend B. Elton Cox of defaming a judge and district attorney at a meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Ronnie Moore and Patricia Ann Tate of defaming a grand jury by offering to testify in Cox's behalf.... The South Carolina Supreme Court unanimously reversed the conviction of 42 Morris College students for participation in CORE-sponsored sit-ins at Sumter lunch counters....James Farmer, national director of CORE, in a program of economic sanctions against ultra-segregationist states, has announced CORE's intention to start legal action to prevent those states from issuing tax-exempt municipal bonds, and to inform major buyers of bonds-- banks, insurance companies and pension funds -- of these legal actions.

PW-files
"Pollitt MS"

March 5, 1964

Miss Joyce Bermel
Editor
Harper's Magazine
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Bermel:

A conspiracy of things -- extensive travel, flu, sick secretary, and new programs -- have conspired to keep me from returning sooner the Pollitt galleys. They are enclosed, together with a few comments.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Daniel Pollitt
Mr. Alan Reitman

page 11, L. 5	I don't know whether its worth mentioning, but Venable is also a big figure -- some believe the big figure -- in Klan activity. The Klan can have a certain sympathy for the Black Muslims.
page 11, L. 15	Medgar Evers was not a lawyer; he was NAACP field director for Mississippi.
page 11, L. 20	I would question strongly whether there have been frequent disbarment proceedings. Did Pollitt say so in his manuscript?
page 12, L. 19	I believe it would be hard to document this sentence with more than isolated examples of each. Pollitt's sentence (page 10 of his ms) has less sweepong connotations.
page 16, L. 1	Morgan was not a signer of the statement. See page 3 of Pollitt's letter to you of February 21: it may be of interest that Morgan did help the ACLU in the Fields case.
page 25, L. 3 &4	an Assistant Attorney-General of the United States
page 28, L. 8	See manuscript: Pollak is often "on the brief," which is far different from being "called on by the Supreme Court."

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February 17, 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Herewith the final version of Daniel Pollitt's article, as we would like to publish it in Harper's. We will appreciate any comments you may want to make. Will you please return the script after you have read it?

Sincerely,

Joyce Bermel

Joyce Bermel
Editor

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

JB:cc

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January 2, 1964

Professor Daniel Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dan:

I have the copy of your December 26 letter to Harper's and Les' note to you of the same date. Having worked with the popular magazines over the years, I don't share Les' negative feeling about Harper's request. The suggestions made by Mrs. Bermel are not unusual, and you, of course, still have the right to reject the revisions. I know that Mrs. Bermel is very much interested in the piece and is doing her best to see that it is used, and presented in the most effective way. However, I want to associate myself with Les' statement that if for any reason Harper's does not come through, we of course still want to see the article printed and will do our best to share in the costs.

Cordially yours,

Alan

Alan Reitman
Associate Dir[illegible]

PW

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WEEKLY BULLETIN #2210 September 14, 1964

ACLU BACKS YOUNG STUDENT IN CRIMINAL LIBEL CASE

Two key civil liberties guarantees, due process of law and freedom of the press, were cited recently in a brief field with the Kentucky Court of Appeals seeking to reverse a lower court conviction of criminal libel against an Ohio college student who went to Hazard, Kentucky last year to aid striking coal miners.

In a case supported by the American Civil Liberties Union, a team of attorneys began an attempt to reverse the Perry (Kentucky) Circuit Court's conviction of Steve Ashton, an Oberlin College (Oberlin, O.) student, who had been convicted of criminal libel and sentenced to a jail sentence of six months and a $3,000 fine. Ashton had originally been indicted for publishing allegedly defamatory material about county law enforcement officials and the publishers of the local Hazard, Kentucky newspaper in a pamphlet he had written called "Notes On a Mountain Strike." The young college student did not circulate the material, for it was seized by police in a room in a local tavern during his visit to the area. He went to Hazard in response to a national telecast appealing for food, clothing and help for the striking unemployed miners.

Ashton's "Notes" reported conduct he claimed to have observed on the part of the Chief of Police, the High Sheriff of the County and the newspaper publishers, and also attempted to describe community tensions and problems.

In the current ACLU-backed appeal, attorneys argued that important issues of due process of law were infringed in the Ashton case.

They said that the offense of criminal libel, as defined in this case, was so vague and inclusive that conviction was without due process of law, as well as violating freedom of the press.

"The definition of the crime that was made applicable to this case was in itself so broad and unclear as to permit the punishment of lawful conduct within the protection of the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution. The Court instructed the jury that Ashton was guilty of criminal libel if Notes on a Mountain Strike was '<u>calculated</u> to create disturbances (sic) of the peace, corrupt the public morals or lead to any act, which, when done, is indictible' (T. 208). No part of the Court's definition furnished any reasonably definite standard to guide the jury in its determination in this case. We must assume that the word <u>calculated</u> in the Trial Court's definition refers to the probable consequence of the language, and not to the writer's intent, for his intent alone could not be punished. The jury was left free to determine whether the language used in Notes on a Mountain Strike would <u>be likely</u>, beyond a reasonable doubt, to influence the reader to breach the peace or to commit a criminal or an immoral act."

Another argument raised was that Ashton was not given an adequate bill of particulars against him, which also constituted a due process violation.

In addition, important issues as to the definition of criminal libel are raised in the appellant brief. The defendant's attorneys point out that in the earlier conviction, no evidence was offered to show that the statements made about police officials were published with actual malice, since Ashton's statements related to the official conduct of persons holding public office and to hold them libelous is to violate the freedom of the press.

The brief was filed by Dan Jack Combs of Pikeville, Kentucky and Ephraim London of New York City.

SUPREME COURT STRENGTHENS ANTI-CENSORSHIP STANDARD

The U.S. Supreme Court, in an important extension of civil liberties principles, has ruled that the French film, "The Lovers" is not obscene under a liberalized version of what constitutes "national standards" in judging allegedly obscene material. The high court reversed a lower court verdict which convicted Cleveland (O.) Theater Owner Nico Jacobellis of obscenity for possessing and exhibiting the film.

In dealing with the Ohio Appeals Court's conviction of Jacobellis, the high court voted 6 to 3 that, despite dangers of seeming "censorship," the Court maintains a consistent duty to decide whether freedom of expression is being violated when states bring charges of obscenity against various methods of expression traditionally protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

In two earlier cases, the Court held that while the line between impermissible obscenity and constitutionally-protected artistic, literary or scientific expression is "dim and uncertain," the Court still must continue to attempt to illuminate it.

In its 1957 landmark Roth vs. U.S. case, the Court attempted to work out this test for obscenity: "Whether to the average person, in applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeals to prurient interest." In the Jacobellis case, the Court reiterated this standard, but enlarged the phrase "contemporary community standards" to mean the "whole nation" or "society at large," rather than a local town or city.

In a brief filed during the Ohio court action, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Ohio CLU had argued that even the Roth case test was too vague and phrases like "average person" and "prurient interest" subject to too many individual variations to constitute a helpful yardstick, but the Court did not address itself to that problem in the Jacobellis case. The ACLU brief also argued that before a defendant could be convicted, it should have to be proved that he knew he was exhibiting obscene material. This issue also was not discussed by the Supreme Court's decision.

Instead, the majority opinion of the high court, written by Justice William Brennen, stressed that it was undesirable to have state-by-state or regional standards covering obscenity because free speech guarantees are protected by a national consitution and federally enforced.

Applying the Roth test to mean a "national standard," the Court ruled, after viewing the film, that "The Lovers" was not obscene and did not violate the state's admitted right to protect itself. The film won a prize for its direction at the 1953 Venice Film Festival and has been shown in more than 100 cities in the U.S., mostly without incident. It tells of a love affair between a married woman and a young man she meets casually. The Ohio State Board of Censors objected primarily to one explicit love scene.

Other justices on the majority side in the Jacobellis case included Arthur Goldberg and Byron R. White, the latter without opinion. Justices Douglas and Black continued to maintain that all censorship is unconstitutional and Justice Stewart thought only "hard-core pornography" could be banned. In dissenting, Chief Justice Earl Warren felt that states should not be held to a single national standard of obscenity and Justice Harlan felt any "rational" state ban should be upheld. The question of state movie review boards will be dealt with also by the Court when during its next term it is scheduled to consider the authority of the Maryland State Censorship Board in a case now pending.

SUPREME COURT IN 4-4 VOTE WITHDRAWS CITIZENSHIP OF NATIVE BORN

The United States Supreme Court has by a 4-4 vote affirmed a lower court ruling that the government may withdraw the citizenship of a native-born American for service in a foreign army and to deport him. The American Civil Liberties Union had argued to the contrary, stating that the power of banishment, where the renunciation of citizenship was not voluntary, was unconstitutional. Marks' case was argued before the Supreme Court by Murray A. Gordon, an ACLU cooperating attorney. The civil liberties group supported Marks' case as a significant constitutional test.

The high court acted in the case of Herman Frederick Marks, who the government charged forfeited his citizenship and became deportable because he was a member of the Cuban Armed Forces from January 2, 1959, to May 1960. According to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, any American who serves in the armed forces

of a foreign state, without the authorization of the Secretary of State, loses his citizenship.

Marks, a native of Milwaukee, went to Cuba in 1958 and attained the rank of Captain in the Cuban Rebel Army. After the overthrow of the Batista regime, Marks engaged in anti-Communist activity. Fearing arrest as a counter-revolutionary by the Cuban secret police, Marks fled to the United States.

Marks appealed from the decision of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit on April 9, 1963 upholding a Federal District Court decision that he lost his American citizenship because of his service in Castro's army. The lower federal court, however, ruled that Marks was not deportable because prior to his reentry into the United States in 1960 there had been no proceeding to determine his status, so he could not be regarded as an alien at that time and subject to deportation. The U.S. Court of Appeals disagreed with this view and held Marks deportable on the ground that he became an alien at the time he expatriated himself by joining Castro's army.

The brief filed on Marks' behalf argued that the withdrawal of his citizenship violated the Eighth Amendment by imposing the cruel and inhuman punishment of statelessness, and that such punishment was imposed without the procedural safeguards guaranteed by the Fifth and Sixth Amendments as in a criminal prosecution. Emphasizing that the section of the 1952 law under which Marks' citizenship was taken away was applied as a penal statute, the brief noted that the Supreme Court in its last term had voided an expatriation for alleged draft evasion because such guarantees as "prior criminal trial and all its incidents, including indictment, notice, confrontation, jury trial, assistance of counsel, and compulsory process for obtaining witnesses" were absent.

The main thrust of Marks' brief was that citizenship cannot be taken from a native-born American where the renunciation was not voluntary, and that he had never renounced his American Citizenship.

"... Never previously has this Court been confronted with the prospect of adjudging a native-born American stateless and deportable. Unless expressly required, no statute should be construed to impose such a condition contrary to the intent of the subject of that status.

"The proposal to denationalize and deport the petitioner, notwithstanding the total absence of any proof of an intention of expatriation, may occasion no shock to some who conclude that the unprecedentedly harsh treatment of Marks, including the devastating judgment of statelessness, warrants no sympathy in view of his role in post-revolutionary Cuba.

"... Rendering the petitioner stateless for action not amounting to voluntary and intentional expatriation threatens us all. If Marks' citizenship may be taken away from him because of politically offensive behavior which is not incompatible with allegiance to the United States and American citizenship, then none of us is safe from the risk of banishment," the brief went on.

CIVIL LIBERTIES BRIEFS

A SUIT brought by the Los Angeles ACLU has won a school teacher the right not to lead his classes in the Pledge of Allegiance as a condition of employment. Howell Parker objected as a matter of conscience to the term "under God" in the Pledge. ... THE MICHIGAN ACLU won a new trial for Gary Cook, a convicted murderer who had been imprisoned at Marquette Prison for 35 years. The judge imposed a sentence of two years probation to allow Cook to readjust to society. ... THE ILLINOIS DIVISION of the ACLU has made known its disagreement with the resolution which suspends the equal opportunities provision of the Federal Communications Act for the 1964 Presidential election. Its result, says the Union affiliate, will be to deny a hearing on radio and television to minority party candidates, as was shown in the 1960 campaign when the equal opportunities requirement was suspended. ... AS A STEP toward curbing improper police practices, Mayor Richard J. Daley's request for pay increases for Chicago police has been backed by the Illinois Division of the ACLU, which declared that police pay in Chicago is "seriously below" that in other major cities. ... TUFTS UNIVERSITY administrators exerted pressure to ban a poem containing words referring to sex from a recent issue of the Tuftonian, the campus literary magazine. The Tuftonian staff, decrying censorship, demanded a statement from the administration as to whether the magazine is to be a "general" or a "literary" one. ... A SPECIAL MEETING of the Prince Georges Boys Club in Maryland resulted in a decision to take no action against its policy of segregation. The meeting was called after the Maryland Court of Appeals ruled that use of school facilities -- specifically school grounds -- on a segregated basis is unconstitutional. ...

File

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George S. Counts (Ill.)
Robert E. Cushman (D.C.)
Irving Dilliard (N.J.)
Melvyn Douglas (N.Y.)
Thomas H. Eliot (Mo.)
Victor Fischer (Md.)
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James Lawrence Fly (Fla.)
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Ralph F. Fuchs (Ind.)
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Frank S. Horne (N.Y.)
Mark DeW. Howe (Mass.)
Quincy Howe (N.Y.)
Robert M. Hutchins (Calif.)
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Mordecai W. Johnson (D.C.)
James Kerney, Jr. (N.J.)
Benjamin H. Kizer (Wash.)
Milton R. Konvitz (N.Y.)
Agnes Brown Leach (N.Y.)
Max Lerner (N.Y.)
Louis Lusky (Ky.)
Robert S. Lynd (N.Y.)
Patrick Murphy Malin (Turkey)
Robert Mathews (Ohio)
Wesley H. Maurer (Mich.)
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Edward J. Sparling (Ill.)
George R. Stewart (Calif.)
Dorothy Tilly (Ga.)
Jose Trias-Monge (Puerto Rico)
William L. White (Kans.)
Thornton Wilder (Conn.)
Aubrey Williams (Ala.)
Marion A. Wright (N.C.)
Benjamin Youngdahl (Mo.)

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Leanne Golden, *Executive Assistant*
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Warren Adler, *Membership Secretary*
Aryeh Neier, *Field Development Officer*

September 21, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

I want to thank you again for the sound advice you gave me last week concerning the enclosed release on the establishment of our Southern Regional Office and the appointment of Charles Morgan, Jr., to the post of director. I think you were entirely right about our not holding a press conference. I am enclosing 12 copies of the release and if I can enlist you for the moment as an ACLU public information officer, I would appreciate your getting these into the hands of the key people in Atlanta. I am particularly eager that the wire services carry the story and if you can act as our ambassador to the AP and UPI this would be particularly important. If you have any questions about the release, please call me collect.

Many thanks again for your good help.

Cordially yours,

Alan Reitman
Associate Director

enclosures
AR:mr

September 23, 1964

Mr. Alan Reitman
Associate Director
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Reitman:

I sent the press release to the folks on the attached list, and talked with most of them personally about it. Claude Sitton is out of town, but the man who handles things in his absence said he would check with the Times desk and be sure there is coverage, either from there or here. The local stringer for the Herald-Tribune said he would do the same.

You would have been heartened at the good things all these people said both about the office being opened, and the man who will run it--sentiments in which I concur.

I'll be interested in hearing what kind of press it gets around the South via A.P and U.P.I. If I can be of anymore help, let me know.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mp

Enclosure

October 5, 1964

Mr. Allan Reitman
Associate Director
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Reitman:

Enclosed are the local results on the announcement. I'm afraid the time was bad. It came on the day the papers here were carrying results of a run-off election. Maybe you'll come for a press conference after all.

Again, call on us if we can be of more help.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

p
w
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m
p

Enclosures - 2

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Aubrey Williams (Ala.)
Marion A. Wright (N.C.)
Benjamin Youngdahl (Mo.)

American Civil Liberties Union

Founded 1920
Incorporated

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

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Roger N. Baldwin, *International Work Adviser*
Leanne Golden, *Executive Assistant*
Louise C. Floyd, *Administrative Assistant*
Warren Adler, *Membership Secretary*
Aryeh Neier, *Field Development Officer*

September 28, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

Thank you so much for sending me the list of people to whom you sent our press release on the Southern Regional Office and the appointment of Charles Morgan. We certainly appreciate all your good efforts in our behalf. It's too early to tell what pick up we received as our clipping service usually runs about 10 days behind; but if you have any local clippings, I would like to see them. I certainly will let you know later on how the AP and UPI treated the story.

Again our thanks for your good cooperation.

Cordially yours,

Alan Reitman

Alan Reitman
Associate Director

AR:mr

May 4, 1965

Mr. Alan Reitman
Associate Director
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Dear Alan:

After I hung up yesterday, I realized I hadn't thanked you for sending the copy of the statement on the federal courts report. It was a good and strong statement; we appreciated it.

I'll be interested in seeing the coverage of the LCDC work.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mpa

September 15, 1965

Mr. John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Pemberton:

Thank you for the invitation to attend the ACLU southern regional conference.

I am looking forward to the deliberations and to seeing you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

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September 14, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Research Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Enthusiastically embracing Les Dunbar's suggestion I am writing to invite you to attend an ACLU conference to which Chuck Morgan tells me you have already accepted. It is the second Southern Regional Conference of ACLU, to be held at the Royal Orleans Hotel in New Orleans beginning Friday, September 24th at 8 p.m. and continuing through Saturday (ACLU's National Development Council Steering Committee will meet there on Sunday to consider several membership, organizational and fund-raising problems that the Conference may define for it, together with other pending business of the same character not confined to the Southern region, and I would be delighted if you choose to stay for it, should the business on its agenda interest you.)

I am asking Ted Mote of our staff to forward all of the Conference mailings to you and I want to add my personal expression of anticipation for being with you at this conference.

Very sincerely yours,

Jack Pemberton

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.

JdeJP:ahs

Washington Office: 1101 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005; Lawrence Speiser, Director; Mary O'Melveny, Executive Assistant

Southern Regional Office: 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303; Charles M. Morgan, Jr., Director: Jean Levine, Executive Assistant.

With organized affiliates in 31 states and 800 cooperating attorneys in 50 states.

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Executive Director, JOHN DE J. PEMBERTON, JR.; Associate Director, ALAN REITMAN; Legal Department, Director, MELVIN L. WULF, Assistant Director, SEYMOUR BUCHOLZ; Development Department, Director, GORDON K. HASKELL, Assistant Director, THEODORE MOTE, Membership Secretary, WARREN ADLER; International Work Adviser, ROGER N. BALDWIN; Administrative Assistant, LOUISE C. FLOYD.

December 8, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Thank you very much for all your help in obraining copies of the report, "Southern Justice: An Indictment."

We do appreciate it. With best wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

Anne H. Strickland

Anne H. Strickland(Miss)
Executive Assistant

AHS:np

Cross reference in Earlier correspondence in "Requests for copies" file.

Washington Office: 1101 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005; Lawrence Speiser, Director; Mary O'Melveny, Executive Assistant

Southern Regional Office: 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303; Charles M. Morgan, Jr., Director

With organized affiliates in 34 states and 800 cooperating attorneys in 50 states.

150

October 1, 1964

Mr. Henry Schwarzschild
Executive Secretary
Lawyers Conctitutional Defense Committe, Inc.
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Dear Henry:

Thanks for your note, and the announcement of the conference. It looks good--wish I could be there.

I enjoyed seeing and talking with you very much. Your ideas were a great help in efforts I've been making to think through implications of the FDP thing.

My trips up your way are few and far between, but the next time I do get there I hope I can talk with you again. Meanwhile, if I can be of help on anything down here, holler.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

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LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
of the
American Civil Liberties Union

1965 Docket and Case Report

for Mississippi and Louisiana

(as of September 7, 1965)

Introduction

1. This report covers only matters on the docket of the LCDC Southern offices in Jackson, Mississippi (which has responsibility also for cases arising in the summer field offices in Shreveport, Louisiana and Montgomery, Alabama) -- pp. 1-35 -- and New Orleans, Louisiana -- pp. 36-42.

During the summer months, as many as five full-time staff attorneys plus five to eight volunteer lawyers worked out of the Jackson office at all times. The Shreveport office was staffed with two to three volunteer lawyers. Montgomery (open only briefly) had one staff attorney and three volunteers. In the New Orleans office one LCDC staff attorney and three volunteer attorneys were attached to the civil rights law firm of Collins, Douglas & Elie.

This report does not cover the following LCDC summer field offices and projects:

--Tallahassee, Florida (two to three volunteer attorneys, attached to the staff lawyer of the CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund). Harassment arrests, impediments to voter registration, segregated public accommodations and facilities, and discrimination in welfare programs in a large, six-county area of the Florida "panhandle" were the main concerns of this field office. It also continued LCDC's legal assistance to the civil rights movement in St. Augustine, Florida.

--Atlanta, Georgia (one staff attorney, attached to the Southern Regional Office of the American Civil Liberties Union). Some defensive civil rights legal problems in Georgia and the Carolinas occupied this office, but its principal concern was investigation and major litigation involving segregated Southern justice, especially exclusion of Negroes from Federal and State grand and petit juries, and disfranchisement of Negroes through gerrymandered State legislatures.

--Los Angeles, California: A special coordinating effort for the legal defense of the 4,000 people arrested in the south-central Los Angeles (Watts) disturbances, established at the request and with the cooperation of the ACLU of Southern California, the Commission on Religion and Race of the National and Southern California Councils of Churches, the NAACP, and the Los Angeles United Civil Rights Committee.

--Assistance rendered by LCDC volunteer attorneys in the defense of Springfield, Massachusetts, and various New York City civil rights demonstrators.

-- A volunteer attorney working in central South Carolina on voter registration, school desegregation and police harassment matters.

-- Referral of LCDC volunteer attorneys to various civil liberties and civil rights groups, such as ACLU, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (in the Congressional Challenge matter), Medical Committee for Human Rights, Free Speech Movement in Berkeley, California, etc.

--Administration of a civil rights bail fund. At the time of this summer's mass arrests in Jackson, Mississippi, a loan of $50,000 was made available to LCDC for an indefinite period of time as a revolving bail fund by a New England industrialist, and about $5,000 has been added since. Only civil rights workers who cannot raise cash bail or property bonds--surety bonds being virtually unavailable to civil rights defendants in Mississippi--have been provided bail by this fund. Some $52,300.00 in cash bail is now on deposit with the State of Mississippi. Return of this money is expected when the cases are ultimately disposed of.

2. It is important to remember that LCDC is a civil rights legal agency, not a legal aid society. All cases reported here involve defendants or matters arising directly out of the needs of the civil rights movement and the local Negro citizens associated with it. In all cases, LCDC attorneys are the only ones who can provide any legal representation (to say nothing of the committed and competent representation that LCDC attempts to make available). Civil or criminal cases that present no civil rights questions have in every instance been referred to local lawyers or other agencies. No fee or compensation is accepted for any LCDC case, nor could the clients afford one in most cases.

3. The docket does not reflect the hundreds of consultations with civil rights movement leaders and workers, with local citizens and governmental officials, the mass meetings and legal conferences attended and addressed, the negotiations with state and local law enforcement officials and courts, or the hundreds of defendants bailed out of the ever acute danger of physical harm in Southern rural jails. Of special note in this connection are the hundreds of man-hours devoted to extra-legal needs during the mass arrests in Jackson, when some 1,100 demonstrators were held in barracks on the Mississippi State Fair Grounds, and the City of Bogalusa (Louisiana), where the Ku Klux Klan, with police indulgence, openly terrorized the Negro citizenry.

4. LCDC's 1965 staff and volunteer attorneys are listed as Appendix A. The period of service of the volunteers averaged about three weeks. Over seventy attorneys went South as volunteers during this summer, from almost every section of the country, mature partners in leading law firms and young lawyers recently out of law school, assistant states' attorneys-general and military attorneys, professors of law and trial lawyers, civil liberties lawyers and tax specialists, public defenders and legislative researchers. Their sole common denominators were competence and a desire to see equal justice before the law realized.

5. In the several Southern offices, LCDC has had the devoted help of volunteer and staff secretaries as well as the invaluable assistance of young law students whose services were made available by the Law Students Civil Rights Research Council. Their work often lacked glamor but was essential nonetheless to whatever has been accomplished. Their tireless and loyal labors are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

6. What the LCDC--and, more important, the civil rights movement and the country--owes to our volunteer attorneys would sound emotional and trite were it put into words here. The physical conditions of the work were appalling, the climate subtropical, the agencies of state hostile, the surrounding environment murderous, the processes of

law a mockery, the risks ever present and too often actualized. This year again, LCDC lawyers were beaten, shot at, arrested, abducted and threatened with instant murder. They nevertheless worked fourteen and eighteen hours a day, seven days a week, harder than most of them had ever worked before. The most frequently expressed reaction to the experience was that nothing in their reading or general knowledge had prepared them for the state of race relations in the South and that no experience in their lives as human beings or lawyers had come close to this in importance or depth of commitment. This report is a tribute to them. It is dedicated to our clients, black and white together, who have taken upon themselves the burden of making this society free.

HS:hdl

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
of ACLU, Inc.

MISSISSIPPI FIELD OFFICE

DOCKET

September 7, 1965

Alvin J. Bronstein
Staff Counsel

MISSISSIPPI
Affirmative Actions Pending

1. Leola Blackman v. Bennett et al.

An action for damages brought by Mrs. Blackman, a member of the board of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, against the Sheriff of Carroll County, two deputies and their Surety Company. She had been beaten by the deputies on July 19 during a demonstration. The case is brought under Sec. 1983 for damages in the amount of $85,000. Complaint was filed on September 6 in the United States District Court.

2. Coppock v. Patterson

A class action brought on behalf of white civil rights workers and local Negroes attacking the constitutionality of three state statutes which were passed by the special session of the Mississippi Legislature on June 17 and 18, 1965. These statutes were passed at a time when demonstrations were being conducted in Jackson. The three statutes prohibit various kinds of First Amendment activities near the State Capitol building, the Governor's mansion and the State Office Building. The complaint was filed by us in the U.S. District Court on August 11, 1965, seeking to declare the statutes unconstitutional on the grounds that they are overbroad and constitute a prior restraint of First Amendment rights. A three judge court was requested. We also filed a motion for preliminary injunction. The State of Mississippi filed an answer on August 30 and the case is pending.

3. Dennis v. Johnson et al.

This case, brought on behalf of white and Negro civil rights workers, attacks the constitutionality of twenty-four statutes passed by the Mississippi State Legislature in the spring of 1964 in anticipation of the summer project. Our claim is that these statutes were specifically designed to thwart the efforts of civil rights workers and are either unconstitutional on their face or are unconstitutionally applied. Our complaint was filed in the United States District Court, requesting a three judge court. Thereafter an amended complaint was served and filed after a pretrial conference in April 1965. Defendants' answer has been filed. The case is now awaiting pretrial depositions and the appointment of a new judge on the three judge panel to replace the late Judge Mize.

4. Bailey v. Wharton

A suit in the U. S. District Court brought by the American Civil Liberties Union, with whom we are cooperating, which attacks the jury selection system in the Southern District of Mississippi. The complaint was filed in February, answer and motion to dismiss was filed by the defendants in March, depositions were taken by us in June, 1965. The matter is now pending for further disposition.

5. Harris and Hosek v. Ingram et al.

Two white civil rights workers were assaulted by a town constable in Carthage during the integration of a restaurant. One of them sustained head injuries requiring stitches; the other a broken leg. Criminal charges pressed against the constable resulted in his being acquitted. We are preparing a possible complaint for a civil damage suit in the Federal Court under section 1983. We are awaiting further statements from the plaintiffs and advice from them about proceeding further.

6. Wash Lewis v. Hinds Co. Sheriff

This 16-year-old local Negro was active in the Jackson Youth Movement, and was arrested on August 20 and pistol whipped by arresting officer. He was injured on his head, face and shoulder and was hospitalized. Charges against him were dropped. We are investigating this matter to prepare a civil damage suit against the Sheriff's office under 1983 in the Federal Court.

7. Wilson v. Marshall

This attack on the constitutionality of three ordinances of the City of West Point was brought on behalf of local Negroes and civil rights workers. The ordinances regulate and prohibit picketing, leafleting and parades. This action was commenced on May 18 at a time when the people in West Point were planning a demonstration on May 26. The complaint attacks the ordinances on the grounds that they are vague, overbroad and constitute a prior restraint on First Amendment rights. Although we were not able to obtain a temporary restraining order prior to the demonstration, people were permitted to parade without a permit as a result of the suit having been filed. Thereafter at the hearing for preliminary injunction the city agreed to, and did, repeal the leafleting ordinance. They are contesting the suit on the other two ordinances. The hearing was held June 4 in the U. S. District Court. Briefs were submitted by both sides and we are awaiting a decision. An emergency appeal to the 5th Circuit on May 25 in connection with the temporary restraining order has been dismissed as being moot since there were no arrests on May 26.

8. Strothers v. Thompson

This case arises out of demonstrations which took place in Jackson commencing June 14. This particular case attacks the constitutionality of a city ordinance prohibiting distribution of leaflets under which numerous people were arrested during the week beginning June 14. Complaint was filed in the U. S. District Court on June 18. On June 19 a hearing was held in the District Court before Judge Cox on an application for a preliminary injunction. When Judge Cox reserved decision, appeal was taken to the Court of Appeals 5th Circuit because of the emergency nature of the case and for the purpose of appeal this case was consolidated with Guyot v. Pierce, below. Thereafter, on June 30, the Court of Appeals granted our motion for an injunction pending appeal. The Court of Appeals on August 9, on its own motion, dismissed the appeal but treated the notices of appeal as application for mandamus giving Judge Cox 20 days to answer but continuing the injunction.

9. Guyot v. Pierce

This case, also arising out of the demonstrations in Jackson which commenced on June 14, attacks the constitutionality of two ordinances regulating parades and demonstrations. The original complaint was filed on June 14, two hours after 450 persons were arrested under the ordinance. Approximately 300 more persons were arrested under this ordinance during that week. A hearing was held on our application for preliminary injunction in the U. S. District Court on June 19, and Judge Cox reserved decision. This case was consolidated with Strothers v. Thompson above, and appealed to the 5th Circuit. The Court of Appeals on June 30 granted our motion for an injunction and thereafter procedures followed as outlined above. On August 24, Judge Cox entered an order denying our application for an injunction in this case only and only with respect to one of the ordinances. The injunction of the Court of Appeals is still in effect and a notice of appeal of this last order is being prepared. After June 30, when the Court of Appeals first issued its injunction, the people in Jackson were able to and did march and distribute leaflets, etc., without being arrested. This case and Strothers v. Thompson were handled by us in cooperation with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.

10. Sherrod v. Coker's Cafe

An action for an injunction in Federal Court brought on behalf of local Negroes against a restaurant in Hollandale which was refusing to comply with Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Complaint was filed

in the U. S. District Court together with a motion for preliminary injunction on July 20. Hearing was held on August 13 and on August 18 the Court granted our motion and entered an order for preliminary injunction. We have now served interrogatories on the defendants in preparation for final hearing.

11. Jackson v. Bull (Tennessee)

This case was brought in response to a call for help from the Fayette County and West Tennessee Voters Project. It concerned demonstrations which took place in Brownsville, Tennessee, beginning July 9. By the end of July the civil rights movement there was suffering from various kinds of police activity, harassment and in particular police department's failure to protect demonstrators from being assaulted by white onlookers. Because of imminent demonstrations, we filed an injunction action against the police under Sec. 1983 on August 5 in the U. S. District Court and set hearing for preliminary injunction for August 27. After the filing of the complaint there were two large marches and demonstrations which were attended by our lawyers and during which demonstrators were protected by the police. On August 21, with the demonstrations and the summer project coming to an end, this case became moot since most of our witnesses were leaving the state. We filed our own motion to dismiss the case.

12. Morton Thomas v. Sheriff of Bolivar County

This white civil rights worker was one of 40 people arrested on July 30 in Rosedale, Mississippi. This case has been removed to the Federal Court. On July 31 while he was confined to the Bolivar County jail, he was badly beaten by two other inmates who were told that he was a civil rights worker while police officials looked on. We are preparing this damage suit for the Federal Court under Sec. 1983, against the Sheriff, other police officers, and the Sheriff's bonding company.

13. Pearlie Thomas v. the Town Marshal of Anguilla

This local 55-year-old Negro, who is lame, was beaten severely by the town marshal in Anguilla on July 31. She was then taken away by the police and committed to the State Mental Hospital. We investigated the case, visited her at the State Hospital, and on August 31 were able to get a statement from the hospital that she was not insane. We have arranged for her release. We are now preparing a civil damage suit in the Federal Court against the Marshal.

14. Sherrod v. Pink Hat Cafe and Jones

A suit on behalf of local Negroes in Hollandale in Federal Court seeking an injunction under Title II of the Civil Rights Act as well as seeking damages for the assault by the son of the owner of the restaurant. A hearing on preliminary injunction was held on August 13. On August 18 Judge Clayton signed an order granting us a preliminary injunction. We have now served interrogatories prior to holding a final hearing. The defendants have moved to dismiss our damage claim and although there do not seem to be any prior cases for combining this kind of claim with a Title II suit, we are attempting to set precedent. Briefs are to be submitted to the court by September 17.

15. Quinn v. Rogers

This is a statewide suit prepared to enjoin all the Mississippi State Parks from maintaining segregated facilities. We have conducted an intensive investigation, have obtained numerous affidavits, and have prepared a memorandum of law and a draft complaint. The State Park Commission has contacted us in connection with complaints of discrimination and we are waiting to see if they will take immediate action to desegregate the facilities before we file suit.

16. Chinn v. City of Canton

In the early part of June, civil rights workers and local Negroes were attempting to integrate the city park in Canton. On June 25, 11 civil rights workers and local people were arrested and charged with trespassing at the park. On the same day we filed a complaint in the U. S. District Court seeking injunctive relief. On June 28, we obtained a temporary restraining order from Judge Cox which restrained the city from denying the park

facilities to Negroes and from making further arrests or prosecuting. Thereafter, for two days, Negroes were permitted to use the park. On June 30, the city closed the park and kept the swimming pool open claiming they had leased it to a private association. We filed an amended complaint. After a hearing on July 19, the temporary restraining order was made a preliminary injunction. On August 3, Judge Cox declared the swimming-pool lease was a nullity and directed the city to permit Negroes to use all facilities that were open. This case is coming on for trial in the Federal Court in November where we hope to raise the question of compelling the city to keep their park facilities open.

17. Perkins v. Harrison

An action on behalf of local Negroes against a restaurant under Title II of the Civil Rights Act. We are preparing a complaint in connection with the restaurant's refusal to serve on August 18 and on August 28.

18. Wilder v. Ferrell

An action on behalf of local Negroes against a restaurant in Thomastown seeking an injunction under Title II of the Civil Rights Act for the defendant's refusal to serve Negroes. After a series of refusals, we filed a complaint in the U. S. District Court on August 26. We have served interrogatories prior to holding a hearing for a preliminary injunction. The attorney for the defendant has called to indicate that they will probably consent to an injunction.

19. Raymond v. Sessums

This case arises out of the arrest of George Raymond and ten other civil rights workers in the town of Morton on June 16. They were arrested while going into town to test a restaurant. Raymond was beaten by a town Marshal and shot at. On August 16, we obtained dismissal of all of the charges against our clients. We are now prepared to file a complaint for damages against the Marshal in the U. S. District Court.

20. Taylor v. Vasselus et al.

A suit in the Federal Court on behalf of local Negroes against six restaurants in Hattiesburg under Title II of the Civil Rights Act. These restaurants were refusing to serve Negroes and complaint was filed on September 1. We are now serving interrogatories prior to hearing for preliminary injunction.

21. Mingo Donald v. Owens

In this case, the plaintiff, a local Negro, was facing imminent prosecution in a J. P. Court where he was charged with disturbing the peace and other charges. We brought an injunction action in the Federal Court wherein we attacked the constitutionality of the statute which gives the Justice of the Peace his authority, on the grounds that since he receives $5 for every conviction, he has an unconstitutional vested interest. In lieu of a temporary restraining order, the County Attorney agreed to continue the J. P. trial indefinitely. This complaint was filed on July 6. On August 13, the case was turned over to the Mississippi Attorney General's office who then agreed to dismiss charges against the plaintiff, return the bond, and continue the injunction action indefinitely. The Attorney General's office is recommending to the State legislature that the statute be repealed. An order leaving the case on the Federal Court docket was entered on August 25.

22. Gordon v. Evans

This local Negro active in the movement was arrested in Lexington on May 2. While confined to the Holmes County Jail, he was badly beaten by a deputy sheriff. We are bringing this suit for damages in the amount of $100,000 against the deputy sheriff. Complaint was filed in June. We filed an amended complaint bringing in the sheriff's bonding company as a party. This was one of the first suits of its kind in Mississippi. We have served interrogatories, and this case is on the trial calendar in the U. S. District Court for November.

23. Jackson v. Southwest Drug Store

We are preparing a suit in Federal Court on behalf of local Negroes against four restaurants in Pascagoula under Title II of the Civil Rights Act. In July and August they refused to serve Negroes.

24. Bass v. Royal Theatre

A suit in the Federal Court on behalf of local Negroes against a theatre and restaurant in Moss Point under Title II of the Civil Rights Act for their failure to serve Negroes. Complaint is being prepared now.

25. Shelton v. Simpson

This is an action on behalf of local Negroes and civil rights workers in Shaw against the city officials to declare unconstitutional an ordinance limiting the right to conduct parades and demonstrations. On April 1, fifty people were arrested during a demonstration. On April 5, the Town of Shaw passed this ordinance. On May 5 we filed a complaint in the U. S. District Court attacking the ordinance on the grounds that it was vague, overbroad and was a prior restraint of First Amendment rights. On May 8, thirty-eight persons were arrested for violating the ordinance. On May 12 the hearing was held in Federal Court for preliminary injunction. The prosecution of the thirty-eight persons was stayed. Briefs were submitted. On June 1, the District Court issued a preliminary injunction to become permanent in 30 days. Thereafter the town repealed the ordinance and the case was discontinued as moot on July 7, awarding costs to the plaintiffs. We submitted costs in the amount of $227, which were taxed by the Clerk on August 18 and we are awaiting collection now.

MISSISSIPPI
Defensive Actions Pending - Federal Courts

26. State of Mississippi v. Ernest Archie

Archie, a 16-year-old local Negro active in civil rights, was arrested on June 21 while driving a SNCC truck carrying civil rights workers between Edwards and Jackson. He was jailed, not permitted a telephone call, and was tried by a J. P. without counsel. He was convicted of crossing yellow line, speeding, improper license. At the time of his arrest and thereafter, he was harassed and intimidated by State Police. He was fined $232 or 3 months, and since he had no money and was not permitted to call for help he was committed to jail. On July 17, we first learned of his being in jail and attempted to file coram nobis and appeal with the J. P., who refused to accept any papers from us. In order to get him out of jail as soon as possible, we filed a removal petition on July 21 in the Southern District. Judge Cox set his bond at $200 and he was released. The state has answered and moved to remand, and both sides submitted the case to Judge Cox on affidavits. Judge Cox remanded the case on August 26. We filed a notice of Appeal to the Fifth Circuit on August 28, and Judge Cox signed an order staying the remand pending the appeal.

27. State v. Bass, Klein and Wilcox

These three civil rights workers, one white and two Negro, were arrested on July 7 during a demonstration near the State Capitol in Jackson. These three had left the demonstration. They were walking toward the Capitol and were charged with violating a new anti-parade ordinance. This ordinance is under attack by us in another case in Coppock v. Patterson. These three cases were removed from the County Court to the United States District Court on July 12. The Mississippi Attorney General's office is now examining them in connection with the possible dismissal. The original bond of $200 on each was reduced by the Federal Court to $100, $50 and recognizance, respectively, on our motion.

28. State v. Bass, Karpe and Ramsland

Three civil rights workers, one Negro and two white, were arrested in Moss Point on August 17 after testing a restaurant. They had been attacked and chased from the restaurant and were then charged with disturbing the peace and destroying personal property. The cases were removed to the United States District Court on August 25, 1965, where they are now pending.

29. United States v. Bell

This case was referred to us by Howard Moore, Esq., in Atlanta. It involves a Negro SNCC worker charged with forgery. We attended the arraignment and preliminary hearings before Judge Cox after attempting to transfer the case to the Federal Court in Georgia, which Judge Cox refused to do. The defendant is now out on bond and we are awaiting a sentencing date.

30. State v. Leola Blackman

This local Negro, who is a board member of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, was arrested on July 19 during a demonstration protesting split school sessions. She had attempted to rescue her 8-year-old son, who was hit by a deputy sheriff. She was then assaulted by two deputy sheriffs and charged with assault and resisting arrest. Her case was removed to the United States District Court on August 9, where it is now pending. We are bringing a damage suit against the sheriff on behalf of Mrs. Blackman.

31. City of Indianola v. Robert Cableton et al.

Four local Negroes working for COFO were arrested in Indianola after they had been in a restaurant and had offered a white man a SNCC button. They were charged with disturbing the peace and bond had been set at $100 each and the State Court refused to accept property bond. We then prepared a habeas corpus petition, after which the State Court released the defendants without bond. The cases were removed to the United States District Court on April 6, where they are now pending.

32. State v. Carver

Ronald Carver, a white civil rights worker, was arrested on June 12 in Olive Branch when he and a group of others were testing a restaurant. He was charged with obstructing the sidewalk even though he was arrested in the restaurant. This case was removed to the United States District Court on July 6, and a motion to remand was filed by the State on July 9, 1965, where the case is now pending.

33. City of Jackson v. Mrs. Bennie Catchings

This case was taken over by us from Jess Brown, Esq. This local Negro was arrested in the Greyhound Bus Terminal in Jackson on July 12, 1964 and charged with disturbing the peace after she had attempted to obtain service and was beaten by an employee of the restaurant. The case was removed to the Federal Court on July 17, 1964 and was remanded to the State Court on March 25, 1965. We filed a notice of appeal on April 8, 1965. The District Court stayed the remand pending appeal. The record has been printed. We filed our brief in the Court of Appeals, 5th Circuit, on August 11, 1965 and the City's brief was filed on September 1, 1965, the appeal is pending.

34. State v. Louis King, et al.

These six civil rights workers, one white and five Negro, all members of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union, were arrested on June 10, 1965 in Bolivar County during an attempt to talk to cotton choppers to encourage them to strike. All of the defendants were charged with profanity and disturbing the peace, and one was charged with assault and battery. These cases were removed to the United States District Court on June 25th and they are still pending.

35. State v. Levy and Morse

These two white civil rights workers were arrested in Meridian on August 26 while carrying Negro children and their parents to register in previously all white schools. They were charged with trespassing and illegal parking for merely dropping the children and their parents off in front of the school. Morse was released from jail on the first set of charges and was thereafter rearrested and charged with driving with an improper windshield. These cases were removed to the United States District Court on September 3.

36. State v. Charles Kemp

This is a local Negro who was arrested on June 22, 1965 after having tested a restaurant in Olive Branch. He was arrested shortly after having left the restaurant while driving a car and charged with failing to stop before entering a highway, which was completely untrue. He was arrested by a deputy Sheriff who saw him at the restaurant. The case was removed to the U. S. District Court on July 6 and a motion to remand was filed by the State on July 10. The case is pending.

37. State v. Albert Halprin

This white civil rights worker was arrested in West Point on July 26, charged with disturbing the peace, as a result of his having been found standing in front of a church to which Negro students had marched after boycotting an all-Negro school. We tried the case in the J. P. Court on August 4, where the defendant was found guilty, fined $150 and given a 30 day suspended sentence. Appeal was taken to the Circuit Court; thereafter on September 3 we removed the case to the U. S. District Court where it is now pending. Ten other civil rights workers were arrested with this defendant. Charges against seven of them were dismissed and three who were leaving the state imminently pleaded guilty and were fined $10.

38. City of Jackson v. Alexander et al. Alexander et al. v. Cox

Approximately 1100 white and Negro citizens were arrested in the two weeks of demonstrations beginning on June 14 in Jackson. They were charged with parading without a permit, leafleting etc. Thereafter these arrests were enjoined. See Guyot v. Pierce and Strothers v. Thompson. Because of

the tremendous number of persons arrested the same day and charged with the same offenses arising out of the same circumstances, we challenged Judge Cox's rule in the U. S. District Court which requires a separate removal petition for each defendant. We attempted to file three removal petitions for the first 700 defendants arrested on the first three days. Judge Cox refused to accept them, and we filed a writ of mandamus in the Court of Appeals. On June 24, the Court of Appeals granted our application and directed the District Court and Judge Cox to accept one petition for all arrests made on the same day and arising out of the same circumstances. Thereafter when we presented the removal petitions, Judge Cox insisted that we have an individual verification of the petition by each defendant even though there were multiple defendants on one petition. We filed another writ of mandamus with the Court of Appeals. On July 13 they issued an order directing the District Court to require verifications of only those defendants then in Jackson and that attorneys' verifications would suffice for all others. These 1100 cases are now indefinitely continued pending final disposition of the two injunction actions referred to above. These cases were handled in cooperation with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.

39. State v. Morgan Brown et al.

This case involved forty civil rights workers, thirty-six Negroes and four whites, who were arrested on July 30 in Rosedale during a demonstration at the Courthouse and charged with disturbing the peace. Thereafter these defendants were taken from the Rosedale jail to the State Penitentiary where many of them were mistreated, and where all of them were forced to drink glasses of milk of magnesia. The following day they were returned to local jails. They were all bonded out on August 2 and on August 19 these cases were removed to the U. S. District Court, where they are now pending.

40. Smith v. Harrison

We are representing CORE in this personal injury action for $1,500,000.00 against various civil rights organizations. This case, pending in the U. S. District Court, arises out of an automobile accident which occurred in Stone County on November 19, 1964. Complaint was served in February 1965 and we have filed answers and on July 16 we filed and argued a motion for summary judgment dismissing the complaint on behalf of CORE. We are still awaiting a decision from Judge Cox. This case is scheduled for trial in October.

41. American Liberty Insurance Co. v. Smith et al.

This is a companion case to Smith v. Harrison, above, and is a suit in the federal court by the insurance carrier of the car involved for declaratory judgment to relieve themselves of liability. We are defending this on behalf of CORE. The complaint in this case was filed in April. We have answered and on August 25 attended the taking of various depositions in Atlanta. There are motions scheduled to be heard in this case on September 6, and this case is set for trial in October.

42. State v. Eddie Davis et al.

Eight white and Negro civil rights workers were arrested on March 12 while demonstrating at the city auditorium in Natchez. They were all charged with disturbing the peace. Their cases were removed to the U. S. District Court on March 27. The state moved to remand on April 19. We submitted affidavits and a brief to the District Court on May 18. Judge Cox remanded these cases on June 2. We filed a notice of appeal and obtained an order staying the remand on June 9. The cases are now pending in the 5th Circuit where the record has just been printed. We are preparing our brief.

43. State v. Grandison et al.

These 26 civil rights workers and local Negroes were arrested on March 9 during a demonstration at a Negro High School in Moss Point. They are charged with trespassing and refusal to obey an officer. These cases were all removed to the U. S. District Court on March 15. On April 19 the state moved to remand. We submitted affidavits and brief on April 29. On June 1, Judge Cox remanded these cases to the State court. On June 9 we filed a notice of appeal and obtained an order staying the remand. The cases are now pending in the 5th Circuit where the record has just been printed. We are preparing a brief.

44. State v. Allen et al.

On March 1st and 2nd, ninety-two civil rights workers and local Negroes were arrested for demonstrating at the courthouse in Magnolia. They were charged with violation of the state anti-picketing statute. These cases were all removed to the U. S. District Court on April 23. The state moved to remand on May 7. Affidavits and briefs were submitted to the District Court on June 7, and on June 12, Judge Cox remanded these cases to the state court. Notice of appeal was filed on June 21; an order staying the remands was entered on the same day. This case is not pending in the 5th Circuit where the record has been printed. Our brief is now being printed.

45. State v. Gellatly et al.

These fifty local people and civil rights workers were arrested on April 1 during a demonstration at a school in Shaw. They were all charged with disturbing the peace and refusing to obey the order of a police officer. Their cases were removed to the U. S. District Court on April 19 where they are now pending. The state has never moved to remand.

46. City of Natchez v. Day et al.

These thirty white and Negro civil rights workers were arrested on May 29 while walking from a church to a public park in Natchez to attempt to integrate the park. They were all charged with unlawful assembly and placed under $500 bond. All but eight of the defendants were bonded out. The cases were removed to the U. S. District Court on June 4 and a motion was made to the District Court Judge to reduce bond. These eight were brought before the U. S. Commissioner on June 16, bond was reduced and they were released. The city filed a motion to remand on June 23; we filed affidavits and a brief in support of our removal in the District Court on June 30, where the matter is now pending.

47. City of Jackson v. Klein et al.

On March 15 these six civil rights workers were arrested before commencing a demonstration near the Hinds County Courthouse in Jackson and charged with disorderly conduct. They were tried the same day in City Court and convicted, given a thirty day sentence and fined $200. Removal petitions were filed on May 11 and the city filed a motion to remand on May 19. On May 27 we filed affidavits and brief with the District Court, where the matter is now pending.

48. City of Jackson v. Sumrall et al.

These twelve local Negroes were arrested on April 20 while attempting to walk from the Negro section of Jackson to a hotel downtown to demonstrate in protest against the appearance of Sheriff Jim Clark of Selma, Alabama, as the featured speaker at the Mississippi sheriffs convention at the hotel. They were arrested on the sidewalk, still in the Negro section, and charged with parading without a permit. Removal petitions were filed in the U. S. District Court on April 26. The City moved to remand on May 5. On May 10 we filed affidavits and brief in support of the removal in the District Court, where the matter is now pending.

49. City of Greenville v. Novick

These twenty-five white and Negro civil rights workers were arrested on March 22, 23 and 24, during an attempt to march from the Negro section of Greenville to a factory that they were picketing. They were charged with refusal to obey an officer, and some of them were charged with other miscellaneous charges. These cases were removed to the U. S. District Court on March 31. The city moved to remand on April 13. These cases were consolidated for the purpose of removal, and the matter is now pending.

50. State v. Feinglass

This white civil rights worker was arrested in Ashland on August 17, charged with the felony of attempting to defraud a political subdivision of the state, to wit: Benton County School Board. This arose out of his helping to drive Negro parents and their children so that they could be

registered at previously all white schools. His bond was set in the State Court at $1500. We removed the case to the Federal Court on July 19 and appearrd before Judge Clayton of the U. S. District Court on our motion to reduce bond. He reduced bond to $300 and we obtained the release of the defendant. The state moved to remand on September 2, and the hearing was held before Judge Clayton September 3. The matter is still pending.

Defensive Actions Pending - State Courts

51. State v. Willie Fred Black

This local Negro from Philadelphia, Miss. who houses civil rights worker was arrested on June 23, 1965 and charged with selling mortgaged property under false pretenses. This is a felony. We attended preliminary hearing on June 25, after which Black was bound over for the Grand Jury with cash bond set at $1,000. We bailed him out on July 7, and are awaiting grand jury acti in September.

52. State v. Charney Bromberg

A white civil rights worker was arrested in Canton and charged with disturbing a religious worship at a church in Scott County. He had been standing on the porch of the church talking to people there. We tried this case in the J. P. Court and although there was no testimony of disturbance, he was convicted and fined $150. We filed an appeal to the Circuit Court and the defendant is out on appeal bond. The case is pending.

53. State v. Charles Ellzey

This matter was referred to us by civil rights workers in McComb. It involves a local Negro who is serving a life sentence for murder arising out of a shooting in 1958. The defendant pled guilty on the advice of court-appointed local counsel, but our investigation discloses that the defendant had been shot first by the white victim before he did any shooting. It appears that the question of self-defense and the fact that defendant had a wounded hand from being shot were never brought out in the state court proceeding. We have completed our investigation and have referred this matter to the Southern Regional Office of the American Civil Liberties Union to see whether they will handle it.

54. Foster v. Futorian et al.

This is a libel case brought by a Negro school principal against one white civil rights worker and ten local Negroes in connection with a series of articles published in the Benton County Freedom newspaper which criticized the activities of the school principal. The defendant is suing for $675,000. We tried the case in the state court without jury, relying firstly on the factual premise that there was no damage, secondly that there was no malice and that the defendant's activities are protected by the law established in Sullivan v. New York Times. After a four-day trial, a verdict of $60,000 was rendered against defendants. We have filed an appeal to the Mississippi Supreme Court. We also attempted before the trial to enjoin the state court trial in the federal court by extending the Dombrowski and other legal doctrines, but we were denied a temporary restraining order and this aspect of the case has been held open.

55. State v. Maggie Gordon

This local Negro active in civil rights was arrested on July 20 in Lexington and charged with fraud in connection with obtaining a loan from a finance company on a vehicle that she allegedly did not own. We appeared at the preliminary hearing in J. P. Court on July 27, at which time the defendant was bound over for a grand jury which meets in December.

56. State v. Elvira Grandison

This local Negro who is a member of the Freedom Democratic Party was arrested in Moss Point on April 23 and charged with three traffic offenses. She has been subjected to numerous harassment arrests since she participated in a school boycott. The trial had been scheduled for April 26, but the city judge had agreed to an adjournment with us on the telephone and we advised the defendant not to appear. However, they proceeded with her trial in her absence and she was convicted on three counts by default. Thereafter an appeal was taken to the county court with the filing of an appeal bond. This case was scheduled for trial on August 9. We appeared at that time but our attorney was challenged by the County and City Attorneys so that we could not proceed with the trial. The case has been continued to September 13 when we will have to arrange for a local attorney to be present.

57. State v. Andrew Green

This Negro civil rights worker was arrested in Madison County on June 2, charged with bigamy. We attended a preliminary hearing and the defendant was bound over for the Grand Jury in September.

58. City of Greenwood v. Hancock

This local Negro was arrested on May 30 and charged with malicious mischief in Greenwood, Miss. for allegedly throwing a brick at a car during a park integration attempt. The trial was held on June 1 in Greenwood City Court in which various civil rights workers testified that defendant never threw a brick, but he was convicted and sentenced to 90 days. We perfected an appeal to the Circuit Court where the case is now pending.

59. State v. Hunter & Johnson

These two Negro civil rights workers from Vicksburg were arrested on June 24 on their way from Vicksburg to Jackson, driving in a car with a white civil rights worker. They were pushed around by highway patrolmen and then charged with various traffic offenses and resisting arrest. They were tried without a lawyer in J. P. Court on June 24, and both convicted and fined. We obtained their release from jail on June 25 by posting appeal bonds. The appeal will be heard in the Hinds County Court in September.

60. State v. James Klein

This white volunteer with the Medical Committee for Human Rights was arrested on August 28 in Moss Point, charged with possession of narcotics and was held in $2,500 bond. After investigation which disclosed that the "narcotics" were hay fever pills and had been prescribed for him by his father, a doctor, and a meeting with the Circuit Court Judge, defendant was released on his own signature. The case is now awaiting Grand Jury action and after a full disclosure we expect this case to be dismissed.

61. State v. Willie and J. B. Knox

These two local Negroes active in civil rights were arrested in Liberty, April 22 after having been beaten by two white men on April 18. They had gone to the Sheriff's office accompanied by an LCDC lawyer to file a complaint against the white men and they were in turn charged with assault. A preliminary hearing was held in the J. P. Court on the charges against the two Knoxes as well as the two white men. After a 4 hour hearing, all four were bound over to the Grand Jury which meets the 3rd Monday of October.

62. In re Curtis Lee Long

This 16-year-old local Negro, whose family is active in civil rights, was arrested on June 28 on a petition charging him with being a delinquent. On July 2 a hearing was held in Sunflower County Youth Court where the juvenile was denied the right to counsel. He was adjudged a delinquent and committed to the State Training School. On July 12 we filed a notice of appeal and bond with the Chancery Clerk of Sunflower County and moved to suspend commitment pending appeal. On July 21 our motion to suspend was denied on the telephone by the Chancery Judge, and on August 19 we filed a motion for summary dismissal and suspension of the decree pending appeal in the Mississippi Supreme Court. This motion will be heard by the Court on September 18.

63. City of Canton v. George Raymond

Raymond, who is CORE project director in Canton, was arrested on June 12th shortly after a CORE jeep was burned, and charged with disturbing the peace, profanity and resisting arrest. He was beaten badly in jail by a police officer. Prior to trial the mayor agreed to continue this case indefinitely pending investigation by the FBI and other authorities. He is to advise us before any further proceeding takes place.

64. Carl Rice Juvenile Proceeding

This 16-year-old local Negro, who was active in civil rights, was charged with being a delinquent in the juvenile Court and, after hearing on January 11, 1965, he was adjudged a delinquent and sentenced to the

Oakley Training School. He was represented by a local lawyer who worked out a deal whereby the sentence was suspended although not of record, so long as the Juvenile stays out of Mississippi, and he was sent to stay with a sister whose home is in New York. In May he wanted to return. We obtained the record of his hearing after petitioning the Chancery Court in July. The juvenile now wants to stay in New York. We are holding this matter open although we feel we have grounds to set aside the judgment because of lack of due process.

65. Richmond v. Scales

We represent CORE in this personal injury case against various civil rights organizations which arose out of an automobile accident which took place on August 1, 1964. The suit is for $150,000 and is pending in the circuit court of Marshall County. The case was adjourned shortly before trial and we worked out a settlement with the plaintiff's attorney and insurance company for $16,000 of which $10,000 is to be paid by the insurance company, the balance to be divided among various civil rights organizations. This was on August 7th and the final closing should be completed shortly.

66. State v. Sammy Suggars et al.

Seven local Negroes and civil rights workers were arrested on June 1 in Shaw, Mississippi and charged with malicious trespass in connection with attempts to get people to join the cotton choppers strike. These defendants were tried before a jury in the County Court of Bolivar County on June 24 and they were found guilty and fined $150 and 60 days. Appeals to the Circuit Court were perfected in forma pauperis. This case will be coming up later this year.

67. State v. Richard Tinsley

This Negro CORE staff worker in Philadelphia, Miss. was arrested on May 13 during his attempt to break up a fight and was charged with assault and battery with intent to kill as a result of a Negro teenager having been shot. Preliminary hearing was held in J. P. Court on May 17 and, after examination of witnesses, defendant was bound over for the Grand Jury which meets the end of September. Bond was set at $10,000 which we had reduced to $3,000. Defendant is out on bond and we have interviewed and obtained statements from various witnesses which we hope will exonerate the defendant.

68. State v. Charles Tobias

At the request of civil rights workers, we represented this local Negro who was arrested on July 12 charged with rape of a white woman in rural Amite County the same day. Before we saw him he had been beaten by police and allegedly confessed to the crime. He had been captured by police in Louisiana and brought back to Mississippi after allegedly signing a waiver of extradition. We attended preliminary hearing on July 15 in Liberty where the public was excluded for fear of violence. After the hearing, the defendant was bound over for the Grand Jury which meets on the 3rd Monday in October. He is being held without bail. We have communicated with the American Civil Liberties Union to see whether they wish to take on this case.

69. State v. John Williams

At the request of civil rights workers in McComb, we represented this local Negro who was arrested on January 16 and charged with two burglaries which allegedly happened in January. He had been in jail since January 16 and apparently had been sick in jail. We obtained his release on March 30 after the arraignment and Grand Jury indictment. The trial was adjourned until the first week in October to obtain time for us to explore possibility of settlement with prosecutor.

70. State v. Charles Kelsey

This is a Negro civil rights worker arrested for failing to stop after integration of cafe in Oliver Branch. Convicted in J. P. Court and fined $40. Appeal perfected to Circuit Court Trial in November. We are expecting to get this case nolle prossed.

71. City of Canton v. Percy Hawkins

This local Negro was picketing in Canton on August 28. He was twice assaulted by a white man and he thereafter hit the white man back. He then continued picketing and shortly thereafter was arrested and charged with assault. It was recommended that counter-charges be filed and trial of our defendant is scheduled for September 7.

72. State v. Collins and Gosten

These two local Negroes, members of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, were arrested on July 4 near Carrollton by a Highway Patrolman. He apparently recognized them as being active in civil rights and threatened them with assault. They were both arrested and jailed. They were tried without a lawyer on July 6, and both were convicted of reckless driving (even though only one was driving) and of resisting arrest. They were given fines totalling $246. After they told the J. P. they would appeal, the highway patrolman then added another charge of driving while intoxicated. The appeal has been perfected to the Circuit Court which will meet the second Monday in December.

73. State v. Carrie Stepter

This 16-year-old local Negro, who is a member of the leading civil rights family in Amite County, was assaulted and beaten in Liberty while a Deputy Sheriff stood by and watched. The persons committing the assault were two notorious Uncle Toms who had previously testified against us in civil rights cases. We helped Stepter press charges against the other two, but are awaiting word from the Sheriff on his threat to bring our client's case before the Juvenile Court.

74. City of Canton v. Tom Manoff

This white civil rights worker was arrested in Canton on August 13 charged with pointing and aiming a firearm. There had been a number of shootings and bombings at the Canton Freedom House. On this particular night a white man with a gun in a car was seen driving back and forth near the building. When Manoff came out of the house with a shotgun he was arrested by a police officer who admitted he was lying on the back seat of the white man's car - an obvious case of entrapment. The case was tried in the Mayor's Court and Manoff was convicted and sentenced to 90 days and $250 fine. We have perfected an appeal to the Circuit Court.

75. State v. Mingo Donald

This local Negro active in the movement, who had previously been a plaintiff in a test case against the J. P. statute, was arrested on August 21 in Flowood charged with possession of liquor, which was not true. The arresting officer made reference to his having participated in the other case. Trial was held on August 24 and he was convicted and fined $50. We are appealing *in forma pauperis* to the Circuit Court.

76. State v. Phyllis Cunningham

This white Medical Committee nurse was arrested on August 23, charged with speeding. The trial was held in the J. P. Court on September 2. She was found guilty and fined $40. She then filed an appeal bond and the appeal is pending.

77. City of Hattiesburg v. David Nesmith

This white Delta Ministry volunteer was arrested on August 24 and charged with destroying personal property after having been assaulted by a notorious racist in Hattiesburg. The personal property allegedly destroyed were the glass showcases against which Nesmith was smashed by his assailant. Assault charges were pressed by our client and both cases are set for trial on September 13.

78. State v. Vigneault and Donovan

These two white civil rights workers (one a State Legislator from Massachusetts) were arrested in Philadelphia, Miss. while observing voter

registration at the Neshoba County Courthouse on September 1. They were charged with disturbing the peace and refusing to obey an officer and bond was set at $1,000 each. We had the bond reduced to $500 each and then obtained their release the same day by arranging for a plea of nolo contendere and a fine of $30. We are now waiting to hear from the clients with respect to their wishes on appeal.

79. State v. Klondike Abbott

This local Negro civil rights worker was arrested on April 2 and charged with burglary and unlawful entry. A preliminary hearing was conducted in the J. P. court on April 28. After the hearing, he was bound over for the Grand Jury, which meets in September. Since then we have obtained statements from two of the witnesses which exonerate Abbott and we are attempting to get this matter dismissed.

80. State v. George Lee Jones

This Negro civil rights worker was arrested in Indianola on May 15 and charged with breaking and entry. A preliminary hearing was held in the J. P. court on May 30. Then he was bound over to the Grand Jury which meets in September. We have obtained statements from witnesses which exonerate our client and we are attemtping to get this matter dismissed.

81. State v. Mary Hawkins

This local Negro who is one of the leaders of the movement in Boulivar County was arrested on May 27 and charged with carrying a concealed weapon and unlawfully pointing the weapon. She was arraigned on July 25 and this case will be called for trial on September 14.

82. State v. Mary Sue Gellatly

These four civil rights workers, two Negro and two white, have been leaders of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union and were arrested on June 18 and charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors. This arose out of the situation where twenty-nine young Negroes broke into and damaged a school in Shaw. Four of the youths allegedly incriminated our clients. We have obtained statements from two of them that they were coerced into signing statements by police using cattle prods. In actual fact our clients knew nothing about the incident. Our clients were arraigned on June 28 and are out on bail of $4,800. This case will come on the docket for September 14 to set a trial date.

83. State v. Lorana Tremper

This white civil rights worker was arrested in Belzoni on September 4 and charged with unlawful cohabitation. She is being held on $500 bond and we are attempting to obtain her release and a hearing should be scheduled shortly.

84. State v. Marvin Earnest

This local Negro NAACP worker was arrested on August 14 while carrying workers from the station and was charged with driving while intoxicated. Trial was conducted in the J. P. Court on August 28 and he was convicted and fined. Appeal is being taken to the Circuit Court.

85. City of Columbia v. McClennan et al.

On August 28, fourteen white and Negro civil rights workers were arrested in Columbia while picketing at a shopping center. Three of the defendants were juveniles and were released immediately. The rest were charged with trespassing and a trial was held August 30 in J. P. Court. They were all convicted and fined $50. We perfected an appeal to the Circuit Court and are contemplating a possible injunction action against future arrests.

86. State v. Swanson et al.

These three civil rights workers, one Negro and two white, were arrested in Newton on July 20 and charged with contributing to the delinquency

of a minor. We arranged to bond them out and they were then held over for the Grand Jury which met on August 26. In the meantime we obtained statements indicating that our clients had nothing to do with the minor involved, which we made available to the prosecutor and the Grand Jury did not indict. We are now working on getting the return of the bail.

87. State v. Raymond

George Raymond, CORE project director, was arrested on September 4 in Forest, Mississippi charged with reckless driving. We bonded him out and a hearing is set in J. P. Court on September 15.

88. City of Moss Point v. Reeves et al.

This case involves six local Negroes and arises out of a case in August of 1964 where they were convicted in the City Court in Moss Point. They were represented by another attorney at that time who perfected an appeal to the Circuit Court. They were never tried in the Circuit Court and they assumed their appeals were still pending. Without notice to them on December 14 the appeals were dismissed and on August 25 these six defendants were arrested. On August 29, we submitted a motion in the County Court and an order was entered on August 31 setting aside the order dismissing the appeal, and directing the release of these defendants. We are not attempting to have these cases dismissed.

89. City of Natchez v. Ladner et al.

Five civil rights workers arrested in Natchez on September 3 charged with leafleting without a permit. They have just been bailed out and trial is set for September 7. These cases will probably be removed to the federal court.

90. City of Jackson v. Weiss et al.

Three civil rights workers were arrested in Jackson on September 5, and allegedly beaten by police officers. They were charged with refusal to obey an officer and are still in jail, but no trial date has been set.

General Matters Pending

91. Now Brick Company

A group of civil rights workers and local Negroes in Edwards, Mississippi wished to organize a cooperative Brick making Co. and to set it up as a non-profit, tax-exempt corporation. The whole project would be a community action project and a private poverty program. We arranged for the incorporation of the company in New York. It was completed on August 13. We prepared the various corporate papers and are having the company become authorized to do business in Mississippi through one of our attorneys in New York. We have also arranged for some of the parties to meet with a brick manufacturer in New York who would provide some guidance.

92. Aberdeen Urban Renewal

Negro community in Aberdeen was to be affected by an Urban Renewal Project, didn't understand it and thought they were being cheated in a number of respects: Firstly, they thought they weren't being offered fair prices for their property; secondly, they weren't being offered adequate relocation housing; thirdly, they were being forced into public housing which they didn't want. We represented these people with an eye toward correcting these wrongs and with an eye toward community organization in Aberdeen around this issue. We first thought about blocking the entire project but determined that course would not be feasible nor helpful. We couldn't do anything about the condemnation prices but did succeed in getting better relocation housing. Also people who don't want to go into public housing are being allowed other choices. We are still working on relocation and attend regular meetings in the community about this problem.

93. Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi

We have acted as counsel to this organization which grew out of various civil rights organizations. We have worked with them on obtaining corporate status and charter from the national Young Democrat Clubs and have acted as parliamentarian at their meetings.

94. Hollandale Community Center

We have been contacted by the civil rights project in Hollandale in connection with a parcel of land and building which had been deeded to the community in trust to be used as a Community Center. Contributions of money and labor had been solicited by the trustees from the Negro community to erect a building and now the Negro community wanted to use the building for a Headstart project and to hold civil rights meetings, but were denied. We have communicated with John Satterfield, Esq., whose mother had owned the land and given it to the trustees, in connection with amending the deed of trust to permit this use. Mr. Satterfield has agreed to have a meeting with the Negro community sometime in September to try and work this matter out.

95. Meridian Community Center

We represent CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund in connection with the acquisition of land in Meridian for the construction of a community center to commemorate Chaney, Schwerner and Goodman. We have conducted various negotiations, and also defended and obtained a dismissal of an action against a real estate broker in connection with an option for a prior parcel of land. The negotiations are still being conducted.

96. Rankin Mortgage Foreclosure

This matter involves a local Negro in Biloxi who was referred by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in connection with the mortgage foreclosure on his property. We have communicated with the attorney for the party who is foreclosing on the property and worked out a settlement. We are continuing with this matter because of the possibility of attacking the Mississippi foreclosure statute. This statute is being used very often to harass and retaliate against local Negroes who get involved with the civil rights movement and is possibly susceptible to attack on constitutional grounds, to-wit: the lack of due process involved with respect to notice given the property owner. Preliminary research has been done here and is being continued by cooperating lawyers in the North.

97. Section 16 Lands

At the request of various civil rights projects, we prepared an explanation of the law in Mississippi in connection with what is known as "Section 16 Lands". These are certain publicly owned lands which may be leased by county authorities to municipalities and private persons for the construction of schools. This has been of primary interest in rural counties where cooperative private schools are being attempted by local Negro groups. We have prepared a memorandum and have been attending meetings to discuss this matter with various local groups.

98. Willie Shaw License

This Negro civil rights worker in Greenwood lost his driver's license in April as a result of harassment traffic arrests. We have been attempting to arrange a hearing so that his license might be reinstated. A hearing was finally scheduled on September 2 and we are awaiting the results.

99. Tallahatchie Improvement Association

We helped form this association of local Negroes who are working together on community action programs and also to engage in programs pursuant to the Economic Opportunity Act. The association was formed earlier in the year. We are now in the process of preparing their application for a charter as a non-profit corporation.

100. Voting laws

We have prepared memoranda explaining the new Mississippi voting laws as well as the Federal Voting Rights Act of 1965, which we have circulated to the projects. We have attended various meetings throughout the state to explain the methods of registration under these new laws.

101. Radio announcements of civil rights activities

After receiving a number of complaints that local radio and television stations would not make announcements about meetings, etc. if they related to civil rights activity, we contacted some of the stations and pointed out FCC regulations and a recent FCC decision relating to discriminatory broadcasting. As a result of this, we were able to get most local stations to make public interest announcements without charge even when they related to civil rights matters. This information has been circulated to all projects.

102. Mississippi school tuition law

On July 1, 1965 the Mississippi State Legislature passed a new law requiring tuition payment for school children whose parents or legal guardians do not reside in the state. We investigated and find that this law will apply to over 7,000 children, 85% of whom are Negroes. We have researched the law and it would appear to be valid on its face, but we believe that the application of it may be unconstitutional. We have received numerous complaints and we have filed a complaint with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Justice Department and will examine other possibilities.

103. Adams County Bag Company

This group of local Negroes in Natchez are forming a bag-making company which will be funded by the Poor People's Corporation. We are preparing the necessary papers to establish their legal entity as a limited partnership.

104. Mississippi Freedom Labor Union

Since June we have been representing and generally advising this group of local Negroes who have been attempting to organize the plantation workers in the Delta and who have sponsored the cotton workers strike.

105. Winstonville - Griffin Lamp Co.

At the request of the Delta Ministry in Winstonville, we are investigating possible discriminatory practices of this company.

106. Mississippi Freedom Labor Party

This group was organized in McComb in connection with protesting discriminatory hiring practices at the Holiday Inn. We have been advising them and have arranged for some labor union attorneys in Atlanta to work with us and them on prospective bargaining matters.

Welfare

107. As a result of a number of meetings with the Freedom Democratic Party and other civil rights movement people throughout the state, we agreed to set up a special program for the summer to advise people referred by the movement in connection with Welfare, Aid to Dependent Children, and other related aid programs. This was principally handled as a project by one of our law students, Diane Vivell, with supervision by various lawyers from time to time. Following is a partial list of matters of this nature:

1) Rosie Lee Banks, Jackson - Aid to Dependent Children as a result of disability.

2) Morgan Brown, Rosedale - Unemployment

3) Alice Mae Townsend, Ruleville - Social Security

4) Mary Lawrence Freeman, Holly Springs - Aid to Dependent Children

5) Alander Norwood, Sardis - Disability

6) Robert Dunson, Jackson - Welfare Disability

7) Willie Harris, Indianola - Social Security Disability

8) William Presley Franklin, Marks - Aid to Dependent Children

9) Earnest Smith, Jackson - Aid to Needy Aged

10) David Clifton Smith, Ruleville - State Disability

11) Ellis and Bessie Berry, Crenshaw - Aid to Needy Aged

12) Ora Wilson, Indianola - Aid to Dependent Children

13) Lorsie Mosley, Holly Springs - Aid to Dependent Children

14) Charley James Lee, Jackson - Disability

15) Jesse McGown, Jackson - Veterans Disability

16) William McKnight, Natchez - Veterans Disability

17) Geneva Hunt, Greenwood - Welfare

18) Dan Allen, Greenwood - Compensation

ALABAMA

108. State of Alabama v. Robert Wright

Petitioner was working in Greensboro, Alabama to encourage voter registration in Hale County when he was arrested at the County Courthouse on July 7, 1965 and charged with failing to obey an officer and resisting arrest. Action removed to Federal Court on July 29, 1965. No hearing has been set.

109. State of Alabama v. Meeley

Arrest of SNCC staff worker on speeding charges. Secured his release from Marengo County Jail by paying $25.00.

110. Re: Luther Johnson

Landlord attempted to intimidate sharecropper in Luverne, Alabama (Johnson) so that he would leave the property and lose his crops. When Johnson refused to be intimidated landlord shot at him and had him arrested for profanity. Landlord then brought eviction proceedings. We undertook defense of Johnson. On the same day his son was shot in the stomach by the son of the landlord. Arranged to have all charges against Johnson (there were two other harassment warrants) indefinitely continued, swore out warrant for assault with intent to kill against son of landlord (who is now awaiting grand jury indictment) and arranged for profit from crops to go to Johnson, who then, along with his wife and children, moved to Montgomery where he is now employed.

111. Re: Robert Stein

Stein was working at Tuskegee Institute and was photographing an unsuccessful attempt by local Negroes to attend a Methodist church when he was assaulted and had his camera broken. Arranged for warrants to be sworn out against assailants after the Commissioner of Public Safety had refused to cooperate with Stein. Trials of defendants set for September 20.

112. Tuskegee Incident

On July 18, members of the Tuskegee Institute Advancement League (TIAL) attempted to attend a white Methodist church in Tuskegee. The doors were locked and the TIAL people were assaulted with guns and knives on the front lawn of the church. While the police were riding around the block. Warrants were sworn out at our insistence and trial set for September on the misdemeanor charges and October on the felony charges.

113. Re: Ben-Zion Wardy

On August 13, a political science professor at Tuskegee Institute was assaulted while sitting in his automobile in front of the Police Station in Tuskegee. Warrants were sworn out and trials set for September and October.

114. City of Opelika v. Sam Young, et al.

Sixty-four persons arrested by city police on September 1st for parading without a permit in Opelika, Alabama after city official refused a permit on grounds they had no jurisdiction. Some persons released on bond, others made to pay fine (without a hearing) before released. All will be removed to federal court. Petition being prepared.

NORTHERN LOUISIANA

DEFENSIVE

115. State v. Nora Amos et al.

Sixteen civil rights workers and local Negroes were arrested in Jonesboro on July 21 while engaging in picketing. They were charged with disturbing the peace, resisting arrest and unlawful assembly. Their bonds were set at amounts ranging from $500 to $1,500 each. The cases were removed to the U. S. District Court on July 26. At the same time, petitions for habeas corpus and motions to reduce bail were filed. Thereafter all of the defendants were released on bond. The habeas corpus has been dismissed as moot. The motion to reduce bail is still pending. The state has not as yet moved to remand.

116. City of Homer v. Malray

This local Negro was arrested on June 10, charged with disturbing the peace. The case was tried in the Mayor's Court on June 14 and the defendant was convicted. Appeal bond was posted and we are now awaiting a new trial in the District Court.

117. State v. Crow and Duncan

Two local CORE workers were arrested on July 10, in Monroe and charged with disturbing the peace and public drunkenness. The cases are scheduled for trial on September 10.

118. State v. Evans and Davis

Two local Negroes were arrested in Jonesboro on August 10 in connection with demonstrations at a store and charged with disturbing the peace and resisting arrest. The cases were removed to the Federal Court on August 25.

119. State v. Fenton

This white CORE worker was arrested on August 10 in Jonesboro during a demonstration at the courthouse. This case was removed to the Federal Court on August 22.

120. City of Farriday v. Hunter

This local CORE worker was arrested in Farriday on August 15 and charged with disturbing the peace. The trial was held on August 22. He was found guilty and fined $50. The defendant was leaving the state and chose not to appeal.

121. State v. Hammock et al.

These three local Negro juveniles were arrested in Jonesboro during a demonstration. Prior to the hearing in Juvenile Court, we had been advised that we did not have to appear at the hearing since the only thing the Juvenile Judge would do would be to reprimand the three. Instead we learned after the hearing that they had been put on probation for two years. We have filed an appeal to the Louisiana Supreme Court.

122. State v. Nicholas Lawrence

This white CORE worker was arrested on August 10 in a demonstration at the courthouse in Jonesboro. This case was removed to the U. S. District Court on August 22.

123. The City of Jonesboro and State v. Nicholas Lawrence

This white civil rights worker (CORE) was arrested on August 15 after an automobile accident and charged with reckless driving in the city court and negligent homicide in the state court. The trial in the city court on August 23 resulted in a dismissal and the state court charges are being handled by a cooperating Louisiana lawyer.

124. City of Jonesboro v. Bradford et al.

These sixteen civil rights workers and local Negroes were arrested on July 18 in Jonesboro and charged with parading without a permit. These cases were removed to the U. S. District Court on July 25, where they are now pending.

125. City of Jonesboro v. Jackson and Reed

These two local Negroes were arrested in Jonesboro during a demonstration on July 18 and charged with obstructing traffic. The cases were removed to the Federal Court on July 25.

126. State v. Potts and Sanders

These two local Negroes were arrested during a demonstration at the Jonesboro courthouse on July 25. Their cases were removed to the United States District Court, where they are now pending.

127. State v. Paggett and Flowers

These two local Negroes had been arrested in Arcadia and their cases were originally handled by another lawyer. We took over the cases after the removal petition was filed, and conducted the removal hearing in Federal Court. The cases were remanded on July 14. We filed a notice of appeal to the 5th Circuit on July 22, where the cases are pending.

128. City of Shreveport v. Paik et al.

These three CORE workers were arrested in Shreveport in early July and charged with vagrancy. We have obtained an agreement from the District Attorney to nole pross these cases.

129. State v. Pam Smith

This CORE worker was arrested in Homer and charged with theft when she was refused service at a restaurant and then refused to pay the bill. The trial is scheduled for mid-September.

130. State v. Weller

This LCDC volunteer lawyer was arrested in Jonesboro in mid-August and charged with disturbing the peace by blocking the Sheriff's door. He had been in the sheriff's office by appointment to arrange for the release of an impounded car. Hearing is scheduled on September 17.

131. State v. Dawson et al.

These three civil rights workers - one Negro, two white - were arrested in Tallulah, La. on July 25 at a restaurant in a motel. After some difficulties they were finally served but a $5.00 tip was added to each of their bills. When they asked the manager about paying this, police were called and they were arrested for disturbing the peace. Trial is scheduled for September 23 and we have been in touch with the prosecutor and advised him that unless charges are dropped, we would remove the cases and sue to enjoin the prosecution. He will probably dismiss the charges.

AFFIRMATIVE

132. Jenkins v. City of Bogalusa School Board

This is a suit on behalf of local Negroes to desegregate the school in the City of Bogalusa. Complaint was filed on August 6 together with a motion for a temporary restraining order and for a preliminary injunction. Thereafter, on August 12 the U. S. government filed a motion to intervene. The matter came on for hearing on August 12. On August 12, after hearing, the U. S. District Court entered an order setting forth a plan for the desegregation of the school district beginning with the 1965-66 school year. The matter is still open for further hearings.

133. Banks v. Claiborne Parish School Board

This is a suit on behalf of local Negroes to desegregate the Claiborne Parish school. The complaint in this case was filed in the U. S. District Court on August 10 together with motion for a temporary restraining order and preliminary injunction. On August 10 the District Court Judge declined to entertain either motion saying that the matter would be set for hearing in due course. This was appealed by us to the Court of Appeals, 5th Circuit, on August 15. On August 26 the Court of Appeals remanded the case to the District Court with instructions to consider this case in the light of the Singleton and Price decisions which had ordered the school districts to desegregate immediately in line with HEW regulations. We are now awaiting an order to desegregate the schools.

134. Johnson v. Jackson Parish School Board

This is a suit on behalf of local Negroes to enjoin the sale of a new school bond issue in Jackson Parish and to desegregate the parish schools. The complaint was filed on July 8 and a hearing was held on preliminary injunction on July 27. At that point, because of the fact that the sale of the school bonds was tied up, defendant school board was willing to submit a desegregation plan. On July 27, Judge Dawkins issued a decree directing the school board to submit a plan for desegregation commencing with the 1965-66 school year. This case is still pending.

135. Andrews v. City of Monroe

This suit was filed on behalf of local Negroes against the City of Monroe school board to restrain the sale of school bonds and to desegregate the schools. The complaint was filed on August 5 in the U. S. District Court together with motions for temporary restraining order and preliminary injunction. The District Court Judge refused to set the case for immediate hearing. The case was appealed to the 5th Circuit on August 15, and on August 26 the Court of Appeals remanded the case to the District Court with directions to reconsider in light of the Singleton and Price decisions.

136. Walker v. City of Monroe

We investigated and prepared a suit on behalf of local Negroes against the City of Monroe to abate a nuisance, to wit: a garbage dump right in the middle of the Negro neighborhood. We have prepared a complaint seeking an injunction in the District Court which will be filed on September 10.

137. Hicks v. Cutrer

This is a suit on behalf of local Negroes against the city officials in Bogalusa to declare unconstitutional a city ordinance which restricts First Amendment rights of picketing, assembly and demonstrations. Complaint was filed on May 1 and a hearing was held in the U. S. District Court. After the hearing the City of Bogalusa agreed to amend the ordinance to eliminate those provisions which we claimed were unconstitutional. This has been done. The case was dismissed as moot on June 20.

138. Hicks v. Knight et al.

This is a suit on behalf of local Negroes against the City and Parish police officers in Bogalusa to enjoin them from brutality, harassment, denials of due process and failure to protect local Negroes and civil rights workers during demonstrations. The complaint was filed on June 25 in the U. S. District Court together with a motion for preliminary injunction. A four-day hearing on preliminary injunction was held the first week in July. On July 10, the U. S. District Court issued a preliminary injunction against the city and parish police. Thereafter on July 21 an order to show cause was filed, alleging that some police officers had violated the injunction, and a contempt hearing was set for July 26. On July 26, the U. S. Government intervened and also filed applications to hold the Commissioner of Public Safety and Police Chief of Bogalusa in civil and criminal contempt. Four days of hearing were held in the U. S. District Court, and on July 30 there was finding of civil contempt against the Commissioner of Public Safety, the Police Chief, and one police officer by the District Court. A judgment of civil contempt, imposing various sanctions, was entered on July 30. This matter is still pending.

139. Fenton v. Loe et al.

This is an action for civil damages in the amount of $100,000 on behalf of a white CORE worker against the sheriff and his deputy in Jonesboro. It arises out of the beating sustained by the plaintiff in the Jonesboro jail on August 10. The complaint under Sec. 1983 was filed in the U. S. District Court on August 23. Defendants were noticed for the taking of depositions on August 30. On that date they appeared by their attorney and pleaded the 5th Amendment. The case is still pending.

140. Potts v. State Board of Education

This local Negro was suspended from Louisiana Tech. as a result of an arrest in a Jonesboro demonstration. We are filing a suit to have him reinstated.

General Matters Pending

141. Webster Parish School Desegregation

We have been investigating the possibility of bringing a school desegregation suit in this parish. The investigation is still pending.

142. Homer Memorial Hospital

We have been investigating the possibility of suing the City of Homer which owns this hospital and has leased it to a Baptist group. The hospital is segregated. We are still investigating this matter.

143. Olin Mathieson Labor Dispute

We have conducted a number of meetings and investigations in connection with alleged discrimination in labor practices. These meetings and problems are still being worked on.

144. Continental Can Labor Dispute

We have been holding meetings and investigating alleged discrimination in labor practices and advising the local people on how to proceed through the NLRB and the Civil Rights Commission. We are also investigating possible Title VII violations.

CLOSED CASES

1. Amite County COFO Lease

We prepared lease for new project headquarters in Amite County. Completed March 26.

2. City of Columbus v. Robert Analavage, et al.

Four COFO workers were arrested on the way to Selma on March 9 and charged with traffic violation and drinking. We obtained release on bail, adjourned the case and it was set for trial on March 25. Case was settled with total payment of $229 in fines with no conviction to be recorded on driver's license.

3. State of Mississippi v. Blalock

Local Jackson Negro accused of theft on February 12. We investigated because of civil liberties overtones and arranged for matter to be taken over by local attorney.

4. Re: Levander Bryant

The homestead problem of a Louisiana Negro was referred to us by SCLC, on March 8. We investigated and referred it to Collins, Douglas & Elie.

5. State of Mississippi v. Frank Davis

A Rosedale Negro convicted of a traffic violation on March 7th. We arranged bail. He pleaded guilty.

6. Re: Thomas Hurston

Local Jackson Negro was being held in jail because of mental disorder and there was no available mental hospital. On February 11, we investigated State facilities and advised parents on procedure for having him committed.

7. City of Meridian v. Kaslo, et al.

Arrest on February 17, of 15 local Negroes and COFO-CORE workers who were demonstrating, picketing, etc. at Lamar Hotel in Meridian. We appeared in court, had bail set. They were released and the cases removed to federal court. Cases then taken over by National Lawyers Guild.

8. Re: Ura Kerr

On March 8 Negro from Pickens claimed harassment, FBI inaction, and was afraid to go home. We investigated and discussed the matter with FBI. Advised client and arranged for his return home.

9. State of Mississippi v. Oliver Patrick

Traffic conviction on February 11 of COFO worker. Investigated, prepared appeal. Case taken over by NAACP Legal Defense Fund.

10. Re: Oris Payton

Local Negro complainant in assault case against a white man. Investigated and advised parents for NAACP Legal Defense Fund, February 11.

11. City of Greenville v. Perkins & Lofton

Negro boys charged with disorderly conduct and refusing to pay for coffee. White restaurant owner on boys' complaint, charged with assault and battery for pouring coffee on the boys. All cases tried in Greenville City Court on March 31. Charges against boys dismissed. White restaurant owner convicted and fined $60.

12. State of Mississippi v. Alfred Knox

Local Negro active in Amite County movement arrested on March 14 and

charged with issuing worthless checks. We obtained release from jail and appeared for trial on March 24. Case was settled by exchange of releases and payment of $44 and the charges were dismissed.

13. State of Mississippi v. Jesse Harris, et al.

Pike County official obtained a state court injunction against demonstrations by COFO workers and local Negroes in McComb-Magnolia. We removed the injunction case to the federal court, made a motion to dissolve same on March 10. This was denied by Judge Mize and set for a hearing on March 18. We appealed to the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit and on March 16 they denied our application with leave to renew if we failed to obtain relief in the District Court hearing on March 18. After the hearing on March 18 Judge Mize dissolved the injunction and dismissed the State's complaint.

14. City of Natchez v. Ervin Martin

Two local Negro minors arrested on March 17, 1965, on charges of assault and battery, for allegedly throwing rocks at a Negro school night watchman. Released on parents' signature. After consultation with parents of boys and local COFO people, decided to accept deal and enter a guilty plea and pay a $50 (including costs) fine. Settled March 25.

15. City of Nattayuma v. Kushner

Kushner, a white COFO worker, was arrested on March 23 for reckless driving after the car he was riding in was found in a ditch with him and three other people in it. Released on his own recognizance. After consultation with Kushner and the County Attorney, decision was made to have Kushner pay a $30 fine (including costs).

16. Re: Watkins

Local Negro candidate in the McComb City election sponsored by Freedom Democratic Party complained of the fact that local newspaper, in announcing the various candidates, did not include his name. On March 23 we investigated, contacted the newspaper and they thereafter amended the announcements to include his name.

17. City of Greenwood v. Liz Fusco

White COFO worker arrested on April 1, 1965. Charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Charges arise out of a demonstration in front of the Leflore County Courthouse in which some minors participated, and a song was sung using the words, "kill when the spirit say kill." Case tried by us on 4/3/65. Charges dismissed for failure to show contribution, after trial.

18. City of Drew v. Linda Davis, et al.

Three COFO workers arrested on April 8 while walking on the street. When arrested they were charged with being "outside agitators" and thereafter charges were amended to vagrancy. On the same day, after discussions with the City Attorney and the Mayor about the vagrancy statute, the authorities agreed to dismiss the charges and they were all released.

19. Re: Quitman Demonstrations

On March 30, Quitman COFO workers and local Negroes were refused permit for a memorial march and were advised by Sheriff that he would not protect them. We solicited FBI protection, spoke to Sheriff, who finally agreed to protect them and to permit them to march. We had a lawyer in attendance and the march took place without incident.

20. Re: Fayette Demonstrations

On April 2, Fayette COFO workers and local Negroes were refused permit for a voter registration march and were advised by Sheriff that he would not protect them. We urged FBI protection, spoke to Sheriff, who finally agreed to protect them and to permit them to march. The march took place without incident and fifth Negroes were able to complete registration.

21. Holly Springs

COFO wanted to put local Negroes on the ballot for the June 8, 1965 municipal elections in Holly Springs. We drew up a petition for them to submit to the Election Commissioners. They also want to enjoin the entire election if possible because the officials are using the old registration book after declaring that they were beginning on total re-registration. We talked to Justice who already has a suit in that city. Case closed when we discovered that proposed candidate was not registered.

22. State of Mississippi v. Smith

Smith, a COFO worker in Jackson, was arrested at 8 P.M. on 4/24 for improper driver's license. Tried at 9 P.M. without counsel and fined $35. Judge maintained no need for counsel in his court on a misdemeanor charge. Appeal Bond set at $200. Decided to pay fine of $35. Secured defendant's release 4/25 A.M.

23. State of Mississippi v. Muilenburg

Muilenberg, a COFO worker in Jackson, arrested with Smith charged with public drunkenness. Appearance bond set at $200, Judge pre-judged the case and set fine at $31. Paid that amount 4/25 A.M. and secured defendant's release.

24. COFO Eviction

Jackson COFO Office at 703 N. Farish Street closed because of lack of certificate of occupancy and lack of compliance with the requirements of the city building code. Secured list of defects and checked building code to ascertain the process and requirements of the code. We ascertained that their lease, not prepared by us, was no good, since it arises under authority of major lease which only has two months to run. Nothing could be done.

25. City of Madison v. Gilbert

Woman active in movement arrested on March 22, 1965 for improper parking. Arrested by an officer who had had an altercation with her previously and who told her at the time of the arrest for improper parking, "Don't keep talking to me or I'll drag you out of that car and beat your damn brains out." Witness with Mrs. Gilbert, both of whom maintain that she was not parked on the side of the road, but only stopped to pick up milk, as she had done for the past three years. Trial was set in Madison for Tuesday, April 13, 1965. Settled by payment of $12 fine.

26. McComb Bond Issue

After conducting an investigation into the basis for a suit against the City of McComb in connection with a proposed bond issue, the proceeds of which will be used for a new segregated jail and other segregated public facilities and for discriminatorily furnished roads and sewers, we determined that there was not strong enough legal basis for same.

27. Fayette Freedom Day

On April 30, a Freedom Day was planned for Fayette, Miss. to encourage Jefferson County Negroes to register to vote. We were called by the COFO people working in Jefferson County and advised that some problems were expected as a result of the attempts to be made to register. Informed the FBI of the events that were scheduled to take place and of the fear of reprisals. The Freedom Day went off smoothly except for one incident where a white man was carrying around a small skull with a crack in the middle and making comments to bystanders about the similarity between that skull and the heads of some of the Negroes who were participating in the Freedom Day.

28. Clarence Anderson

The Delta Ministry in McComb asked us to help this local Negro collect back pay due him from his employer under the Fair Labor Standards Act. We were able to arrange for him to sign a complaint and the money was paid to him.

29. Dora Adams

This local Negro in West Point had lost her homestead exemption because she was putting up civil rights workers in her home. We straightened her property tax receipts and payments and her exemption was restored.

30. McKenzie v. Futorian

This was a libel suit brought by a local attorney against one white civil rights worker and two local Negroes in Holly Springs in connection with the publication of a freedom paper. We handled this matter in the state courts and same was settled shortly before trial for the sum of $1,000, the original complaint being for $500,000. It was settled July 20th.

31. State v. Alexander

This white civil rights worker was arrested on June 25 while driving Negroes to Jackson. He was charged with two automobile operating offenses and the matter was settled with the payment of $12.00 fine.

32. City of Greenville v. Ayres

This local Negro active in civil rights was arrested on August 2 and charged with three operating traffic offenses. The case was tried in the Greenville city court. At the trial he was exonerated of two of the charges, convicted on one and received a small fine.

33. State v. Marshall

This Negro civil rights worker was arrested in Bay Springs on July 24 and charged with arson in connection with a fire at his own home. We conducted a preliminary hearing in the J. P. Court and he was bound over for the grand jury on a bond of $1,000. We invested and obtained a number of statements exonerating our client which we furnished to the the District Attorney. On August 24, the grand jury refused to indict and the charges were dismissed.

34. City of Hattiesburg v. Bell

This white civil rights worker was arrested on August 11 in Hattiesburg and charged with driving with an improper license. This was in the city court on August 19 and the case was dismissed.

35. City of Cleveland v. Barnes

This local Negro active in civil rights was arrested on July 10 and charged with arson of a neighbor's home. We appeared at the preliminary hearing in the Cleveland city court on July 20th and the case was dismissed.

36. State v. Isaac Brown

At the request of civil rights workers we investigated the arrest of this local Negro from McComb who had been charged with shooting five white men and then killing his father. We referred this case to a local attorney.

37. State v. Christianson

This white civil rights worker was arrested July 24 in Canton charged with reckless driving. This case was tried in the J. P. Court July 26 and he was convicted and fined $25.00.

38. City of Greenville v. Evelyne Catholic

This local Negro active in civil rights was arrested in Greenville June 5 and charged with trespassing. We tried the case at the Greenville city court June 9 and the charges were dismissed at the trial.

39. C. O. Chinn Operator's License

This local Negro, who is the leader of the movement in Canton, had his driver's license suspended indefinitely on July 8. We arranged for a hearing with the Department of Public Safety on August 8, and on August 16 his license was reinstated.

40. City of Jackson v. Myron Cook

This white civil rights worker was arrested on August 21 in Jackson charged with improper plates. The case was tried at the city court and he was acquitted.

41. Holmes County Cotton Choppers

On June 7, we were consulted by a committee of Negroes and civil rights workers representing the Holmes County Cotton Choppers in connection with complaints about the Department of Agriculture in the county. We checked the law for them and then arranged a meeting with them and representatives of the state and federal agricultural commissions and were able to have a number of grievances corrected.

42. State v. Knox Curry

This Negro civil rights worker was arrested in Newton on August 1 and charged with disturbing the peace and profanity. We appeared for trial in J. P. Court on August 10. Defendant at his own request pleaded guilty and was fined.

43. State v. Drano

This white civil rights worker was arrested on August 25 after he had finished picketing in Canton and was charged with obstructing the public sidewalk. The case was brought on for trial on August 30. The defendant was anxious to leave the state, pleaded guilty and received a small fine.

44. City of Hattiesburg v. Finley

This Delta Ministry volunteer was arrested on May 31 in Hattiesburg, charged with vagrancy. We appeared in the city court on the same date and after a trial the charges were dismissed.

45. City of Jackson v. Ford

This local Negro was arrested on July 14 in front of the FDP office in Jackson and charged with assault in connection with shooting a gun and disturbing the peace. We appeared in city court on July 16. The assault charge was dismissed. He pleaded guilty to disturbing the peace and got a small fine.

46. Willie Gatlin

This local Negro in Moss Point active in the movement was having difficulty obtaining a renewal of his permit to operate a taxi. We contacted the municipal authorities and prepared his petition and in July he was granted a permit.

47. Re: Greenville Ordinance

We were contacted by the civil rights workers in Greenville in early July in connection with an announcement that the city was about to pass a new ordinance regulating parades and picketing. At this time the civil rights workers were picketing downtown stores. We had a meeting with the city authorities, examined the proposed ordinance and convinced them that sections of it were unconstitutional, and the city withdrew its plans to pass the ordinance. We then worked out reasonable methods of picketing and parading with the police authorities.

48. City of Natchez v. Hall

This local Negro was arrested in Natchez on August 7 charged with malicious mischief in that he kicked at the car of a KKK person. This case was tried in the city court on August 18 and Hall was acquitted.

49. City of Indianola v. Harrison

This local Negro arrested on May 27, charged with profanity and assault. This was tried on May 31 in Municipal Court and he was convicted on both counts with a seventy-five day jail sentence which was suspended and a $250 fine. The client decided not to appeal.

50. City of Indianola v. James Harris

This local Negro was arrested after a bombing on May 1 in Indianola, charged with profanity and impersonating an officer. At a meeting with the mayor and police chief, one of the charges was dismissed and he pleaded guilty to the other, paying a fine of $50.

51. City of Aberdeen v. Hatch et al.

Ten civil rights workers were arrested on July 14 in Aberdeen charged with profanity. After numerous meetings, charges against five of them were dismissed on July 20 and five pleaded guilty and were fined $10.00.

52. Fitch v. COFO

The civil rights project in Holly Springs had been picketing a dairy bar in connection with some racial incidents that had occurred there. The owner sued COFO and the individual civil rights workers and obtained an ex parte injunction in the state court on June 8. By this time the matter was of no further importance to the project and on July 26 we appeared in chancery court and consented to a modified injunction which did not prohibit our clients from picketing.

53. Re: State v. James Edward Johnson

We learned about this case in April when one of our lawyers was in the state penitentiary on another matter and heard about Jackson, a local Negro, who was serving a four year sentence allegedly for handing out leaflets. We then tracked down the file and found that another lawyers' group had been handling it, who had apparently not pursued the matter. We had difficulty obtaining the original records since we could not get into the jail to see Jackson and finally located his mother in Rhode Island and obtained a retainer. We discovered from examination of the records that in 1962, without counsel, he had pleaded guilty to two burglary charges and was given a two year sentence on one charge and on the other one the file was retired. In June 1964, he had been arrested for leafleting and was brought before the same judge, again without counsel, and sentenced to two years on the original retired charge. We obtained the court record in June of this year and prepared a petition for a writ of habeas corpus to the circuit court. On July 19 the hearing was held and our petition was granted. The following day we obtained Jackson's release from the penitentiary and sent him back to his mother in Providence.

54. City of Jackson v. Four Juveniles

Four local Negroes were arrested during a demonstration in Jackson on March 15 and brought before the juvenile judge on April 2 without counsel. They were put on probation for two years and directed to make weekly visits to the juvenile officer and not to participate in civil rights activities. We filed a petition for a rehearing and on May 3 after a hearing the original order was rescinded and the conditions of probation dropped.

55. State v. Robert Jackson

This local Negro was arrested on July 24 near the courthouse in Rosedale and charged with disturbing the peace and profanity. He was tried in the J. P. Court without counsel and sentenced to six months on the county farm. We were called by civil rights workers and on August 5 we filed simultaneous habeas corpus petitions in the federal court and coram nobis in the state court. The coram nobis petition was granted, he was released and a new trial was held on August 24, and he was found guilty and fined $150, a forty-five day sentence was suspended and he decided not to appeal.

56. State v. Amos Johnson

This local Negro from Rosedale was arrested in Jackson during a demonstration on June 15 and we thereafter learned that on June 19 he was committed to the state mental hospital at Whitfield. We have made numerous visits to the hospital and after a number of meetings with hospital officers arranged for his release on August 19.

57. Re: Idella Jones Custody

In April we were called by civil rights workers in Jackson who reported that the mother of Idella Jones stated that her daughter had been taken away by the juvenile court authorities and put in the state hospital and then released her to her father. Her father did not want the child but was afraid to return her to her mother because of the outstanding juvenile court order. We petitioned for rehearing and finally at the hearing of the juvenile court in Hinds County, custody of the child was returned to the mother.

58. City of Natchez v. Kates and Gurfield

These two civil rights workers were arrested on April 1st and charged with profanity and resisting arrest after a Klan shooting. The case was tried on August 6. One charge was dismissed and they were found guilty of the other and given a suspended sentence.

59. State v. Kazlo

This civil rights worker was arrested June 26 near Meridian and charged with having defective brakes when he was returning from an integration test in the park. We appeared for the trial in J. P. Court July 2, in the morning, but since the arresting officer was not present, it was adjourned to that afternoon. When we returned for the trial the J. P. advised that he had already finished the trial and convicted our client and fined him the amount of the bail bond. The client did not wish to appeal.

60. State v. Silas McGhee et al.

On July 18, eight civil rights workers were arrested in Greenwood after a local white woman shot at them. They had been demonstrating near a store. On July 27, in order to release the bond money of $1,600, which they had promised to return by that date, we arranged for a guilty plea and fine of $15. Thereafter we prosecuted a complaint against the woman who had done the shooting. She was fined $25.

61. State v. Willie McGee

This local Negro in Sharkey County was arrested on July 30 and charged with pointing and aiming a firearm. At the time of the trial on July 30 he was most anxious to get out of jail so that he could work his farm. We arranged for a nolo contendere plea and a $300 fine which he paid. We have since met with him a number of times, but he indicates he does not want to appeal.

62. City of Natchez v. Ernestine Miller

This local Negro was arrested on July 16 and charged with carrying and discharging a firearm after she had defended herself against two boys who had attacked her. On July 23 we tried the case in City Court and she was acquitted.

63. Moorehead Lease

On May 5 we prepared a lease for the Moorehead Freedom House.

64. State v. Ernest More

On August 7, this local Negro together with others tested a place of public accommodation in Okolona. After they were leaving, More was arrested and charged with a traffic offense. We had prepared a removal of this case to the Federal Court but on August 16 the client changed his mind, pleaded guilty and was fined $19.

65. City of Natchez v. Newell

This white civil rights worker was arrested on June 12 in Natchez while handing out leaflets and charged with vagrancy and trespassing. After he was released from jail and after negotiation with the City Attorney, both charges were dismissed on July 1.

66. North Pike School District

This school district in Pike County publicly announced a refusal to sign a compliance pledge with the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and that they instead were going to increase the tax rates to provide for the lost federal funds. After considerable investigation and research with the thought of enjoining the tax increase, we had some discussion in early August with Justice Department attorneys and turned over our complaints to them. Thereafter on August 25 the government filed a suit to desegregate the school district.

67. State v. Packer

This civil rights worker was arrested in Florence on July 8 charged with auto theft, concealed weapon and no driver's license. After investigation and hearing with the J. P., the theft charge and concealed weapon charge were dropped and he was fined $36 on the license charge.

68. Greenville v. Perkins et al.

During picketing of a store in Greenvillle on June 12 three local Negroes sat down in the doorway blocking the entrance. There were arrested and charged with trespassing and the case was settled with the payment of a $55 fine in the Greenville City Court.

69. City of Jackson v. Peterson

This local Negro was arrested on August 7 during picketing at a shopping center and was charged with disorderly conduct. After a trial in the Jackson City Court on August 20, he was found guilty and fined $200.

70. State v. Allen

Four civil rights workers were arrested on July 13 and charged with trespassing after a civil rights meeting in a church. The cases were tried in the J. P. Court on July 18. Three of them were acquitted and one was convicted and fined $10.

71. Roberts v. Rich

This local Negro in Cleveland purchased an old car two years previously. When she defaulted on the payment on her car, plaintiff not only repossessed the car but took title to her house and threatened to evict her. We appeared at the eviction proceeding and settled the matter by getting the title to her house back and arranging proper payment to pay off the balance of her debt on the car.

72. State v. Ruff et al.

Three civil rights workers were arrested in West Point on July 15 and charged with disturbing the peace. After meeting with the Sheriff and District Attorney, we obtained dismissal of the charges.

73. City of Indianola v. Charles Scattergood

A civil rights worker was arrested on May 1 and charged with resisting arrest and disturbing the peace. We worked out an arrangement with the City Attorney to continue the case indefinitely. Thereafter the charges were dropped.

74. State v. Mark Shapiro

On August 31, this white civil rights worker was arrested in Holly Springs charged with public drunk and disorderly conduct. He was tried in the J. P. Court on August 6 and was convicted of public drunkenness. We filed an appeal to the Circuit Court. On August 23 when the case was called in the Circuit Court, the charges were dismissed on our motion and his bail returned. The following day he was rearrested after the Grand Jury indicted him on exactly the same charge arising out of the same incident. On August 26, even though the Circuit Court judge knew we would appear, he commenced

the trial before we could get there and appointed a local lawyer who is a notorious segregationist. He pleaded our client guilty and he was fined $25. Since our client is leaving the state he did not want to pursue this further.

75. State v. Hawkins et al.

On May 26, four civil rights workers were arrested and charged with obstructing a public street as a result of their attempt to encourage cotton workers to go out on strike. After meeting with the City Attorney the charges were dismissed.

76. State v. Claiborne et al.

On June 3, ten civil rights workers from Shaw were arrested and charged with malicious mischief in connection with alleged damage to mattresses in the county jail where they were confined after arrests on April 1. The cases against the ten of them were settled with the payment of $104.80 in damages.

77. City of Greenwood v. Willie Shaw

This Negro civil rights worker was arrested in Greenwood on May 29 and charged with profanity. The trial was held in City Court on May 31. He was convicted and fined $25.

78. State v. Smith et al.

Two civil rights workers arrested outside of Jackson charged with public drunkenness and various traffic offenses. They were arrested at 8:00 o'clock and tried at 9:00 o'clock. We communicated with the J. P. and settled all charges for a fine of $35.

79. Adams Co. v. Smith et al.

Two civil rights workers were arrested May 12 for allegedly disturbing the peace at a dance. We conducted the trial on May 19 at J. P. Court and the charges were dismissed.

80. State v. Steptoe

This local Negro active in civil rights was arrested on August 1 and charged with reckless driving. The case was tried before a J. P. on August 5 and the defendant was convicted and fined $25.00.

81. City of Tallulah v. Wright et al.

Sixty civil rights workers and local Negroes were arrested in Tallulah on June 1 while sitting-in at a restaurant. The trial was scheduled for June 14. On June 3 after discussions with the prosecutor and complainant all charges were dropped and the bond returned.

82. City of Greenville v. Thornton et al.

These two civil rights workers were arrested in Greenville on August 9, charged with refusing to pay for food in a restaurant. The case was tried in the city court on August 11. At the trial the charges against one of the defendants were dropped, the other was convicted and fined $30.00.

83. City of Hattiesburg v. Robert Walker

At the request of the NAACP, we defended this local Negro on charges of indecent exposure. He was arrested on August 11, tried on August 16. Defendant chose to plead guilty and received a seventeen day jail sentence.

84. State v. Henry Ware

This civil rights worker had been arrested on March 7 and charged with disturbing the peace. He was tried and convicted on March 8 before we could arrive at the court and was sentenced to thirty days in jail and a $50 fine. We appealed to the circuit court. Appeal was held in the circuit court on July 14 and at that time the case was settled for the payment of $36 in costs and the previous sentence was revoked.

85. State v. Richard Williams

This civil rights worker was arrested on July 27 outside a farm union meeting and was charged with obstructing traffic. The trial was held on July 30 and he was fined $14.50.

86. Yazoo City v. Joyce Brown et al.

These four civil rights workers were arrested in Yazoo City on May 25 and charged with vagrancy. The trial was scheduled for May 25 and after some preliminary discussions the charges were dropped.

87. State v. Young

This local Negro was arrested on June 25 in Aberdeen, charged with carrying a concealed weapon. The trial was held on July 25. He was convicted and fined $200, but was released and given until August 1 to pay the fine. The client decided not to appeal.

88. City of Jackson v. Thelma Young

This local Negro was arrested on August 16 while picketing with civil rights workers and was charged with assault. The case was tried in the city court on July 18 and our client was acquitted.

LOUISIANA

OPEN CASES

1. Banks v. Claiborne Parish School Board

Suit filed in Federal District Court for the Western District of Louisiana on August 10, to desegregate the Claiborne Parish School System. The District Court refused to grant the preliminary injunction sought in view of the fact that school started in early September. An appeal was taken, and a motion for injunctive relief pending the appeal was filed with the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. On August 26 the Fifth Circuit ordered the District Court to direct integration in accordance with the recent Price and Singleton decisions, which call for integration at the rate of four grades per year. The District Court entered a decree ordering the submission of a desegregation plan by September 27 and to be effective January 1, 1966.

2. Johnson v. Jackson Parish School Board

Suit filed in the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Louisiana in early summer to desegregate the Jackson Parish School System and to enjoin the sale of school bonds earmarked for discriminatory use. On July 22 the District Court ordered the defendants to submit a desegregation plan within 30 days. On August 27, in an ex parte order, the District Court extended this time by 20 days--two weeks beyond the opening of the fall semester. Defendants were given 55 days to submit a plan for which there was ample precedent. On September 17 a plan was submitted calling for desegregation at a rate of four grades per year. On September 20 we filed amendments to strengthen this plan.

3. Louisiana v. Sam Barnes

Barnes, a 63-year old Negro citizen of Bogalusa, was charged with carrying a concealed weapon and assaulting Deputy Sheriff Vertees Adams after Adams and a Louisiana State Trooper stuck a billy club through his legs and jostled him around on it, during the Cassidy Park incident in Bogalusa. A Motion to Quash and a Motion for a Bill of Particulars have been filed. A suit was filed to enjoin the prosecution based on the July 10 Bogalusa Injunction, but it was dismissed. A Removal Petition has been prepared and is to be filed just prior to trial. The October term begins on October 22, but the exact trial date has not been set.

4. Louisiana v. Henry Austin

On July 8, during a civil rights march in Bogalusa, a Negro girl was struck in the head and sought refuge in Austin's car. A fight broke out at the car and Austin shot the prime assailant as a mob closed in. Austin was charged with aggravated battery. Motions to Quash and for Bill of Particulars, and a Removal Petition have been prepared. The trial date has not been set.

5. City of Bogalusa v. Henry Austin

Austin was charged with discharging firearms within the city limits, the charge arising out of the shooting incident. Motions to Quash and for a Bill of Particulars were filed on August 25. The case has been removed to Federal court.

6. Louisiana v. Henry Austin

On July 10, Austin was arrested in his parked car. Police searched his car and found a half pint of vodka in his car and charged him with drunken driving. Questioning at the police station centered on his civil rights activities. Bond set at $300.00. Motions to Quash and for a Bill of Particulars were filed. A hearing on these motions and a trial is set for September 27.

7. City of Bogalusa v. Maxine Britt

On June 22, Maxine Britt was picketing in Bogalusa. A police

officer asked her, "Girl, you want to give me your name or you want to go to jail?" She refused to give her name. Twenty minutes later an officer appeared with a warrant for her arrest and arrested her. Charged with disturbing the peace. Bond set at $300.00. Trial set for October 18.

8. City of Bogalusa v. Ricky Edwards

Arrested and charged with disturbing the peace while picketing. Trial set for October 18.

9. City of Bogalusa v. Marvin Austin

Austin, a member of the Bogalusa Voters League active in civil rights activity was arrested while picketing and charged with vagrancy, despite the fact that he had $50.00 in his possession at the time of the arrest. Affidavit No. 65-1340. Trial date has not been set.

10. City of Bogalusa v. Elmore Barner

Barner, a member of the Bogalusa Voters League, was arrested while picketing and charged with vagrancy and loitering despite the fact that she had $12.00 in her possession at the time of the arrest. Affidavit No. 65-1341. A trial date has not been set.

11. Louisiana v. Fletcher Anderson

An active member of the Bogalusa Voters League was charged with carrying a concealed weapon, driving without proper registration, and driving with an improper muffler. Motions to Quash and an Application for a Bill of Particulars have been filed. Hearing in the concealed weapons charge on these motions set for September 27.

12. Louisiana v. Alcie Taylor, Jr.

An active member of the Bogalusa Voters League is charged with carrying a concealed weapon on or about his person. Motions to Quash and a Bill of Particulars have been filed. A hearing is set on these motions on September 27.

13. Louisiana v. James Robinson

A member of the Bogalusa Voters League is charged with carrying a concealed weapon. Motions to Quash and for Bill of Particulars filed. Hearing set for these motions on September 27.

14. Louisiana v. A.Z. Young

Young, the President of the Bogalusa Voters League, is charged with cashing a bad check with intent to defraud. Motions to Quash and for Bill of Particulars filed. Hearing set on these motions for September 27.

15. Louisiana v. William Morris Parker

A member of the Bogalusa Voters League is charged with driving with improper lights and carrying a concealed weapon. Motions to Quash and for Bill of Particulars filed in the concealed weapons charge. Hearing set on these motions for September 27.

16. Louisiana v. Ronnie Moore

Moore, a CORE field secretary, is charged with reckless driving. Motions to Quash and for Bill of Particulars have been filed. Hearing set on these motions for September 27.

17. Louisiana v. James Robinson

Robinson, a Negro citizen of Bogalusa, was charged with assault with pistol on two counts. Motion to Quash filed and denied. Motion for Bill of Particulars filed and denied. Tried and convicted in the Bogalusa City Court. Sentencing set for October 18.

18. Carter v. West Feliciana Parish School Board

Suit filed in the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana on July 22. Judge E. Gordon West ordered desegregation at a rate of 2, 2, 4, 4 grades per year. An appeal was taken and a motion for injunctive relief pending the appeal was filed. On August 18, the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed and directed the District Court to order desegregation in conformity with the Price and Singleton decisions, which means 4 grades per year. Since Judge West was on vacation, the District Court failed to act. On August 31 a motion for revised entry of order was filed and Judge Ellis ordered the rate of desegregation increased to 2, 5, 5 grades per year.

Complaints received reveal that the School Board is discriminating in its school bus operation, thereby making integration impracticable in some cases. On September 20 a letter seeking voluntary elimination of this problem was sent. A reply is expected on September 27.

19. Louisiana v. Jackson and Williams

Two Negro citizens, who were among the first of their race to register to vote in West Feliciana Parish, have been prosecuted for allegedly false statements made on their registration application. The case was removed to Federal court on May 6 and remanded on May 7. The remand was appealed, but on May 20 the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals denied a stay of the prosecution pending the appeal. On May 21 a second removal petition was filed and was remanded by Judge West on his own motion. A second appeal was taken and a stay of the prosecution pending the appeal was granted by the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on June 24. A brief in support of the appeal has been prepared and is due on October 15.

20. Louisiana v. Dawson, Martin, and Johnson

Three Negro citizens of Tallulah, Louisiana, all active in voter registration activities, have been charged with swearing falsely on their voter registration forms that they had not committed felonies. Other registered Negroes and whites who have committed the same past alleged felonies are not being prosecuted. Arraigned on September 23. Special pleadings due by September 29. Trial set for October 13. Removal Petitions being prepared.

21. Cox v. Louisiana

The Reverend B. Elton Cox was arrested while leading a demonstration near the State courthouse in Baton Rouge in 1961. He was convicted of obstructing justice. In January, 1965, his conviction was reversed by the United States Supreme Court, and the permission doctrine was enunciated.

Louisiana then indicted Cox for attempted obstruction of justice, the case was removed to Federal court on May 6. It was remanded to state court on June 1. The remand was appealed to the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on June 1. A motion to stay the prosecution pending appeal was filed on June 8, and the Fifth Circuit granted the stay. Brief in support of the appeal is due on October 25.

A motion for summary reversal was filed in the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on the theory that the stay granted by the Fifth Circuit disposed of the issues of fact at trial, and therefore there was nothing further to litigate. The motion was denied.

22. East Jackson State Mental Hospital

A letter was sent to the Justice Department complaining of segregated facilities and general inhumane conditions at the hospital. The matter was investigated by the F.B.I. and is being investigated by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

23. Castle v. Huey P. Long Charity Hospital

Suit filed on July 22, 1964 in Federal District Court to desegregate hospital facilities at Charity Hospital. All facilities from

wards to blood banks were segregated. A request for admissions was filed in January, 1965 and a motion to inspect was prepared. At a pre-trial conference in April, 1965 hospital authorities agreed to integrate and the court retained jurisdiction.

Substantial integration has occurred. Discrimination in admitting procedures still exists. A letter was sent to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and they are currently investigating the matter.

24. Brown et al. v. Louisiana

Henry Brown, a Negro citizen of Clinton, Louisiana was the first Negro ever seen in the Clinton Public Library. He was asked to leave the library but refused and was arrested. Motions to Quash and for a Bill of Particulars were filed and denied. Brown was tried and convicted of disturbing the peace on April 9, 1964. A motion for a new trial was filed and denied. Writs of mandamus, certiorari and prohibition were sought on July 28, 1964, and denied on October 26, 1964. On October 28, 1964, an application for a stay of execution of sentence was filed in the Supreme Court of Louisiana, but was refused. Petitioners were arrested on November 2, 1964. On November 2, 1964 motions were filed in the District Court re-urging a stay and seeking alternatively writs of habeas corpus and mandamus. At that point the stay filed on October 28 was granted. On January 4, 1965 a petition for certiorari was filed in the United States Supreme Court. Certiorari was granted on May 3, 1965. The date of argument has not been set.

25. Davis et al. v. Gallinghouse

Since the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, Negroes have had to wait in day-long lines to be registered. Many have had to return several times, and many have been refused for lack of proof of identity and place of residence.

Suit filed in Federal District Court on August 31 against the Registrar of Voters in Orleans Parish seeking temporary restraining order, preliminary and permanent injunctions enjoining the registrar's office from requiring proof of residence and identity and from slowing down the registration process. Gallinghouse had instituted these requirements upon taking office in 1961.

Discovery revealed that approximately 30% of all registered Negroes had been registered under States Rights Party or no party at all. They were thus effectively disenfranchised since they cannot vote in the Democratic primary. Judge Ellis has the matter under advisement.

26. Bogalusa Voters League Negotiations

A series of negotiations have been carried out between Mayor Cutrer and the Bogalusa Voters League. The negotiations have ranged over a variety of subjects, such as sewerage, housing, integration of parks, repeal of segregation ordinances, etc. Two Negroes have passed police tests, are in line for appointment to the Bogalusa City Police Force.

27. Crown-Zellerbach

The Crown-Zellerbach paper mill is the major industry in Bogalusa. Widespread discrimination exists in their plants, e.g. segregated locals, unequal availability of jobs, unequal seniority rights, and lines of progression. A complaint was filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Bureau under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. LCDC attorneys advised union officials during recent contract negotiations where such advice was requested. The contract signed August 2, 1965 achieved some improvements, but significant discrimination still exists. A list of employees having recall rights should be obtained by union head Otha Peters.

28. City of Bogalusa v. John Singleton

Singleton was assaulted while picketing. He struck back and was charged with simple battery. He was tried and convicted, and sentencing has been set for October 18.

29. Andrews et al. v. City of Monroe

Action was brought to desegregate the Monroe City School System and to enjoin the sales of school bonds earmarked for discriminatory purposes as construction of segregated buildings, etc. A request for admissions was filed. District Court denied the prayer for a preliminary injunction, and an appeal was lodged with the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. A Motion for injunctive relief pending appeal was filed. On August 26 the Fifth Circuit ordered consideration of the matter in light of Price and Singleton. A hearing was held in Monroe on September 17.

LOUISIANA

CLOSED CASES

1. James Potts v. Governor John J. McKeithen, et al.

In January, 1965 James Potts applied to Louisiana Polytechnic Institute. The school admitted that he was qualified, but refused his admission because of their policy of segregation. Suit was filed in Federal District Court in January, 1965 seeking Potts' admission. February, 1965, pursuant to Court order, he became the first Negro student at Louisiana Polytechnic Institute.

In July, 1965, Potts was arrested while participating in a demonstration in Jonesboro, Louisiana. He was physically and verbally abused in the police station and referred to as an "educated Nigger." He was suspended from school pursuant to a state Board of Education regulation which provided for the automatic suspension of any student "arrested and incarcerated." This regulation was adopted in 1961 after the Southern University demonstrations to curtail Negro students' participation in civil rights activities. Suit was filed in August seeking his reinstatement. Appeal papers and supporting briefs were prepared. On September 17, 1965 Judge West issued a preliminary injunction reinstating Potts and ruled that the regulation was unconstitutional when applied to First Amendment activities.

2. Jenkins v. City of Bogalusa School Board

Suit was filed in Federal District Court on July 19, 1965 to desegregate the Bogalusa School System. A request for admissions was filed. The Government intervened. On August 13, 1965 Judge Ellis ordered that the school system be integrated at the rate of 2 grades in 1965-66, and five grades per year in the two succeeding years.

3. On July 16, 1965 seven CORE workers and members of the Bogalusa Voters League were picketing at the La Plaza Shopping Center in Bogalusa. They were assaulted, arrested, and charged with disturbing the peace. The charges were dismissed.

4. Louisiana v. F. David Harrington

A CORE worker was arrested and charged with driving with an expired license. Charges were dismissed upon production of a telegram from the New York Bureau of Motor Vehicles stating that he presently had a valid license.

5. The following cases arose out of civil rights activities in Bogalusa this summer. All charges were dismissed.

a. Marvin C. Austin - Affidavit No. 65-1152
b. Michael L. Williams - Affidavit No. 65-1150
c. Walter Beck, Jr. - Affidavit No. 65-1148
d. Clifton Curry - Affidavit No. 65-1153
e. Ardell Magee - Affidavit No. 65-1213
f. Joby B. Greenlee
g. Alcie Taylor, Jr. - Affidavit No. 65-1218
h. Gerald Penton - Affidavit No. 65-1192
i. Carleton Allen Short - Affidavit No. 65-1206
j. Lorraine Smith - Affidavit No. 65-1216
k. Jimmy Gerome Burns - Affidavit No. 65-1205
l. Travis Peters - Affidavit No. 65-1220
m. Rogers Blackburn - Affidavit No. 65-1217
n. Gerald O. Simmons - Affidavit No. 65-1162
o. William Peters - Affidavit No. 65-1193
p. Charles Bellows - Affidavit No. 65-1480
Affidavit No. 65-1512
q. Craig Humphrey Morgan - Affidavit No. 65-1511
r. Marvin Cornelius Austin - Affidavit No. 65-1339
s. Elmer Barner - Affidavit No. 65-1342
t. Marvin Cornelius Austin - Affidavit No. 65-1507

u. Arthur Ray Applewhite - Affidavit No. 65-1510
v. William Henry Park - Affidavits No. 65-1525, 1526 and 1527
w. Ralph Graves
x. James Brown

6. City of Bogalusa v. Henry Robinson

Robinson, while picketing with the Bogalusa Voters League, saw his mother being arrested and ran to the scene. He was grabbed by a police officer from behind, arrested, and charged with engaging in a fight and disturbing the peace. The prosecution apparently is not going forward with the case. Affidavit No. 65-1156.

7. City of Bogalusa v. Oree Robinson

While picketing, Mrs. Robinson was arrested and charged with disturbing the peace and resisting arrest. Case is inactive. Affidavit No. 65-1158.

8. Burris et al. v. Redwood Cafe

Action was brought to desegregate the Redwood Cafe in Bogalusa which had refused to serve Negroes. The Government intervened in the case. Judge West denied a preliminary injunction on July 28, 1965, and a permanent injunction on September 22. The Cafe is serving Negroes.

9. George et al. v. Davis, President of the East Feliciana School Board

Action brought in Federal District Court seeking immediate desegregation of the East Feliciana Parish School System. On August 13, 1965, Judge Ellis ordered desegregation of grades 1 and 12 for the 1965-66 school year, and desegregation of 5 grades in each of the succeeding two years.

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE of ACLU, Inc.

156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010

Appendix A

LCDC Volunteer Lawyers 1965 (as of September 15, 1965)

Norman B. Ackley, Esq.
Seattle, Washington

Frank H. Allen, Jr., Esq.
Modrall, Seymour, Sperling, Rhoehl & Harris
Albuquerque, New Mexico

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Richard, Brian & DiSanti
Upper Darby, Pennsylvania

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McFall, Burnett & Martin
Manteca, California

Patrick Owen Burns, Esq.
Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy
New York, N.Y.

Paul Cooksey, Esq.
General Counsel
West Coast Preferred Risk Mutual Insurance Co.
Downey, California

John M. Darrah, Esq.
Vance, Davies, Roberts & Bettis
Seattle, Washington

Miss Serena E. Davis
Legislative Attorney
Legislative Reference Service
American Law Division
Library of Congress
Washington, D.C.

Miss Nanette Dembitz
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New York Civil Liberties Union
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Covington & Burling
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New York Civil Liberties Union
New York, N.Y.

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Providence, Rhode Island

Walter and Muriel Finch, Esqs.
Belleville, New Jersey

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Green & Green
Toledo, Ohio

Benjamin Greshin, Esq.
Smithtown, N.Y.

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Chicago, Illinois

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Clerk to Judge George Washington
U.S. Court of Appeals for D.C.
Washington, D.C.

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McDonald, Hoag & Bayliss
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Harvard Law School
Cambridge, Massachusetts

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William Q. Keenan, Esq.
General Solicitor
REA Express
New York, N.Y.

Jules P. Kirsch, Esq.
Bell Telephone Laboratories
Murray Hill, New Jersey

Kenneth N. Kripke, Esq.
Kripke and Hoffman
Denver, Colorado

Professor John H. Mansfield
Harvard Law School
Cambridge, Massachusetts

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MacCoy, Evans & Lewis
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Alexander J. Menza, Esq.
Newark, N.J.

W. Edward Morgan, Esq.
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Brinker, Biddle & Reath
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Scott, Scott, Scott & Jackson
Topeka, Kansas

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First Assistant Defender
Defender Association of Philadelphia
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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Syracuse, N.Y.

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Assistant Attorney General, State
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Olympia, Washington

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Shellow & Shellow
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& Griggs
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Lawrence I. Weisman, Esq.
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Legal Officer
U.S. Coast Guard
Portsmouth, Virginia

James B. Wilson
Assistant Attorney General, State
of Washington
Olympia, Washington

Stephen B. Wolfberg, Esq.
Nutter, McClennen & Fish
Boston, Massachusetts

Michael Yesley, Esq.
U.S. Securities & Exchange Commission
Boston, Massachusetts

William D. Zabel, Esq.
Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton
New York, N.Y.

Volunteer Secretaries

Miss Mary Gibson
Seattle, Washington

Miss Emily Marlin
San Francisco, California

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE of ACLU, Inc.

156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010

Professional Staff (as of September 1, 1965)

New York:

Henry Schwarzschild, Executive Secretary
Hannie de Leeuw, Secretary
Linda Levine, Secretary

Southern Offices:

Chief Staff Counsel: Alvin J. Bronstein, Esq.

Staff Counsel: Bruce S. Rogow, Esq.
Alan H. Levine, Esq.
William G. Kopit, Esq.
Michael H. Rosen, Esq.
Harris David, Esq.

Executive Assistant: Julie N. Barrows
Secretary: Hellen O'Neal

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE of ACLU, Inc.

156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010

LCDC Volunteer Lawyers 1964 (List includes attorneys who served during summer and fall of 1964, winter and spring of 1965)

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Volunteer Secretaries - 1964

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LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
of the
American Civil Liberties Union

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURES
FOR THE YEAR ENDED MAY 31, 1965
AND THE QUARTER ENDED AUGUST 31, 1965

	June 1, 1964 to May 31, 1965		June 1, 1965 to August 31, 1965		June 1, 1964 to August 31, 1965		
INCOME (see attached schedule)		$ 95,136.62		$ 37,664.68		$ 132.801.30	
EXPENDITURES:							
Salaries	$ 12,597.60		$ 8,530.90		$ 21,128.50		
Office expenses	8,704.80		9,391.97		18,096.77		
Field expenses	60,220.34		33,800.45		94,020.79		
Depreciation	4,220.75		-		4,220.75		
Payroll taxes	697.40		132.62		830.02		
Other expenses	5,002.95		-		5,002.95		
TOTAL EXPENDITURES		$ 91,443.84		$ 51,855.94		$ 143,299.78	
NET INCOME (DEFICIT)		$ 3,692.78		$ (14,191.26)		$ (10.498.48)	(1)

(1) This statement shows cash basis of accounts only. In addition to cash expenditures for the period reported, accounts payable on September 20, 1965, were in excess of $14,000.00.

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE of ACLU, Inc.

156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010

September 1, 1965

Grants and Donations Received by LCDC

For 1964 program

Grants and donations ($500 and over)

American Civil Liberties Union	$ 15,000.00	
Beinecke Foundation	2,500.00	
Averell Harriman	1,000.00	
National Council of Churches, Commission on Religion and Race (1):		
United Presbyterian Church (1)	7,000.00	
Westport, Conn. Civil Rights Fund	1,000.00	
George D. Pratt, Jr.	500.00	
Dover Fund	500.00	
Aaron E. Norman Fund	1,000.00	
Ascoli Family Fund	5,040.49	
Seth M. Glickenhaus	1,000.00	
Ottinger Foundation	2,500.00	
Steven C. Rockefeller	2,000.00	
David Rockefeller Jr.	1,500.00	
Village Independent Democrats	584.60	
Constitutional Rights Foundation of Southern California	700.00	
Transport Workers Union	1,000.00	
		$ 42,825.09
Miscellaneous contributions (under $500)		6,382.03
		$ 49,207.12 (2)

For 1965 program

Grants and donations ($500 and over)

Aaron E. Norman Fund (3)	$ 10,000.00
Ottinger Foundation	1,000.00
National Council of Churches (4)	1,000.00
American Jewish Committee (4)	1,000.00
Twentieth Century Fund	10,000.00
Constitutional Rights Foundation*	5,000.00
United Automobile Workers	2,500.00
C. and H. Gettner Foundation*	1,000.00
United Presbyterian Church	5,000.00
New York Foundation	5,000.00
Lederer Foundation*	500.00
United Church of Christ	1,000.00
Eliot Pratt Foundation	1,000.00
H. and S. Metzenbaum Foundation	1,043.00
A. and M. Bonda Foundation	1,043.00
Bernard Fischman	750.00
Misseduc Foundation	750.00
Episcopal Church	2,000.00
James W. Lamberton	500.00
Palisades Foundation*	500.00
M. and B. Dane Foundation*	500.00
Stephen H. Lewis	700.00
Bullitt Foundation*	1,500.00
Union of American Hebrew Congregations	1,000.00
Courier-Journal and Louisville Times Found.*	500.00
First Unitarian Church of Ann Arbor*	500.00
James Lee*	976.99
Stanley G. Falk*	500.00

(Continued on Page 2)

Jacob D. Hyman*	500.00	
W. Clement Stone*	500.00	
Glickenhaus Foundation*	500.00	
Robert Z. Kaplan	625.00	
Richard J. Frank	500.00	
Hays, Sklar & Herzberg#	500.00	
		$ 59,887.99
Miscellaneous contributions (under $500)		
Other ACLU (*)	$ 7,186.05	
Other Mail campaign (#)	4,528.50	
Other Direct	11,991.64	
		$ 23,706.19
		$ 83,594.18
TOTAL since June 1, 1964		$ 132,801.30 (5)

(1) The National Council of Churches also contributed some $1,500 and the United Presbyterian Church through the NCC some $3,000 more, in paying for car-rentals for the LCDC office in Jackson, Mississippi.

(2) The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. contributed in excess of $11,000 by paying for major costs of the LCDC offices in Memphis, Tennessee and Jackson, Mississippi.

The Congress of Racial Equality made a large, indirect contribution by paying for sizable expenses of the LCDC office in New Orleans, Louisiana.

(3) 2/3 of grant, remainder conditional.

(4) Special grant, for Mississippi office.

(5) The American Civil Liberties Union provided free office space and some clerical and administrative support.

The Law Students Civil Rights Research Council contributed travel and maintenance of law students assigned to the several LCDC offices during the summers of 1964 and 1965.

* From ACLU fund-raising for LCDC

\# From direct-mail fund-raising

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
of the
American Civil Liberties Union

BALANCE SHEET AS OF MAY 31, 1965 AND AUGUST 31, 1965

	May 31, 1965	August 31, 1965	
ASSETS			
Cash in bank	$ 19,858.19	$ 7,599.67	
Deposits (utilities)	380.00	605.00	
Equipment (written off to:)	2.00	2.00	
TOTAL ASSETS	$ 20,240.19	$ 8,206.67	
LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH			
Payroll taxes	$ 701.43	$ 363.01	
ACLU - expense advance	2,845.98	5,342.14	
- loan	13,000.00	13,000.00	
	$ 16,547.41	$ 18,705.15	
NET WORTH (DEFICIT)	3,692.78	(10,498.48)	(1)
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH	$ 20,240.19	$ 8,206.67	

(1) This statement shows cash basis of accounts only. In addition to cash expenditures for the period reported, accounts payable on September 20, 1965, were in excess of $14,000.00.

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
of the
American Civil Liberties Union

LCDC BAIL FUND

BALANCE SHEET AS OF AUGUST 31, 1965

ASSETS		
Cash in bank		$ 2,743.80
Bail outstanding		54,000.00
TOTAL ASSETS		$ 56,743.80
LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH		
Loans		$ 56,200.00
Net income:		
Contributions	$ 566.00	
Bank charges	23.20	543.80
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH		$ 56,743.80

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
OF
THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010
(212) YUKON 9-7530

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LEO PFEFFER
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American Jewish Congress

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Congress of Racial Equality

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TREASURER
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THE REV. ROBERT F. DRINAN, S.J.
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National Catholic Conference
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Coordinating Committee

CHARLES MORGAN, JR.
Southern Regional Director
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JOHN DE J. PEMBERTON, JR.
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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
HENRY SCHWARZSCHILD

SOUTHERN OFFICE
603 North Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39202
(601) 948-4191

ALVIN J. BRONSTEIN
Staff Counsel

September 17, 1965

File

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

I left the Anti-Defamation League, with great relief, a year and a half ago. Please have your secretary correct your address list. Who do you think has been running the LCDC, for goodness' sake?

Your suggestion concerning compensation for a report on the LCDC conference sounds excellent to me. I am a little worried about how you city editors live when you're on someone else's money -- the Four Seasons for breakfast, lunch and dinner are probably par for the course -- but I'll take my chances...

At this point, we are seriously thinking about holding the conference off until November or December. The LCDC is bankrupt again, and financing our operations is my first priority. I just do not see how I can get the time to organize a major conference between now and the end of October. Nonetheless, I shall be sending you material between now and the conference for your background information. As soon as we come up with a new target date, I'll let you know.

See you in New Orleans next week.

Cordially (and thanks for the copies of your pamphlet),

Henry

Henry Schwarzschild
Executive Secretary

HS:c

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Contributions to LCDC of ACLU are tax-deductible.

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
of ACLU, Inc.

MISSISSIPPI FIELD OFFICE

DOCKET

Alvin J. Bronstein
Staff Counsel

November 10, 1965

The following reflects changes in the status of cases reported on the September 7 Docket, and new cases since that date. The case numbers referred to are on the September 7 docket.

MISSISSIPPI
Affirmative Actions Pending

Changes

3. Dennis v. Johnson et al

Interrogatories were served by us on all defendants and their answers were received on November 5.

5. Harris and Hosek v. Ingram et al.

This case has been dropped since both of the plaintiffs have left the state and did not wish to pursue it.

6. Wash Lewis v. Hinds County Sheriff

This case has been dropped since the plaintiff did not wish to pursue it.

7. Wilson v. Marshall

On October 15 Judge Clayton issued an order denying our motion for a preliminary injunction on the picketting ordinance and asked for further argument and briefs on the parade ordinance. We are now preparing a supplemental brief.

10. Sherrod v. Coker's Cafe

The defendants answers to our interrogatories were received on September 11. We are now waiting for hearing on permanent injunction.

12. Morton Thomas v. Sheriff of Bolivar County

In this case where both the plaintiff and the Sheriff's Surety Company are situated in Massachusetts, we are preparing to file a complaint in the Federal Court in Boston to test the possibility of suing in a more compatible jurisdiction.

13. Pearlie Thomas v. Town Marshal of Anguilla

The client is now out of the hospital and we are still investigating in preparation for a suit.

14. Sherrod v. Pink Hat Cafe

Briefs were submitted by both sides on the damage claim on September 17. Defendants answers to our interrogatories were received on September 11. We are awaiting a decision on the motion to dismiss and for a hearing on the permanent injunction.

16. Chinn v. City of Canton

Case is set for trial on November 18. We are prepared to stipulate to use the hearings on preliminary injunction for the trial on permanent injunction and are submitting a brief to supplement our request that the Court may compel the City to reopen the parks.

17. Perkins v. Harrison

This case has been discontinued as the restaurant is now complying.

18. Wilder v. Ferrell

The defendants consented to a permanent injunction and an order was entered to that effect on September 21. The defendants have paid our costs of $40.

19. Raymond v. Sessums

The complaint was filed in the U. S. District Court on November 2.

20. Taylor v. Vasselus et al

Our interrogatories were served and the defendants have answered. We are waiting for a hearing date on preliminary injunction.

21. Mingo Donald v. Owens

On November 10 we submitted a proposed revised J. P. Statute, as well as a summary of the statutes in the various other states to the Attorney General.

22. Gordon v. Evans

The defendants served answers to our interrogatories and we served answers to the defendants' interrogatories. The case is scheduled for trial on November 17.

23. Jackson v. Southwest Drug Store

The case is discontinued as the restaurants are complying.

24. Bass v. Royal Theatre

The case is discontinued as the theatre is complying.

25. Shelton v. Simpson

Defendant has paid us the costs in the amount of $227 and the case is completed.

NEW CASES FILED

1. Baldwin v. Nosser

This suit filed in the U. S. District Court on October 5, 1965, attacks the constitutionality of a parade ordinance of the City of Natchez. It also seeks to enjoin mass arrests and prosecutions which resulted after demonstrations in the City of Natchez which began on September 30, 1965. A stipulation was entered into on October 27 which continues this case indefinitely pending a decision by the Court of Appeals in Guyot v. Pierce, which was basically the same action in Jackson.

2. Easton v. Nosser

This suit was filed in the U. S. District Court on September 13 and attacks the constitutionality of a leaflet ordinance in the City of Natchez and seeks to enjoin arrests under that ordinance which began in early September prior to the mass demonstrations in Natchez. A stipulation has been entered into in this case continuing it pending decision in Strothers v. Thompson by the Court of Appeals which raises the same issues in Jackson. This case and Baldwin v. Nosser were handled by us in cooperation with the Lawyers Committee.

3. Connor v. Johnson

This case on behalf of Local Negroes and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was filed in the U. S. District Court on October 19. It is against the Governor and various members of the Legislature of Mississippi and seeks a reapportionment of the Mississippi Legislature based on population. It seeks to enjoin the present legislature from acting on the grounds that Negroes were systematically excluded from participating in their election. On November 6, the defendants were granted an additional 45 days, within which to make a defense, by Judge Cox.

4. Spencer v. Belhaven College

We are investigating the possibility of a suit to enjoin Belhaven College in Jackson, Mississippi in connection with their alleged discrimination against Negroes from Tougaloo College who have attempted to gain admittance to a concert series at Belhaven. One more test has been arranged in preparation for a suit under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

5. Sam Howse v. James H. Evans

This Negro civil rights worker was arrested in Canton on November 6 when he was stopped at a roadblock. His car was searched and he was charged with reckless driving and carrying a concealed weapon. His trial is scheduled for November 16 and we have prepared a complaint to enjoin the prosecution in the J. P. Court on the grounds that the statute which vests the J. P. with authority is unconstitutional. See Donald v. Owen, No. 21.

Defensive Actions Pending Federal Courts

Changes since September 7

26. State v. Archie

The record on appeal has been filed in the 5th Circuit and we are preparing our brief.

28. State v. Bass et al

The state filed a motion to remand and we prepared and filed a brief in opposition to the remand in the District Court on October 22.

35. State v. Levy and Morse

The state filed a motion to remand and we filed a brief in opposition in the District Court on October 4.

40. Smith v. Harrison

We resubmitted our motion for summary judgment on October 15 and are waiting for a decision. The trial has been passed until the next term of court.

41. American Liberty v. Smith

Depositions were taken on September 8 and 20 and motions were argued on November 8. We are waiting for decisions.

42. State v. Eddie Davis

We filed our brief in the Court of Appeals on October 4. The state's brief is due on November 22.

43. State v. Grandison

We filed our brief in the Court of Appeals on October 4. The state's brief was filed on November 1.

44. State v. Allen et al

We filed our brief in the Court of Appeals on September 24 and the state's brief is still due.

49. Greenville v. Novick

The City Attorney served us with interrogatories and requests for admissions. We filed a motion to quash same on the grounds that the prosecution was not entitled to pre-trial discovery in a criminal case. Briefs on the motion were submitted to Judge Clayton by both sides on October 22.

NEW CASES

1. State v. Rims Barber

This white Delta Ministry worker was arrested on November 2, 1965 in the County Courthouse in Canton for objecting to the racially segregated lines for purchasing license plates. He was charged with profane language and disturbing the peace. His case was removed to the U. S. District Court by a petition filed November 8, 1965 where the matter is now pending.

2. State v. Thomas Bartley

This local 16 year old Negro who is the only male Negro in the previously all-white high school in Shaw was arrested on October 13 on an affidavit issued September 22 with respect to an incident that allegedly occurred September 8. He is charged with using vulgar and indecent language by 5 white high school girls which he alleges is untrue and which is part of a pattern of harassment he has been subjected to since he entered the school. The case was removed to the U. S' District Court by a petition filed on November 3, where the case is now pending.

3. City of Ashland v. David Beckley

This local Negro college student was driving a bus for the Benton County Citizens Club, carrying Negro citizens to the Federal Voting Registrar in Ashland. He was arrested on October 4 and charged with 2 traffic violations which were not in fact true and his bond was set at $250. After his release a removal petition was filed in the U. S. District Court on October 7. The state filed a motion to remand on October 30 and the case is still pending.

4. City of Holly Springs v. Harvey

This white female is the librarian at all-Negro Rust College and has also worked actively with the M.F.D.P. On September 18 she was attending the trial of another civil rights worker as a witness and she refused to submit to interrogation by the Judge and City Attorney in Holly Springs on the advice of the L.C.D.C. lawyer present. She was arrested and charged with obstructing justice. The lawyer and other witnesses were also arrested. As this case was part of a pattern of arresting witnesses attending trials of civil rights workers in this court, the case was removed to the U. S. District Court by a petition filed September 23, where the case is now pending.

5. City of Holly Springs v. Donald Jelinek

This is the case of the L.C.D.C. lawyer who was conducting the defense of a civil rights worker in Holly Springs and after he had advised witnesses that they didn't have to answer certain questions, he was arrested and charged with obstructing justice. His case was removed to the U. S. District Court by a petition filed on September 23, where it is now pending.

6. City of Holly Springs v. Alfred Kuenzli

This white professor of psychology at Rust College, who has also been active with the M.F.D.P., was another one of the witnesses waiting to testify in the defense of a civil rights worker on September 18. Shortly after he left the courthouse, he was arrested and charged with having improper license plates which was not true. His case was removed to the U. S. District Court by a petition filed September 23, 1965 where it is now pending.

7. State of Mississippi v. Alfred Kuenzli

This is the same person as in the above case who was arrested on September 20 by the County Police for the same charge that he had been arrested on September 18 by the City Police. This case was also removed to the U. S. District Court by a petition filed September 23. The state filed a motion to remand on October 15. The case is pending.

8. City of Natchez v. NAACP et al

This case arises from the mass demonstrations in Natchez on September 30. The City of Natchez obtained an ex parte injunction against various civil rights organizations and civil rights workers enjoining them from holding any demonstrations and various other First Amendment rights. We removed this case to the U. S. District Court by petition filed October 4. At the same time we filed a motion to stay or dissolve the injunction in the Federal Court. On October 6 Judge Cox issued an order modifying same permitting peaceful demonstrations such as marching 2 by 2 etc. A stipulation was entered into on October 27 continuing this case pending a decision in Guyot v. Pierce in the Court of Appeals. This case was handled in cooperation with the Lawyers Committee.

9. City of Natchez v. Easton et al

These 5 Negro FDP workers were arrested on September 4 prior to the demonstrations and charged with distributing leaflets without a permit. Their cases were removed to the Federal Court where they are now, pending disposition of Easton v. Nosser which attacks the ordinance under which they were arrested.

10. City of Jackson v. Joseph Ross

This local Negro was arrested on October 16 after he had used the men's room at the Lamar Theater in Jackson and charged with disturbing the peace and resisting arrest. At the police station he was beaten by 2 police officers. His case was removed to the U. S. District Court by a petition filed October 25, 1965, where the case is now pending.

11. City of Holly Springs v. Sid Walker

This local Negro civil rights worker was arrested on September 17 at the FDP office when city police raided the office and charged with illegal possession of whiskey which was planted by police coming in the back door. He was released on $500 bail and it was at his trial on September 18 that his witnesses and the L.C.D.C. lawyer present were arrested. This case was removed to the U. S. District Court by a petition filed September 23. It is now pending.

DEFENSIVE ACTIONS PENDING STATE COURTS

Changes since September 7

51. State v. Black

We met with the County Attorney and convinced him he had no case. He thereafter recommended dismissal to the Grand Jury who returned no indictment on September 20. The bail has been returned.

52. State v. Bromberg

This appeal was set for trial on October 20. LCDC lawyers attended the court on October 11 and saw an extremely hostile atmosphere with Negroes completely excluded from juries. We filed a removal petition to the U. S. District Court on October 20. After it was served on the District Attorney on October 21 he agreed to nolle pross the case which was done and the bond was returned.

53. State v. Ellzey

The Southern Regional Office of the ACLU declined to handle this case and we are conducting an investigation and will attempt to handle it ourselves.

54. Foster v. Futorian

On September 17, even though we had filed an appeal, the plaintiffs began to execute on the judgment and the Sheriff seized property belonging to various defendants. We thereafter filed a supersedeas bond and obtained the return of the seized property on a motion. The record has been transcribed and filed on November 9. We are working on the appeal brief.

55. State v. Maggie Gordon

The Grand Jury indicted her on October 18. At the trial on October 27 we filed a motion to quash the indictment and the venire because of jury exclusion. As a result of this the case was continued until the April term of court.

56. State v. Grandison

We arranged for Jess Brown to try this case on September 13. All of the charges were dismissed on motions to quash. The state has filed a motion to set aside the dismissal which is pending.

57. State v. Green

He was indicted on September 25. We appeared for trial on October 18 where it was apparent that we had no defense. The defendant pleaded guilty and received a 2 year suspended sentence.

59. State v. Hunter and Johnson

The appeal has been continued until December.

60. State v. James Klein

The Grand Jury indicted him on October 18. After further discussions with the prosecution the case was dismissed on November 9.

61. State v. Knox

The Grand Jury returned no indictments against our defendants and the 2 white men on October 18. The bond has been returned.

62. In Re Curtis Lee Long

The Mississippi Supreme Court granted our motion for suspension of the Youth Court decree pending appeal and we obtained the release of the juvenile from the State Training School on October 2.

66. State v. Suggars

We are preparing our brief and the appeal will be heard in December.

67. State v. TInsley

After discussions with the County Attorney he recommended dismissal to the Grand Jury and they returned no indictment on September 18. The bond has been returned

68. State v. Tobias

We are handling this case in conjunction with the ACLU. The defendant was indicted for rape on October 18. At the arraignment on October 25 we moved to quash the indictment because of jury exclusion. This was conceded by the prosecution and the motion was granted. We also filed a motion suggesting insanity which was granted and the defendant has been sent to the State Mental Hospital for examination prior to the next term of court in February.

71. Canton v. Percy Hawkins

This case was tried on September 7 in the City Court. Defendant was convicted and fined $55.

73. State v. Stepter

The case against our client has been dropped and the 2 persons who assaulted him were convicted and fined $25 each.

74. Canton v. Manoff

Our defendant who left the state did not want to come back for trial on September 20. We had the charge reduced to disturbing the peace and he was fined and the previous jail sentence was dismissed.

75. State v. Donald

The defendant decided not to continue with the appeal and the previous fine was reinstated.

76. State v. Cunningham

The trial of the appeal was scheduled for September 20. The defendant decided not to pursue it and the previous fine was reinstated.

77. Hattiesburg v. Nesmith

Both cases were tried on September 13. Our client and the man who assaulted him were both convicted and fined $25. The L.C.D.C. lawyer who tried the case was threatened by the assailant with a knife in the courthouse.

78. State v. Vigneault et al

The clients chose not to appeal this case and it is closed.

79. State v. Abbott

The defendant was indicted on September 18. We thereafter arranged for a local lawyer to handle his trial which was held in October. He was convicted and sentenced to a year and a half at Parchman. We are now handling his appeal.

80. State v. Jones

This defendant has left the state and the matter has been dropped.

81. State v. Hawkins

This case was tried on November 4 and the defendant was convicted and was sentenced to a total of 45 days. We got her out on appeal bond and are appealing this case.

82. State v. Gellatly et al

The case against all 4 of these defendants was nolle prossed on November 4 and the bond returned.

83. State v. Tremper

We arranged for this defendant's release without bond and the charges were dismissed.

84. State v. Earnest

This defendant had been threatened with dismissal by his employer if he pursued the appeal and he therefore decided to drop it and paid his fine on September 20.

85. City of Columbia v. McClennan et al

These defendants chose not to pursue the appeal and paid their fines.

86. State v. Swanson et al

The bond has been returned and the cases are closed.

87. State v. Raymond

The trial was held on September 15 and the defendant was convicted and fined $150. We perfected an appeal and the case was removed to the Federal Court on October 20.

88. Moss Point v. Reeves et al

These charges have been dismissed and we are waiting for the return of the bond.

89. City of Natchez v. Ladner

These cases were removed to the Federal Court. See No. 9, Natchez v. Easton.

90. City of Jackson v. Weiss

The defendants were bonded out and prior to their trial on September 27 they pleaded guilty on one of the counts and paid a fine of $125.

NEW CASES

1. City of Greenwood v. Jerry House

This local Negro was arrested on October 13 and charged with using threatening language when, in fact, he had been threatened by a white man. We arranged for him to swear out an affidavit against the white man. The trial has been indefinitely continued and the City Attorney has indicated that the case will probably be dismissed.

2. City of Natchez v. Easton et al

Approximately 500 persons were arrested between October 1 and October 5 and charged with parading without a permit and blocking the sidewalk in a series of mass demonstrations. These cases have been continued indefinitely by stipulation pending the disposition of the cases attacking the ordinances under which they were arrested. See Easton v. Nosser and Baldwin v. Nosser. These cases are being handled in cooperation with the Lawyers Committee.

3. State v. Lillie Willis

This local Negro was arrested on September 28 in Rolling Fork and charged with perjury and forgery in connection with her having taken her mother down to register to vote. A preliminary hearing was held on October 1 and she was bound over for the Grand Jury in February. She was released on $1000 bond.

4. State v. Lillie Willis

This local Negro was arrested again on October 5 and charged with pointing a gun at the Sheriff. This matter was reported to the Justice Department and the case has been continued indefinitely by arrangement with the County Attorney.

5. State v. Knox Curry

This Negro civil rights worker was arrested on October 13 and charged with aiming a gun at an officer. The bond was set at $3000. We prepared habeas corpus and after we advised the Sheriff and the County Attorney that we were about to file same, he was released on a property bond. The case is now set for the 4th Monday in March.

6. State of Louisiana v. Davis et al

Civil rights workers and 2 local Negroes who led a group of students to the Parish Fair on "White Day" instead of "Black Day" were arrested on October 21 and charged with assault with intent to do bodily harm and inciting to riot. Counter warrants were filed by Miss Davis who was almost run over by the automobile of the original complaining witness. Arraignment set for November 15 and County Attorney has promised to investigate and drop charges or allow us sufficient time for removal.

7. City of HOlly Springs v. Oscar and Jeanette Johnson

These 2 local Negroes were arrested after driving into a service station and each of them were charged with 5 different charges. The case was tried by us on September 10 and they were each found guilty on all 5 counts and were fined a total of $2135 and Mrs. Johnson was sentenced to 6 months in jail. We filed an appeal and they are out on appeal bond pending a new trial in the Circuit Court.

8. State v. Miles Johnson

This local Negro was arrested on October 16 after he had attempted to use a water fountain at a gas station. He was beaten by the police officer and charged with 3 different offenses. We have prepared a removal petition to the Federal Court. The City Attorney has indicated that he would like to settle this case.

9. Harris v. John Lango

This Yale student had driven to Mississippi last December and delivered a truck to SNCC workers here. After he left the state, the truck was involved in an accident on February 16. Lango is being sued as the alleged owner of the turck for damages, even though we can show that he signed the title over prior to the accident. The case is set for trial on November 22.

10. State v. Quinn et al

On September 6, 8 local Negroes and civil rights workers were arrested in a State Park near McComb while swimming there and charged with trespassing. They are out on bond and the trial has been continued indefinitely. We are attempting to get the County Attorney to drop the charges.

GENERAL MATTERS PENDING

Changes since September 7

91. Now Brick Company

We are now preparing an amendment to the charter in New York, prior to obtaining a Certificate to do Business in the State of Mississippi.

95. Meridian Community Center

Negotiations have been completed and price set. The contract of sale has just been prepared.

98. Willie Shaw License

As a result of the hearing on September 2 his license was reinstated.

NEW MATTERS

1. Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Election

A major effort was made by various civil rights organizations to encourage local Negroes to participate in these elections scheduled in November. We prepared excerpts of the law and various regulations for distribution throughout the state so as to inform civil rights workers and local Negroes of the various qualifications and regulations.

2. Child Development Group of Mississippi

This organization which runs the Headstart projects in the state sought to have copyrighted the books that they had published. We obtained copyright forms and prepared them.

3. Michaels Cafe Labor Dispute

In September the civil rights workers in Cleveland called us about this labor dispute. 10 of the Negro employees had walked out and gone on strike for higher wages. They were then fired and were interested in picketting and applied for a permit in accordance with the city ordinance. The police chief refused the permit on various grounds. We then spoke to the police chief and the County Attorney and finally prevailed upon them to permit the strikers to picket and they did thereafter picket without interference. We also referred the group to the NLRB in connection with the labor dispute.

4. Greenville Bonds

At the request of the National Council of Churches we undertook to obtain the release of the Surety Company who had posted bond in 1963 in 12 cases in Greenville. The bonds had since been replaced with cash bond. We prepared a motion and an order and on October 27, Circuit Court Judge signed and entered an order releasing the Surety.

5. Canton Casket Company

On September 23 we were asked by a CORE worker in Canton to attend a meeting of the employees of this company in connection with a labor dispute. One of the employees, who are all Negroes,had been fired and they were interested in forming a union and picketting. We advised them of their rights and supplied them with various forms. Thereafter the discharged employee was rehired but they are still planning to form a union.

6. Olive Bailey Title

This local Negro and other members of her family were sent by the CORE office in Canton. They claim that after they had registered to vote, part of their property was taken from them by some kind of foreclosure; that thereafter 2 of them were arrested and charged with trespassing on their own property. We are attempting to examine the title records and straighten out their title problems.

Welfare

We have continued to handle a small number of welfare and social benefit cases similar to the project we ran this summer. However, because of the limitations of time and personnel, we have had to cut down on this substantially although the need is just as great.

ALABAMA & LOUISIANA

The following cases were handled directly from the Jackson office, whereas the rest of the Louisiana docket is being handled by the New Orleans office.

Alabama

114. City of Opelika v. Sam Jones et al

Removal petitions were filed in this case and the state moved to remand. We attended a hearing in the Federal Court in Montgomery on November 6 and both sides are to submit briefs by November 18.

Louisiana

133. Banks v. Claiborne Parish School Board

An order desegregating the schools has been entered.

134. Johnson v. Jackson Parish School Board

An order desegregating the schools has been entered.

135. Andrews v. City of Monroe

An order desegregating the schools has been entered.

138. Hicks v. Knight

As a result of various activities of the police on October 20 including unlawful arrests, beatings etc. we filed another applicatinn to have the city police and 2 parish police officers held in contempt for violating the injunction. A hearing is now scheduled for December 10.

140. Potts v. State Board of Education

A suit was filed in the U. S. District Court and thereafter a hearing was held and we obtained an injunction which directed the school to reinstate Potts.

142. Banks v. Homer Memorial Hospital

A complaint was filed in the U. S. District Court September 16. We thereafter served interrogatories and requests for admissions. The defendants have filed a motion to dismiss which will be heard on December 2.

NEW CASES

1. Bogalusa Arrests October 20

Approximately 125 persons were arrested during demonstrations in Bogalusa in connection with a school boycott on October 20. These cases are all being handled by the New Orleans office.

2. Bogalusa School Board v. Bogalusa Voter's League

In connection with the school boycott the school board on October 20 obtained an ex parte Temporary Restraining Order enjoining the Voter's League and named individuals from encouraging or permitting children to boycott the school for the purposes of demonstrations. We removed this case to the Federal Court by petition filed on October 21 and we also filed a motion to stay or dissolve the injunction. A hearing

was held on the state's motion to remand on October 27, after which Judge West remanded the case to the state court. We filed a notice of appeal and a motion for a stay. The stay was denied by the Court of Appeals on November 3. The appeal is still pending.

CLOSED CASES

The following represents cases opened since September 7 and closed as distinguished from those listed in other sections of the docket and which have since been closed by virtue of change in status.

1. State v. Johnnie Allen

On October 10 we were called by the Batesville FDP about this Negro from Chicago who was visiting relatives in Batesville. He was arrested and charged with drunken driving and speeding. We arranged for his release on bond and thereafter because he wanted to leave the state, he pleaded guilty and paid the fine of $116.

2. City of Natchez v. Easton

This local Negro civil rights worker who was arrested a total of 9 times during the demonstrations was arrested and charged with public drunk. His trial was held on October 13 in the City Court and after cross-examination of the arresting officers showed that they couldn't properly describe someone who was drunk - they had taken no tests - the charges were dismissed.

3. City of Natchez v. Easton et al

3 local Negro civil rights workers were arrested and charged with profanity. At their trial on October 13 in the City Court they were found guilty and fined $59.

4. City of Natchez v. Robert Gayler

This local Negro civil rights worker was arrested after his car was stopped and searched and he was charged with carrying a concealed weapon. His trial was held on October 13 and after cross-examination brought out that he had been subjected to an illegal search and seizure, he was acquitted.

5. City of Natchez v. Easton et al

These 5 white and Negro civil rights workers were arrested on September 26 and charged with loitering. We obtained their release without bond and prior to the trial on October 15 the charges were dismissed.

6. City of Natchez v. Horowitz et al

These 3 civil rights workers were arrested on September 24 and charged with violating the curfew which had been passed by the Natchez City Council during the demonstrations. After examining the ordinance and the minutes from the City Council, we determined that the ordinance had been passed illegally. When this was pointed out to the prosecutor, the charges were dismissed.

7. City of Natchez v. Grenn et al.

These 5 civil rights workers were arrested on October 1 for violating the curfew. These charges were dismissed as above.

8. City of Natchez v. Easton et al

These 2 local civil rights workers were arrested on September 25 while on their way to the city jail to get the bond form for another civil rights worker who was in jail. They were both charged with loitering and spent 3 days in jail without bond. These charges were dropped prior to trial.

9. City of Hattiesburg v. Gould

This local Negro was arrested on September 26 and charged with interferring with an officer because he had laughed while police were searching someone. His trial was held on October 4 in the City Court. He was convicted and fined $50 but the payment was suspended.

10. State v. Tom Griffin

This white civil rights worker was arrested on September 16 in Lexington, charged with burglary. He had been stopped for an alleged traffic offense. When the police searched his car they found a knife which they claimed was stolen. We obtained his release on $400 bail and on October 7 the charges were dropped and the bail returned.

11. Re: Holly Springs Bus Drivers

The Negro school bus drivers had refused to sign a new contract and their salary checks were therefore not given to the. After a number of discussions we obtained their salary checks for them and when investigation showed that they were being paid the same as white drivers, a new contract was signed on October 25.

12. State v. Louis King

This white civil rights worker was arrested in Cleveland on October 22 in the County Courthouse during a voter registration drive. He was charged with causing a disturbance in a public place. After a number of calls to the Sheriff and County Attorney, the charges were dropped and he was released.

13. City of Chattanooga v. Willie Ricks et al

These 2 SNCC staff workers spoke to us about a case pending against them in Tennessee. They had questioned a police officer whom they had seen beating a Negro woman. They had been charged with interferring with a police officer. After a number of phone calls to the prosecutor and city judge, we were able to get the charges dropped on November 9.

14. City of Holly Springs v. Annais McGee. This Negro civil rights worker was arrested on September 6 while in the Welfare Office making some inquiries. He was charged with being drunk and his trial was held on September 8 in the City Court. He was acquitted

15. State v. Bruce Maxwell

This white civil rights worker was arrested in Rolling Fork on October 9 and charged with "inciting to break a church window." He was released on $200. After 2 days and after discussion with the County Attorney prior to trial, charges were dismissed.

16. State v. Clara Robinson

This local Negro who owns a cafe in Lexington where civil rights workers were eating was arrested on September 7 and charged with selling illegal liquor, which she alleged had been planted by the police. Just prior to the trial the Sheriff advised us that there would be no trial, that the charges would probably be dropped pending an "arrangement" between himself and the defendant. She thereafter confirmed that she didn't want us to continue with her case.

17. State v. James Whitley

This was the local Negro whom we had arranged to represent at the request of local civil rights workers in Liberty. While in jail he had warned civil rights workers that a deputy sheriff had put sugar in their gas tank outside the courthouse. He was indicted on October 18 on 6 counts of burglary. Prior to trial we arranged for him to plead guilty to one count and the other 5 were dropped. He was fined $1000 and given a one year suspended sentence.

18. State v. Alton Wilder

This local Negro in Thomastown who had been the plaintiff in a public accommodations suit, was arrested on September 10 charged with forgery. We were able to prove that he was only a holder in due course on the alleged forged check and the charges were dropped.

19. State v. Joe Morse

This white civil rights worker was arrested on October 16 and charged with failing to stop at a stop sign. After discussion with the County Attorney, the case was settled for a fine of $5 plus costs.

20. City of Newton v. Wilson et al

7 local Negroes were arrested on September 7 and charged with disturbing the peace and resisting arrest and drunk in connection with a commotion at the City Jail about a local Negro previous arrested. The cases were settled with the County Attorney thereafter with a total fine for all of $207.

1-21-66

MEMORANDUM

TO: Chuck Morgan

FROM: Sam Adams

Attorney Blackett sent another copy of the brief I lost. I have xeroxed it and am sending a copy to you. I am also sending a copy of his most recent note to me.

Encls: 2

Copy of brief

check for $5

January 24, 1966

Mr. Darnell J. Blackett
Attorney at Law
401 Broadway
New York, New York 10013

Dear Darnell:

Thank you for sending another copy of the Conrad Lynn brief for the case of David Henry Mitchell. I have made a copy of it for our library, and am sending the original to Mr. Charles Morgan, southern director of American Civil Liberties Union.

I am also sending Mr. Morgan a copy of your letter indicating a willingness of Mr. Lynn to submit a brief amicus curiae, but I doubt that it could be for Southern Regional Council since there is no policy precedent for such involvement for us. ACLU might wish to utilize the service he might offer. SRC is more of a clearing house for information and a catalytic agency for social reforms that will eradicate racism and bigotry.

We stand ready to serve.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

DARNELL J. BLACKETT
COUNSELOR AT LAW

TELEPHONE 925-3552
AREA CODE 212

401 BROADWAY
(1 BLOCK SOUTH OF CANAL ST.)
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10013

Rec'd 1-19-66

January 20, 1966

Dear Sam,

Here's another copy of the brief! Don't lose it!

Lynn would be happy to submit a brief amicus curiae for the Southern Regional Council should it feel it can intervene and if lawyers for Bond thought that advantageous. If it's too late for trial hearing he can submit on appeal.

Sincerely,

Darnell

January 18, 1966

Mr. Darnell J. Blackett
Attorney at Law
401 Broadway
New York, New York 10013

Dear Darnell:

Unfortunately, I have misplaced the brief you sent along with the clipping and letter explaining some of the questions you feel that Connie Lynn, attorney, had explained in cases similar to the one involving Julian Bond. I guess I am the most disorganized person I know. It was lost somewhere between here and the office of Charles Morgan, attorney, who is one of the counsels for Julian Bond, and director of the southern regional office of the American Civil Liberties Union.

I certainly appreciated receiving your letter, and naturally, we all are happy about your interest in the case. I telephoned Bond's home, but wasn't able to find him. I spoke to his sister and indicated the fact that Lynn might be influenced to handle the case as a friend of the court. With the experience he has had in the Mitchell case just heard in New York, he obviously is the best prepared person in the nation on the questions involved.

Bond's attorneys include his brother-in-law, Howard Moore. Moore and Morgan would make the decision about any prospective involvement of Lynn. It seems to me that having his mind at the right hand, without cost, would be a godsend.

Everything at home goes well. The children miss you.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

CAMPBELL HOUSE

DARNELL J. BLACKETT
ATTORNEY AT LAW
401 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10013
TELEPHONE 925-3552
AREA CODE 212

January 15, 1966

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RE: JULIAN BOND

Dear Sam:

Referring to my communication of the previous evening I think I ought to say this by way of followup:

1. The Mitchell case does not involve a negro, nor do the greater number of pending cases referred to.

2. While the immediate effects of the Bond case has to do with seating him in the legislature, much of the answer to his problem will be found in the Mitchell and other so-called draft cases handled by Lynn. For instance, would the Defense Department accept Mr. Bond for service under the circumstance that prevailed prior to the resolution of the Georgia Legislature and after the pronouncement of his organization (enlistment or draft) and what would be the total effect one way or the other on Mr. Bond....., with respect to the authority of the local body (legislature) concerning the incident. And there are so many other questions posed both by the declaration and the resolution.

3. Getting back to the obtaining of his brother's release from the army during World War II, Mr. Lynn accomplished this through a Writ of Habeas Corpus directed against a segregated unit. His brother subsequently rejoined the army and served abroad.

Please give my regards to Eleanora and all the family....will talk to you soon. I talked with Ola by telephone last night. She is well.

Sincerely yours,

D J Blackett

Darnell J. Blackett

DJB:ld

United States District Court

DISTRICT OF CONNECTICUT

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

against

DAVID HENRY MITCHELL, 3RD,

Defendant.

BRIEF OF DEFENDANT

CONRAD J. LYNN,
Attorney for Defendant,
401 Broadway,
New York City.

CA 6—5226

ACKERMAN PRESS, Phones BO 9-7107-8

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United States District Court

DISTRICT OF CONNECTICUT

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

against

DAVID HENRY MITCHELL, 3RD,

Defendant.

BRIEF OF DEFENDANT

Statement

In 1961, shortly after his eighteenth birthday, the defendant, then a student at Brown University and a resident of New Canaan, Connecticut, registered under the Universal Military Training and Service Act. However, the defendant's subsequent developing consciousness of world events resulted in his active protest against the military posture of the United States government. In August 1961, his local board, number 17 in Connecticut, sent him a Classification Questionnaire. Because the defendant was involved in an act of civil disobedience in protest against the construction and deployment of nuclear-armed Polaris submarines, he did not know of this Questionnaire until his release from jail. After considerable reflection, he decided that, for political and moral reasons, he must disaffiliate himself from the conscription system and, as reply to the Questionnaire, so notified local board 17 by letter of October 8, 1961.

The local board responded by sending: 1) a Delinquency Notice (dated October 10, 1961) for failure to return the Questionnaire; 2) a Notice of Classification; 3) a letter

(dated October 17, 1961) advising that a "registrant's classification depends upon information supplied by the registrant." Reiterating his disaffiliation, defendant sent a Statement of Selective Service Disaffiliation together with a three-page letter elaborating his reasons, both dated December 3, 1961. There was no response to the defendant from any part of the Selective Service System subsequently. More than two years were to elapse before the Selective Service System was again to contact the defendant.

During that time, the defendant actively maintained his opposition to the draft by helping to initiate and by participating in the End The Draft committee. In its initiating statement, of which the defendant is a signatory, End The Draft states, in part:

> "In the tradition of Thoreau and the principles of Individual Guilt and Individual Responsibility established in the Nuremberg trials and in the first session of the United Nations, we assert the right and obligation of the individual to protest and dissociate himself from these criminal preparations."

The Delinquency Notice for failure to return the Classification Questionnaire was not rescinded nor acted upon nor again referred to by the Selective Service System.

The next correspondence from local board 17, a Current Information Questionnaire, was dated January 31, 1964. Use of the questionnaire apparently meant that the defendant's classification was being considered anew although such was not stated. An accompanying notice listed verifying certificates required in areas in which deferment rights are granted. The defendant replied in letter of February 10, 1964 that his position was unchanged. He stated, in part:

> "I realize that I could employ means to gain exemption from induction, but this does not interest me. My pur-

pose is not to be classified quietly within the draft system, but rather to oppose the draft. While classification might suit some sort of individual 'convenience,' my acceptance of classification would be a negation of my social responsibility.

"I oppose the draft, not as something wrong for just me or wrong for only certain people, but as something wrong for the peace and survival of the world. Selective Service is the criminal in this case as can be judged by American militarism throughout the world—from Cuba to Panama to South Vietnam and by our basing of policies on nuclear war. I refuse to cooperate in any way which would support the continuance of such activities. I certainly wouldn't have worked in a Nazi concentration camp just because I would not have to tend the ovens or the gas but could be a guard or a clerk. Rather, as I am doing with the draft and the militarism it contributes to, I would have dissociated from such wrong and worked against it."

In addition, he enclosed the Statement of End The Draft for the Senate Armed Services Committee, dated March 12, 1963, in which they "urge[d] this committee to recommend that the draft extension bill be defeated and, thereby, to accept its responsibility in approaching world peace and the survival of the human race." The defendant received no reply.

Almost two months later, however, he received Order (dated April 2, 1964) to Report for Armed Forces Physical Examination (scheduled for April 28, 1964). True to his position, he did not report. Then, by Delinquency Notice of May 4, 1964, he was declared delinquent for failure to report. As with the previous Delinquency Notice, the Selective Service System did not pursue a resolution of the matter in the courts. However, unlike the prior situation, the local board now persisted. By induction order

of May 18, 1964, the defendant was ordered to report for induction on June 10, 1964.

The defendant responded by writing an article entitled "Challenge The Draft" and sending a copy of same, as it appeared in *downdraft,* Vol. I, No. 3, May 1964, to local board 17. His lawyer notified the local board of his retention as counsel for defendant by End The Draft. On June 10, 1964, the defendant did not report for induction.

However, the government did not prosecute. By letter of August 18, 1964, local board 17 notified defendant that his May 4th, 1964 "delinquency status was removed," his "classification reopened and considered anew," and, hence, prepared for a third cycle of attempts to have the defendant acquiesce to selective service procedures.

Bypassing the use of questionnaires, local board 17 sent another Order (dated September 25, 1964) to Report for Armed Forces Physical Examination (scheduled for October 21, 1964). Refusal of defendant to report resulted in a Notice of Delinquency, dated November 10, 1964, which cites November 10, 1964 as the date the defendant became delinquent. There followed an exchange of correspondence between the defendant and local board 17 in which the defendant sought to clarify the sequence of events and in which he bade the local board attend to his counsel's request for copies of all material sent defendant. The local board referred defendant's correspondence to State Headquarters of the Selective Service System in Connecticut. The content of the exchange escalated also as the defendant learned of discrepancies of which he had not otherwise been notified; the defendant challenged the Selective Service System for infringements on his right of defense.

In the midst of this exchange, the local board again sent defendant an Order (dated December 14, 1964) to Report for Induction (scheduled for January 11, 1965). Defendant's firm position of individual responsibility against his

government's crimes against peace, its crimes against humanity, and its war crimes, again prevented him from obeying this order. His refusal to obey this order is the basis of this indictment. Pursuant to Rule 12 of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure, the defendant moves to dismiss.

POINT I

The draft call is constitutionally invalid.

Justification for the draft call cannot simply be found in the text of the Universal Military Training and Service Act. Unless that act conforms to the supreme law of the land it is of no force and effect. *Marbury* v. *Madison,* 5 U. S. 137.

> "This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof and all treaties made or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land . . ." U. S. Constitution, Article VI, Section 2.

While the defendant consistently maintains that it is macabre understatement to characterize murders and atrocities as unconstitutional—he submits that the draft call is in violation of treaties by which the United States is bound. It is also in violation of the peaceful intent of the Constitution:

> ". . . the genius and character of our institutions are peaceful and the power to declare war was not conferred upon Congress for the purpose of aggression or aggrandizement, but to enable the general government to vindicate by arms, if it should become necessary, its own rights and the rights of its citizens." *Fleming et al.* v. *Page,* 9 How. 603.

This conscription act has been upheld as within the power of Congress in *Gara* v. *United States,* 340 U. S. 857 (1950), by an equally divided court. It must not be overlooked that this decision was made at the beginning of the Korean War. The decision was rendered October 23, 1950. The Korean War began June 25, 1950. It is inconceivable that the court would have divided evenly unless it was troubled by the fact that Congress had not exercised its responsibility to declare war. U. S. Constitution, Article I, Section 8, Clause 11. The justification for bypassing the cited provision was the contention that the security of the United States was placed in desperate peril by the alleged aggression of a Communist power, North Korea, against South Korea. However, the United States had occupied South Korea on September 8, 1945 with an army under the command of General John R. Hodges. Prior thereto and after the Japanese surrender in August, 1945, the Korean people by democratic methods set up a provisional government for the whole of Korea. The United States military government proceeded to break up this government and ordered that it be disbanded in South Korea. It was unable to enforce its will in the northern part of Korea in 1945 because troops of the Soviet Union supported the government of Northern Korea.

> "The United States Military Government seized all the former Japanese state and privately owned properties and enterprises constituting the bulk of the wealth of that area . . . This seizure and retention of the bulk of the wealth of the country prevented the rehabilitation of the Korean economy.
>
> "The acts of the United States in regard to Korea were in violation of the assurances contained in the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations. They were also in violation of the third Clause of the Atlantic Charter by which the United States assured the people of the world, including the people of Korea, that after the war it would respect the right of all people to choose

the form of government under which they would live." Answer, *U. S.* v. *Farmer,* U. S. District Court, Middle Dist. of Tenn. Civil Action No. 2203 (1956).

The 1950 Korean action was a direct outgrowth of the announced decision of President Truman (The Truman Doctrine, March 12, 1947) to block by force any revolution anywhere in the world which the United States Government did not like. (See D. F. Fleming, "Cold War and Its Origins," pp. 446-7.) This country was established by armed revolution. The government of France openly supported the American Revolution with its troops and navy. Historically peoples have won their independence throughout the world by armed revolt. The doctrine that the United States executive seeks now to impose upon the world would brand as enemies of civilization those British and other European intellectuals who came to the aid of the Greeks in their fight for independence against the Turks in the beginning of the 19th Century. It would condemn to moral obloquy the volunteers who came to the aid of the Spanish Republic when it was being crushed by the twin fascisms of Italy and Germany in the prelude of the Second World War.

The Cold War Doctrine of every President since Truman —the practice of armed unilateral intervention at the whim of the chief executive—has effectively nullified the constitutional provision reserving the power to declare war in the elected congressional representatives of the people. The barbarous war being waged now by the United States forces in Vietnam and the bloody intervention in Santo Domingo are only the latest examples of this legally and morally indefensible policy.

The Selective Service System has become the chief instrument for enabling the government to maintain huge armed forces in being for the implementation of its Cold War practices. It is true that a minority of the men in service are draftees. But the threat of conscription makes

many men volunteer in order to complete a term of military service and thus no longer to be eligible for drafting.

> "The blackmail aspects of the draft were bluntly admitted during the 1959 House Armed Services Committee hearings by Assistant Secretary of Defense Charles G. Finucane who stressed the value of the draft as a threat in encouraging enlistments . . .
>
> "We are criminal when we dominate or threaten to dominate small nations, both in terms of the people's right to self-determination (e.g. Cuba, South Vietnam) and in terms of the possibility of guerrilla aggression escalating into nuclear war.
>
> "The draft is a basic support for such criminality. It forces our country's people to accept war as a sane, normal function of world relations by making national policy of the military subjugation of our young men and by conditioning them, in the services to the cold war. It allows government manipulation of world tensions by the arbitrary interruption of civilian lives and arbitrary increases in the size of the draft (e.g. President Kennedy's sudden draft increase during the Berlin crisis). It is used to give our economy the easy war-preparations way out by turning unemployed youth into soldiers, selecting, equipping, feeding, training, housing them—treating youth as so much grist for the war preparations mill . . ." Statement of End The Draft Committee, "Extension of the Draft and Related Authorities," H. R. 2438 (S. 846), March 12, 1963, pages 72, 73.

By refusing to obey the order for induction from his local draft board David Mitchell acts in the highest tradition of the responsible citizen of a democrary. He is prepared to risk his freedom and his future in an effort to halt the criminal course of the government. He summons all other citizens to join in this life-and-death struggle.

POINT II

The individual must dissociate himself from the war crimes of his government.

The defendant's fundamental concern is with the nature of the summons to military service. The defendant holds that the draft board, as an agent of the United States government, has no right to order him to take up arms and fight in the unjust wars in which this country is now engaged. He realizes that there are a variety of "acceptable" methods for him to get out of serving. But he feels that, while these may serve his convenience, they would not serve his conscience. Instead of neglecting his individual responsibility, the defendant refuses to cooperate with his government's militarism, and he raises a fundamental challenge to United States policies.

The defendant raises the parallel of Hitler's Germany where the Germans submitted to the call for law and order and neglected to take a stand on the criminal content the laws protected. He insists that empty law is the arsenal of criminal rationalization—and that if anything makes law meaningful instead of empty, it is the subordination of law to truth. The defendant reminds the court of that great movie, "Judgment at Nuremberg," in which the criminals on trial were judges who had administered laws devoid of all morality, laws which built a protecting shell of technicalities around Nazi crimes. The defendant wonders how convincing he would have been in Germany.

The defendant can cite a history of unjust American laws —from pre-revolutionary American laws through laws of slavery to today's laws which perpetuate the brutalization and oppression of the Negro people and drive the American Indians from their culture and land in a continuing policy of genocide. He asserts that he will have no part in any of this.

While the defendant maintains a selective position toward legality, he maintains a moral position that is uncompromising. As he reminded his draft board by letter of December 3, 1961, he now reminds this court of the words of Henry David Thoreau, who refused to pay taxes for the Mexican War: "It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right."

An important moment in legality's desperate attempt to keep abreast of morality came after World War II. Because of the horror of fascism and the attendant lack of conscience of the German people, the international community was moved to create legal precedent for the principle of individual guilt and responsibility above the laws of a criminal state. That an individual is bound by responsibility to international law and morality, regardless of the orders and laws of his nation, was plainly established in the Charter of the International Military Tribunal and the resulting Nuremberg trials. On August 8, 1945 the United States, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union made an executive agreement by treaty, establishing the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. Its purpose was to conduct "the just and prompt trial and punishment of the major war criminals of the European Axis." Charter of the International Military Tribunal, Art. 1, R. K. Woetzel, "The Nuremberg Trials in International Law," Appendix, p. 273. Twenty-three nations drew up the indictment for war crimes, crimes against peace, and crimes against humanity. A major precedent was thus laid for the judgment and prosecution, not only of the heads of governments for war atrocities but also of individuals who knowingly participated in the war crimes of their rulers.

Article 6 of the Charter of the IMT at Nuremberg stated:

> ". . . The following acts, or any of them, are crimes coming within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal for which there shall be individual responsibility:

a) Crimes against peace: namely, planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression, or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances, or participation in a common plan or consipracy for the accomplishment of any of the foregoing.

b) War crimes: namely, violations of the laws or customs of war. Such violations shall include, but not be limited to, murder, ill-treatment or deportation to slave labour or for any other purpose of civilian population of or in occupied territory, murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war or persons on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public property, wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity.

c) Crimes against humanity: namely, murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population, before or during the war, or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds in execution of or in connection with any crime within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, whether or not in violation of the domestic law of the country where perpetrated." *Woetzel, supra,* pages 274, 275.

The Charter further states that official positions, superior orders, or positions limited to that of an accomplice, do not free an individual from responsibility and punishment. IMT Charter, Arts. 6, 7, 8, *Woetzel, supra,* pages 274, 275. And in its Opinion and Judgment the Tribunal declared:

> "Crimes against international law are committed by men, not abstract entities, and only by punishing individuals who commit such crimes can the provisions of international law be enforced . . ."

> ". . . the very essence of the Charter is that individuals have international duties which transcend the national obligations of obedience imposed by the individual State." IMT, Vol. XXII, pages 565-566.

Scholars in the field of international law had long held that international law would merely remain a body of moral precepts, if its rules did not directly apply to individuals, as contrasted with governments.

> "Many authors have outlined the development of international law toward recognition of the international legal position of the individual, and thus confirmed the concept of a modern law of nations applicable to individuals. Scelle has criticized the traditional view of international law as exclusively inter-state law, as 'une vue fausse, une abstraction antropomorphique, historiquement responsable du caractere fictif et de la science traditionelle du droit des gens.' Like him, Duguit, Politis and Kelsen, among others, have strongly supported the opinion that international law applies to individuals." *Woetzel, supra,* page 98.

By its adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice the United States has implicitly recognized that if its leaders engage in atrocious war crimes revolting to the decent opinion of mankind, they may eventually be brought to justice before an international tribunal. In the case of *Jurisdiction of the Courts of Danzig* the Permanent Court of International Justice has already ruled "that there is nothing to stop the application of international law to the individual where the intention to make a right or duty apply to an individual was manifest in the treaty." *Woetzel, supra,* page 99.

Further, on motion of the U. S., the Charter and Judgment of the Nuremberg Tribunal and its principles of

international law were unanimously reaffirmed by Resolution (2) (95) of the United Nations General Assembly on December 11, 1946. This Resolution and the General Assembly's unanimous approval of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide on December 9, 1948 add further affirmation of the Nuremberg principles by the international community. Also see *Woetzel, supra,* pages 233-235.

The defendant holds that the United States stands accused before the world on the very principles which it promulgated in the fight against and in the punishment of fascism. Unlike the non-conscience of the German people under Hitler, the defendant is remaining responsible to moral principles and the principle of individual guilt and responsibility. The defendant maintains that the government has no right to compel him to goose-step to U. S. crimes.

POINT III

The United States is committing crimes against peace.

The accused here is convinced that the United States government, its President, its military chiefs, its Secretary of Defense, its Secretary of State, its chief of the C. I. A. and its chief of the U. S. I. A., have been and are engaged in violations of international law and in war crimes deeply offensive to mankind generally and, in justice, should be brought to trial.

The conduct of the United States in Vietnam is a prime case in point. After the Japanese were expelled from the Indo-Chinese peninsula during the Second World War, the French were reinstated in their former colonies with the help of the United States. Ho Chi Minh, leader of the nationalist Vietnamese forces, began a struggle for independence. The French entered into an agreement with

the nationalists recognizing their right to territorial integrity which they broke almost as soon as made. The nationalist forces immediately embarked on a long, bitter, bloody fight for independence. The United States government supported the French with billions of dollars in the form of material supplies, war equipment and money. Finally, at Dien Bien Phu, the French were disastrously defeated. Some of their American supporters had recommended the use of the atom bomb as a last desperate expedient, but some semblance of sanity prevailed and the world survived. The French signed a treaty with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on July 20, 1954. On July 21, 1954, this treaty was endorsed by a declaration of the Geneva Conference consisting of the representatives of Cambodia, the Republic of Vietnam, France, Laos, Communist China, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States. At the last moment the United States representative refused to sign. However, he appended a statement for his government at the end of the Final Declaration of Geneva Conference which reads, in part, as follows:

> "The Government of the United States being resolved to devote its efforts to the strengthening of peace in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations takes note of the agreements concluded at Geneva on July 20 and 21, 1954 between (a) the Franco-Laotian Command and the Command of the Peoples Army of Viet-Nam; (b) the Royal Khmer Army Command and the Command of the Peoples Army of Viet-Nam; (c) Franco-Vietnamese Command and the Command of the Peoples Army of Viet-Nam and of paragraphs 1 to 12 inclusive of the declaration presented to the Geneva Conference on July 21, 1954 declares with regard to the aforesaid agreements and paragraphs that (i) it will refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb them, in accordance with Article 2 (4) of the Charter of the United Nations

dealing with the obligations of members to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force; and (ii) it would view any renewal of the aggression in violation of the aforesaid agreements with grave concern and as seriously threatening international peace and security . . .

"In the case of nations now divided against their will, we shall continue to seek to achieve unity through free elections supervised by the United Nations to insure that they are conducted fairly." From full text in "The Minority of One," June 1965, Vol. VII, No. 6 (67), pages 21-25.

Article I of the Geneva Agreement fixed a "provisional military demarcation line" roughly at the 17th parallel, north of which the Peoples Army of Viet-Nam would withdraw and south of it the forces of the French Union. The major purpose was to allow for the orderly withdrawal of the French Army from the Indo-Chinese peninsula. Neither in the Agreement itself or in the Appended Statement of the United States was there any contemplation of a separate nation of South Vietnam. On the contrary, Article 14 of the Agreement states:

"(a) Pending the general elections which will bring about the unification of Viet-Nam, the conduct of civil administration in each regrouping zone shall be in the hands of the party whose forces are to be regrouped there in virtue of the present Agreement."

In fact, the Geneva Conference explicitly programmed general elections for July 1956 to ensure peace and the free expression of national will.

"6. The Conference recognizes that the essential purpose of the agreement relating to Viet-Nam is to settle military questions with a view to ending hostilities and that the military demarcation line is provisional

and should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary. The Conference expresses its conviction that the execution of the provisions set out in the present declaration and in the agreement on the cessation of hostilities creates the necessary basis for the achievement in the near future of a political settlement in Viet-Nam.

"7. The Conference declares that, so far as Viet-Nam is concerned, the settlement of political problems, effected on the basis of respect for the principles of independence, unity and territorial integrity, shall permit the Viet-Namese people to enjoy the fundamental freedoms, guaranteed by democratic institutions established as a result of free general elections by secret ballot. In order to ensure that sufficient progress in the restoration of peace has been made, and that all the necessary conditions obtain for free expression of the national will, general elections shall be held in July 1956, under the supervision of an international commission composed of representatives of the Member States of the International Supervisory Commission, referred to in the agreement on the cessation of hostilities. Consultations will be held on this subject between the competent representative authorities of the two zones from 20 July 1955 onwards." Final Declaration with regard to Geneva Agreement, from full text in "The Minority of One," *supra.*

The subsequent history of United States involvement in Viet-Nam has been one of continual and ever-broadening violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreement, as well as other commitments to international law (Kellogg-Briand Pact, Atlantic Charter, U. N. Charter). By attempting to impose upon the Viet-Namese a permanent division of their country, the U. S. embarked on a policy of contempt for the principles of independence, unity and territorial integrity. The United States set up SEATO and placed South Viet-

Nam under its "protective cover," although South Viet-Nam was not a separate state and was prohibited by the Geneva Agreement from such alliances. With the French we had attempted to bolster the exiled Emperor, Bao Dai, but failing there, the C. I. A. groomed Diem as the next puppet dictator. Diem was supplied with funds and aid from the U. S. as he assumed authoritarian control and refused consultations on elections to unify the whole of Viet-Nam. That the U. S. did not want general elections to ascertain the people's will in Viet-Nam—for fear that ". . . possibly 80% of the population would have voted for Ho Chi Minh"—is admitted by the then President Eisenhower in his book "Mandate for Change."

The determination of successive United States governments to frustrate the will of the Viet-Namese people lies at the heart of all the illegal actions of our governing authorities since that period. In Viet-Nam, the government is attempting to subjugate by force a people which has been fighting for independence for more than twenty years against Japan, France and now the United States. As with its previous interventions in China, Korea, the 1954 overthrow of the Guatemala government, etc., the U. S. is acting in the face of the same internal aspirations that it had to admit existed after its failure to dominate the Chinese people:

> "The unfortunate but inescapable fact is that the ominous result of the civil war in China was beyond the control of the United States. Nothing that this country did or could have done within the reasonable limits of its capabilities could have changed that result; nothing that was left undone by this country has contributed to it. It was the product of internal Chinese forces, forces, which this country tried to influence but could not." State Department White Paper on Relations With China, July 30, 1949, page 402.

After the blockage of 1956 elections to reunify Viet-Nam, the U. S. backed Ngo Dinh Diem in his repression of dis-

sidents by what are commonly referred to as "manhunts" throughout South Viet-Nam. As resistance to Diem formed, the U. S. increased its intervention with what were first called "American advisers," who aided in a program of "pacification" of South Viet-Nam by bombing and burning villages and crops, and placing the population in concentration camps. Diem was finally executed by his own followers, and since then South Viet-Nam has gone through no less than ten governments as the U. S. scurries to give some appearance of legality to its open aggression. Even in the face of student and Buddhist protests within the city of Saigon itself during the last two years the United States has increased its intervention by committing to open combat upwards of 75,000 U. S. troops and massive bombing of both the southern and northern parts of Viet-Nam and areas of Laos.

All of this is prohibited by Geneva Agreement prohibitions against the introduction of fresh troops, military personnel, arms and munitions and military bases, specifically emphasizing any ". . . military bases under the control of a foreign state . . ." As if the facts were not enough to show American policy as the reimplimentation of Nazi Germany's policies of world domination by force, the words of our ruler give emphasis. Johnson stated to American students in February 1965 that he "would like to see them develop as much fanaticism about the U. S. political system as young nazis did about their system during the war." (N. Y. Times, February 6, 1965.) And the latest U. S. imposed rulers in South Viet-Nam give loud voice to such advice by act and word. The newest head of the government in Saigon, Ky, stated, when asked who his heroes were, "I have only one—Hitler." (London Daily Mirror, July 4, 1965. Also see London Sunday Times, January 10, 1965.)

The United States stands nakedly revealed as an imperialist power determined to maintain, at whatever cost, a colonialist outpost on the mainland of Asia. It is clearly guilty, as defined by the Charter of the International Mili-

tary Charter at Nuremberg, of crimes against peace for ". . . planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression, or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances . . ." The obviously immoral and illegal position of this government is emphasized by its refusal to submit the controversy to the United Nations.

Nor is the role of the U. S. in Viet-Nam an isolated example of government-ordered crimes against peace. The sudden dispatch of more than 20,000 marines to the tiny nation of the Dominican Republic this spring demonstrated again the utter contempt our present government has for international law and its own solemn word. This action is reminiscent of the U. S.-sponsored invasion of Cuba in April 1961. Our gunboat diplomacy has long been a loathsome familiarity to Latin Americans.

In Santo Domingo, when the United States was not physically occupying it, a puppet dictator ruled at the behest of this government. After the overthrow of Trujillo a democratic regime was briefly installed by the people. A liberal constitution was adopted in 1963. But the elected President, Juan Bosch, was not pliable enough for powerful financial interests in this country, so a military coup was arranged and Bosch was sent to Puerto Rico in exile.

A popular uprising broke out this spring and Bosch was summoned home to resume his Presidency, but, just as the revolutionists were about to triumph, President Johnson intervened to "stop communism." There is considerable evidence that the American Ambassador ordered the bombing of the capital city, resulting in the loss of thousands of lives, just before the United States soldiers landed.

American intervention and domination of foreign lands takes place around the world, from Viet-Nam and Santo Domingo to U. S. paid mercenaries in the form of Cuban exile pilots (see N. Y. Times, July 17, 1964, p. 1) and "rescue missions" in the Congo to U. S. sponsored juntas

and dictators with their U. S. trained armies and U. S. military missions for counter insurgency. The Johnson Doctrine, which this accused has been ordered to take up arms to support, requires the United States be the final bulwark of reaction everywhere in the world. The defendant is performing a duty in refusing to become a robot in uniform to enforce this savage pax Americana.

POINT IV

United States authorities and their agents are committing war crimes and crimes against humanity.

The Second World War was the second war of annihilation of this century. In extent and intention it dwarfed the First World War. Not only was a nearly successful experiment made in exterminating an entire race of people but the deliberate slaughter of noncombatants in cities was made a deliberate pattern of policy. The Germans began this latter practice at Guernica, Lidice and Coventry. But the United States perfected it in large-scale massacre at Dresden and ignored a proffered Japanese offer of peace to wreak the unprecedented havoc and horror of the atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. (See, Gar Alperovitz, "Atomic Diplomacy," 1965.)

Small wonder then that the veterans of this conflict do not hesitate to apply torture, terror and callous slaughter in order to extinguish the spirit of self-determination in the Viet-Namese people! Let us note a few examples!

Extensive raids on Viet-Nam peasant villages have been carried out in an effort to "pacify" the villagers by burning crops and homes and forcing the people into government concentration camps in scorched earth operations. Homer Bigart wrote in the March 29, 1962 New York Times concerning such an operation:

> "The government was able to persuade only seventy families to volunteer resettlement. The 135 other fami-

lies in the half dozen settlements were herded forcibly from their homes . . . Some families were able to carry away beds, tables and benches before their homes were burned. Others had almost nothing but the clothes on their backs. A young woman stood expressionless as she recounted how the troops burned the families' two tons of rice."

New York Herald Tribune Dispatch from Saigon stated on May 23, 1965 that ". . . The marines set crops on fire and burned or dynamited huts in a scorched earth operation."

Jack Langguth writing for the June 6, 1965 edition of the New York Times reported on the results of a raid by United States planes, dropping napalm bombs on Viet-Namese villages: The air force reported that the raid killed 500 Viet Cong guerrillas. But Langguth said:

> "The American contention is that they were Vietcong soldiers. But three out of four patients seeking treatment in a Vietnamese Hospital afterward for burns from napalm, or jellied gasoline, were village women."

Senator Wayne Morse speaking in the United States Senate on June 7, 1965 charged:

> "One who listens to the President . . . would think we were killing no one in North Vietnam . . . If anyone says we can bomb munition centers, bridges, transportation centers, terminal centers and railroad yards and not kill human beings, he is misleading the American people . . . Of course we are killing North Vietnamese. We are killing thousands in South Vietnam . . . The Defense Department keeps and publishes all the figures of killings and casualties in the south committed by the Vietcong. But they tell nothing of the South Vietnamese civilians we are killing and maiming with our napalm and our strafing and our artillery . . . The period of this war will not be a proud chapter in their

country's history for future American boys and girls to read."

And again speaking on the Senate floor on June 15, 1965, Morse charged:

> "It is our power and our money that continue the war in Vietnam. It is our napalm that burns the people of Vietnam and that destroys their meager possessions. I do not know of any weapon, or terror of the Vietcong that has destroyed as much in South Vietnam as U. S. aircraft have destroyed, all in the name of benevolent persuasion."

Even Senator Mansfield, the administration floor leader reports his revulsion at Republican support of the President that "can only amount to an indiscriminate slaughter of Vietnamese by air and naval bombardment—a slaughter of combatants and non-combatants alike, of friend and foe alike." New York Times, July 2, 1965, page 2.

Besides the patterned genocide to carry out a "pacification" program against the Vietnamese, U. S. forces are aiding and abetting a general program of torture in Vietnam:

> "According to the Japan Times (May 20) the 'TV camera crew claims it had to work under serious restrictions' as it followed a Saigon marine battalion on combat missions. The resulting footage was edited into three half-hour sections for TV showing on successive Sunday nights. The films documented such extreme barbarism by the Saigon marines that, according to the Japan Times, 'the broadcast film was only a small portion of the entire footage and it was edited to mitigate the degree of brutality shown. One can well imagine what the deleted parts would be like.'
>
> "The first part of the film, 'Diary of a South Vietnamese Marine Battalion,' was shown on the program

'Non-Fiction Theater' over a commercial TV station in Tokyo May 9. Among the sequences were the beheading of a 17-year-old NFL suspect, after which his head was thrown into a ditch 'like a pumpkin'; the beating of a 14-year-old boy; the cutting off of a suspect's fingers and a scene showing an aged farmer begging for his life." National Guardian, June 12, 1965.

And:

"In one known case, two Viet Cong prisoners were interrogated on a plane flying toward Saigon. The first refused to answer questions and was thrown out of the airplane at 3,000 feet. The second immediately answered all the questions. But he, too, was thrown out . . . One of the most infamous methods of torture used by the government is partial electrocution—or 'frying' as one U. S. adviser called it. Sometimes the wires are attached to the male genital organs, or to the breasts of a Viet Cong woman prisoner . . . Other techniques, usually designed to force onlooking prisoners to talk, involve cutting off the fingers, ears, fingernails or sexual organs of another prisoner. Sometimes a string of ears decorates the wall of a government military installation." Beverly Deepe in Saigon, New York Herald Tribune, April 25, 1965.

Such atrocities are committed daily by United States Forces.

"This conduct (torture) has been accepted as a matter of course in the United States. May I point out that it is in direct violation of provisions of the 1949 Geneva Prisoner-of-War Convention which has been ratified or adhered to by Vietnam (1953), the USSR (1954), the United States (1955), Communist China (1956), and the Viet Minh (1957), presumably the countries most directly concerned. (Actually by June 1964, 103 countries had agreed to be bound by the Convention.)

"While the 1949 Convention is directed primarily towards the regulation of international warfare and the conflict in Viet Nam is, at least theoretically, a civil war, there is one article of the Convention which relates exclusively to civil wars; and it specifically prohibits, with respect to prisoners of war, 'violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture'." Howard S. Levie, Colonel U. S. A. (Ret.) and Assoc. Prof of Law, St. Louis University Law School. Quoted in St. Louis Post Dispatch, April 9, 1965.

When Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State was asked by a reporter on television show why the United States forces did not respect the Geneva Convention on the treatment of war prisoners he blandly replied: "But we are not at war!" In other words, not only is the administration absolved from seeking democratic approval of its course by having Congress declare war as its constitutional prerogative, but the absence of a declaration of war enables authorities to resort to medieval tortures and genocide with a clear conscience. (See G. I. A. D. Draper "The Red Cross Conventions," pp. 149-183).

But a reaction against this barbarous lawlessness is beginning to set in. The Chicago Area Women for Peace has released a letter from the son of a friend of one of its members which follows in part:

"April 4, 1965

Dear .....,

"I don't know if you remember me but I never forgot you. I'm .....'s oldest boy. I'm in Vietnam and every day I pray for only two things—to be out of this hell and back home or to be killed before I might have to kill someone . . .

"The going here is pretty rough and all the dirty fighting isn't on one side. A week ago our platoon leader

brought in three prisoners. I was part of the group that brought them in. They set up a questioning station and someone from intelligence was doing the questioning. This was the first time I saw anything like this and found out that we use dirty methods too.

"This guy from Intelligence had all three lined up. One was a woman. He stripped her down to the waist and stripped the two men all the way. He had a little gadget I thought was a walkie-talkie or something. He stuck one end of this wire to the lady's chest and it was a kind of electric shock because she got a real bad burn. From what she was screaming my buddy and I could figure she didn't know anything.

"Then they took this same wire and tried it on the lady's husband and brother but on their lower parts. I grabbed the damn thing and stuck it to the backass of the guy from Intelligence.

"Ever since that day I've been sick to my stomach and haven't been out on patrol or anything. My Sgt. tells me I'm suffering from battle fatigue and might get sent home.

"No one from our group wants to bring any suspects in for questioning. We don't know what to do . . .

"Anyhow tell your Women for Peace we are with them. We wish we could send you a couple of those electrical gadgets to use on the powers that sent and keep us here. This must end soon or a lot of us will go nuts. We'll try to do our part to keep down the war if you up your part back home to end it." (The Militant, May 31, 1965.)

As a result of the horrors of the new scientific savagery the United States is introducing in Vietnam, a new type of real hero is emerging among the Americans. On June 23, 1965, Lieutenant Richard R. Steinke was brought

for trial before a Court Martial on Okinawa because he refused an assignment in a Vietnamese village of the type described in the letter above quoted. Lt. Steinke is an honor graduate of West Point. He had been accepted and trained in the elite Special Forces, an anti-guerrilla group established by President Kennedy. On January 31, 1965 in Saigon the Lieutenant declared his disapproval of United States policy and actions in Vietnam and expressed his conviction that the Vietnam war "isn't worth a single American life." He was convicted on June 25, 1965 of having disobeyed orders. To reduce publicity the Army dismissed him from the service. In Steinke's home town of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, his wife, a young daughter and twenty persons staged a spontaneous demonstration on June 26, 1965 in his support at the main post office. (National Guardian, July 3, 1965.)

Germans were tried for crimes such as America commits by its genocide and torture in Vietnam. The U. S. is guilty under the provisions for war crimes and crimes against humanity in the Nuremberg Charter on all counts (IMT Charter, *supra*):

"b) War crimes: namely, violations of the laws or customs of war. Such violations shall include, but not be limited to, murder, ill-treatment or deportation to slave labor or for any other purpose of civilian population of or in occupied territory, murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war or person on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public property, wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity.

c) Crimes against humanity: namely, murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population, before or during the war, or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds in execution

> of or in connection with any crime within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, whether or not in violation of the domestic law of the country where perpetrated." *Woetzel, supra,* pages 274-275.

The defendant, by his challenge to his government, voices an indictment against its leaders for their national arrogance and racial chauvinism. Possibly it is difficult for them to accord to brown, black or yellow people the full status of humanity. They have difficulty identifying with them. Hence, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Indian and Negro genocide, and the atrocities in Vietnam.

The Nazi parallel is striking. Upon other arrogant assumptions that only the German could interpret order and justice for the world, another set of powerful rulers thirty years ago set out to impose their ideology on the human race. Spain was their "war laboratory" as Vietnam is America's. The similarities of events now with the early flouting of international law by the occupation of the Rhineland, the taking of Austria and the enslavement of Czechoslovakia cannot be ignored.

The accused is asking us all to stop at the brink before it is too late. His moral stand of refusing complicity in his government's atrocities ranks as the highest order of allegiance to humanity. Such an allegiance was plainly lacking in Germany as its population rallied to patriotism—that "last refuge of the scoundrel."

POINT V

The United States violates treaties regarding war and self-determination.

In the section of the United States Constitution which makes it plain that treaties are a part of the supreme law of this land (Article VI, Section 2) the obligation on the part of all government officials to conform to treaties is

manifest. A treaty is not in the same category as a mere act of Congress or the law of a state. After the carnage of World War I Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes foresaw the necessity of the national states foreswearing some of their sovereignty in order that the collective body of mankind might survive upon the earth. In writing the opinion of the court in *Holland* v. *Missouri,* 252 U. S. 416, he placed treaties on a par with the United States Constitution:

> "Acts of Congress are the Supreme Law of the Land only when made in pursuance of the constitution while treaties are declared to be so when made under the authority of the United States . . ."

Admittedly this view has met with considerable opposition from narrowly nationalistic forces within this country. Senator Bricker proposed an amendment to the constitution which reads:

> "Sec. 1. A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect." American Bar Ass'n text. 49 Am. Journal of Int'l Law 347.

The Bricker amendment has not been adopted either by Congress or by any considerable number of the states. In this way the people have shown that they have been moving away from the traditional isolationalism of this country for the last forty-five years. Treaties are a part of the body of international law:

> ". . . it is clear that all tribunals in the United States will 'apply and enforce the principles of international law as a part of the law of the land.' I Hyde, International Law Chiefly As Interpreted And Applied By The United States 17 (1947). 'Normally, it is taken for granted that international law prevails throughout the domain of a State and will be respected in the course of all the activities of its several agencies.

This is true in the case of the United States.' (Ibid.) This necessity was long ago established by the United States Supreme Court:

> 'International law is part of our law, and must be ascertained and administered by the courts of justice of appropriate jurisdiction, as often as questions of right depending upon it are duly presented for their determination. For this purpose, where there is no treaty, and no controlling executive or legislative act or judicial decision, resort must be had to the customs and usages of civilized nations, and as evidence of these, to the works of jurists and commentators * * *.' *The Paquete Habana,* 175 U. S. 677, 700, 44 L. ed. 320, 328-9 (1900). See also Marshall, C. J., in *The Neraide,* 9 Cranch 388, 423, 3 L. ed. 769, 780 (1815)." Brief Amicus Curiae, On Behalf of the U. N., pages 8-9, *People* v. *Carcel,* 3 N. Y. 2nd 327 (1957).

Other Western countries have long recognized the necessity of subordinating municipal law to international law. In France, Italy, The Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands, the view has been that treaties override all municipal or internal law. The French Constitution of 1946 incorporates this position. 49 American Journal of International Law, 347.

On August 27, 1928, the United States ratified "The General Pact for the Renunciation of War." Known as the Kellogg-Briand Pact it was later accepted by nearly all the nations of the world. L. I. Snyder, "Fifty Major Documents of the Twentieth Century," pages 65-67. Article 1 reads:

> "The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international

controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another."

Article 2 reads:

"The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means."

The Kellogg-Briand Pact was only the first of many solemn treaties to which the United States has become a signatory in which our government has renounced the use of war as an instrument of policy. In the Atlantic Charter, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill declared:

"Second, they desire to see no territorial change that does not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;" (Quoted in *Synder, supra,* at p. 92.)

The Charter of the United Nations constitutes the most ambitious effort in history to effect international peace and order by treaty. On June 25, 1945, its founding members declared:

"We, the Peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, . . . and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained . . . do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

ARTICLE 2

"The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles . . .

3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means . . .

4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state . . ." (Quoted from *Synder, supra,* pp. 152-154.)

Besides being in violation of treaties and assurances concerning self-determination and the use or threat of force, the U. S. is in violation of numerous specific conventions on warfare which form background and amplification for Nuremberg International Law.

The use of poison gas bombs and other chemical substances among civilian populations is banned by the Hague Regulations of 1907, Article 23(A) and (E) and by the Geneva Protocol of 1925 ban of "asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases . . ." By the murder en masse of civilians or of individuals without charge, without trial, and by the wrongful seizure and imprisonment, ill-treatment and tortures of the civilian inhabitants in the areas occupied, U. S. forces have broken express provisions of the Hague Regulations of 1907 (Article 46) imposing a duty on the Occupying Power to protect the lives of the inhabitants. The bombardment of undefended towns and villages far from the front and the indiscriminate destruction from the air of non-military objectives are in violation of the accepted Laws and Customs of War and, in particular, the Hague Regulations. Articles 46 and 52 of the Hague Regulations prohibit the deliberate destruction or the confiscation without requisitioning authority and without compensation or receipt of foodstuffs and the private property of

civilians not necessary for the forces. The Conventions of 1929 and 1949 concerning the treatment of prisoners of war prohibits humiliating and degrading treatment, mutilation, torture and murder. By violating all of the above, the U. S. is guilty of war crimes as defined by Article 6 of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal of Nuremberg and the Genocide Convention of 1948.

POINT VI

The defendant's freedom should not be restricted before trial.

Upon his arraignment, the defendant objected to the imposition of bail since his conduct for four years preceding indictment had demonstrated his desire to bring his controversy with the government to a hearing. The Court has extended his bail limits to cover the Southern and Eastern Districts of New York as well as the State of Connecticut.

However, the cause of the accused is national. Student groups and other young people wish to discuss his views with him throughout the country. Where issues of such overriding importance are at stake, the discretion of the court should be exercised in lifting all bail limits upon the defendant. The anomalous nature of bail limits in a case such as this is illustrated by the circumstance that the defendant cannot visit his attorney's home in Rockland County in the preparation of his case without violating the order of this Court. To reach Rockland County from Brooklyn, New York, the defendant crosses a corner of the State of New Jersey. When a person's movements are restricted on a charge such as this, a certain prejudgment has taken place—some guilt is presumed. Yet, the United States Attorney has not indicated in any manner how the interests of justice are harmed by allowing this accused full liberty of movement before trial.

POINT VII

The venue is improper.

The defendant is now, and has been for the last three and one-half years, a resident of the Borough of Brooklyn, City and State of New York. He so notified the draft board in due course. Relying on Selective Service Regulations the draft board refused to move his records to his present locality. Venue is predicated upon the refusal or failure of the defendant to report to the Local Board office at 29-33 North Main Street, South Norwalk, Connecticut. The place of the offense is thus claimed to be Connecticut.

However, the Order to Report for Induction (SSS Form N. 252) gives the citizen the option of reporting to a local board convenient to him, if reporting in Connecticut were to work any serious hardship. Presumably, a lack of transportation fare would be sufficient to justify a prospective inductee in reporting to his nearest draft board. If the defendant committed any crime when he refused to report for induction, the place of default was Brooklyn.

Nor does the defendant thereby raise a merely technical objection. The violation of venue rights is a breakdown of traditional democratic rights. In the federal jurisdiction the right to be tried in the proper venue is constitutionally guaranteed. U. S. Constitution, Article III, Section 2, requires that the trial of a crime "shall be held in the State where committed . . ." The Sixth Amendment of the Constitution secures to an accused "the right to a speedy public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed." *Holdridge* v. *U. S.*, 282 F. 2d 302. Venue is also secured as a matter of procedural due process of law by the Fifth Amendment of the U. S. Constitution. *Andrade* v. *U. S.*, 16 F. 2d 776.

The right to have one's conduct considered by grand and petit jurors of the vicinage is adumbrated in the Magna Carta (see clauses 17 and 39). The government here is careful to have the defendant accused in a place where he is completely unknown, where his opinions have not been discussed, where he will be regarded with the vague aloofness, if not hostility accorded to strangers. The accused and his counsel raised the question of jurisdiction with the local board more than a year ago but received no response. The defendant submits that the government has spirited his case away from the New York area in order to insulate the case from the radical pollution in the New York atmosphere. Why isn't this stated openly? Defendant urges FBI, etc., who are courageous when it comes to climbing ladders to gain James Bond entry into his apartment, to drop their timidity and confront him with his radically open or his openly radical position. Defendant insists that as a New York radical he be tried in New York, a town the prosecution may deem to be friendly to the defendant's concerns. A refusal to change venue leads to the reasonable inference that the government seeks to punish the defendant with as little attendant public notice as possible. If the Court does not see fit to dismiss the indictment upon this ground, the defendant requests that the prosecution be removed to the Eastern District of Brooklyn, New York.

There, members of the community in which he has spent his adulthood, will be better able, in the common law tradition, to determine whether the accused is a wilful criminal violator of his government's laws or a courageous citizen reminding his fellowmen of the basic principles to which a democracy adheres!

POINT VIII

The defendant was entitled to a hearing before the board.

The local draft board in Norwalk, Connecticut, engaged in a considerable correspondence with David Henry Mitchell, 3rd, during a period beginning in 1961 and ending in 1965. In all that time, however, the board never afforded the proposed inductee a hearing. Where there is a dispute over what status to accord an objectant, the board is required by Selective Service Regulations, Section 1626.25, to schedule and hold a hearing. The fact that the objectant may not have specifically requested a hearing is immaterial. It is enough if a dispute exists between him and the board over his status. In *U. S.* v. *Cotie,* 114 F. Supp. 28, a registrant claimed to be a Jehovah's Witness and as such to qualify automatically as a minister. The board did not dispute that he was a member of Jehovah's Witnesses but denied him classification as a minister. He was ordered to report for induction and refused. At his trial he was acquitted. The court ruled:

> "The failure to conduct a hearing on the draftee's claim to exemption as a conscientious objector and a minister was a failure to take necessary steps."

That the defendant was not seeking classification does not justify the government's failure to propose a hearing in which the defendant could have presented his position and in which he would have attempted to persuade his draft board of the criminality it pursues.

This failure is consistent with other denials of the defendant's right of defense, as documented by correspondence between the defendant and the Selective Service System. The defendant wants to point out that even with all the talk about law raised against him in this case, the

draft board is fairly relaxed about law and acts at its whim in its treatment of citizens. The Universal Military Training and Service Act and the regulation promulgated thereunder are enough of an invasion of the rights of citizens in peace time without the draft board ignoring its own rules. An administrative agency fails to make a case when it omits a vital process.

POINT IX

The indictment should be dismissed.

It is clear that David Mitchell is not a draft dodger. He does not evade his duty as a citizen. He presses upon the court and, therefore, upon the government, the criminality implicit in the present bloody course of this nation.

For years in correspondence with his local board, Mitchell presented the fundamental issues he has now raised in this challenge to the indictment. While the accused raises many points of constitutionality and legality which have important bearing in exposing the conduct of his government, they are subordinate to the essence of his challenge—the priority of morality over legality.

Even if the atrocities and fascistic domination around the world had been constitutionally authorized, the moral responsibility of the individual to dissociate and challenge would remain. On this point the accused asks the court to fulfill its responsibility to humanity, to refuse to permit the nazification of American courts into mere instruments of national policy, and, so, dismiss the indictment.

The order for induction is based upon a law which presumes a grave national emergency or actual war. The emergency is unmasked as callous, unprincipled power plays by the executive arm of the government. No declaration of war has been sought from Congress. The government breaks one solemn treaty after another in a deter-

mination to become the gendarme of the world. This policy seeks to kill the hopes of all people everywhere in their struggle to be free. It brands the United States as the chief enemy of liberty in the world. In no way can David Mitchell be accused of aiding and abetting the crimes under discussion. The accused has not been charged with a crime, but rather with obstructing crimes. The accuser stands accused!

Dated: New York City, July 30, 1965.

Respectfully submitted,

CONRAD J. LYNN,
Attorney for Defendant.

Pat – when you coming up this way.

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
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George Soll
Secretary
Sophia Yarnall Jacobs
Treasurer
Roger N. Baldwin
International Work Adviser
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Aubrey Williams (Ala.)
Marion A. Wright (N.C.)
Benjamin Youngdahl (Mo.)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE

American Civil Liberties Union

5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 523-2721

January 26, 1966
(Dictated January 24, 1966)

Charles Morgan, Jr.
Director

Jean Levine
Executive Assistant

Rec'd 2-2-66

Mr. Tom Pepper
Winston-Salem Journal
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Wallace Carroll criticized the technique of using a controversial quote w/ an anonymous source (over)

Dear Tom:

Thanks for the clipping. I came out much better with you than I would have in the Birmingham News and sundry other Southern papers. Come to think of it I came out much better than I would have in most Northern papers.

The comment on Southerners' loving war and hating Negroes in the Bond article may be included in our brief. We haven't gotten to that stage of writing yet.

FYI - copy

Look forward to seeing you before long.

Watch your speech. It may disqualify you for everything.

This is very funny when you think of Chuck's speech.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Chuck

Charles Morgan, Jr.

CM;jsr

Book on Gene Roberts' story last Saturday Times, I think Bond will win in court.

PS He was most articulate yesterday on Meet the Press.

Regards, Tom

Continued

The City Editor suspects, however, that Cornwall dislikes the quote itself just as much, & dislikes the content of the quote & what the community might think. Cornwall as publisher speaking, not as editor.

City Editor bangs on your idea wholeheartedly.

D.

Enclosure - xerox copy of Atlanta Constitution article of 2/21/66 entitled, "Bond Loses Legal Help of Civil Liberties Union." (Julian Bond)

February 21, 1966

Mr. Conrad J. Lynn
Attorney at Law
Lynn, Spitz and Condon
Law Offices
401 Broadway
New York, New York 10013

Dear Mr. Lynn:

I am sorry I did not get to meet you when you made your return trip from Florida. It seems that you were involved in a lot of exciting activities in both Jacksonville and Gainesville.

Your seminar subject, "Urban Politics and the Black Ghetto" obviously was a provocative discussion topic. I am not familiar with Dr. Dauer of the University of Florida's Political Science Department, but the fact that they supported such a seminar speaks well for the state where I am a registered voter.

I am enclosing a news clipping that relates to a case in which you expressed an interest.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js
Enclosure - 1.

LAW OFFICES
LYNN, SPITZ & CONDON

CONRAD J. LYNN
GEORGE R. SPITZ
GENE ANN CONDON

401 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10013
CA 6-5226

February 14, 1966

Mr. Samuel Adams
Research Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Adams:

It was very unfortunate that I couldn't get to Atlanta yesterday. My plane schedule called for me laying over in Atlanta for 2 hours before taking the plane to New York, but the landing gear was defective in Jacksonville. I had to take a plane on National late in the afternoon and I did not land in the storm in New York until 10:30 P.M.

My assignment at the University of Florida was to conduct seminars with the senior classes in political science on "Urban Politics and the Black Ghetto". The Department of Political Science at the University of Florida is most advanced. Also, I discussed the Viet Nam War on a number of occasions and became involved in a strike situation in Jacksonville. As a result, I am concerned that you be informed of certain areas for your own concerns:

1. Dr. Dauer, Chairman of the Department of Political Science at the University of Florida is strongly committed to complete integration and social advance in all sectors. I suspect that the University would welcome additional Negro faculty members.

2. The SCLC is supporting a strike of the Allied Food Workers/AFL-CIO, in Jacksonville against the Daylight Super Markets in the Negro neighborhoods. The NAACP in Jacksonville has been opposed to this strike. Furthermore, the liberal, Jacksonville white ministers will show no open support for SCLC. I am sure your organization knows what should be done in this situation.

3. The president of the Student Council of Edward Waters College had invited me to speak on Saturday night at the college. The Student Council had agreed to picket at the Jacksonville Naval Air Depot in support of the Southwide Demonstrations against the war in Viet Nam. Mayor Ritter of Jacksonville, after I had made the announcement at a speech in Gainesville on Thursday night, telephoned the president of Edward Waters College and told him that if Edward Waters' students participated, all city appropriations for the College would be cut off. You may have heard this on the radio. The picket line was held anyhow with 10 students

from Edward Waters College and 25 others, Negro and white from the University of Florida.

4. We had the meeting on Saturday night at the University where I stressed the necessity of a united front behind the Daylight Strike. Professional aid should be extended to SCLC in Jacksonville. The proper person to reach is:

Mr. James Edge
614 West Duval Street
Jacksonville, Florida.

Please let me know your thoughts on that area.

Sincerely,

Conrad J. Lynn

Conrad J. Lynn

CJL:fd

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File

Memorandum left this

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTE
of
The American Civil Liberties Union
Southern Office
603 North Farish Street, Jackson, Mississippi 39202
(601) 948-4191
Alvin J. Bronstein, Staff Counsel

March 26, 1966

Hon. Orville Freeman
Secretary
Department of Agriculture
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We have been consulted by a large group of Negro tenant farmers on the plantation of J. O. Minter and Son, Tyler, Alabama with respect to their alleged treatment by Mr. Minter and by the Dallas County, Alabama ASC Committee. The substance of their claim is that they have been held in virtual peonage and that the various Department of Agriculture programs are being distorted to the sole advantage of the white plantation owner.

I met with the tenants in Selma, Alabama on March 24 and 25 and their particular allegations are as follows:

1. None of them have ever received any written (ASC 378) or oral notice of their individual acreage allotment, yield or diversion rate either from the county committee or Mr. Minter.

2. None of them have ever been advised of any advance diversion payment amounts, nor have they been furnished with Intentation to Participate and Payment Applications, except under circumstances hereinafter described.

3. Each of the tenants has been advised by Mr. Minter that they must sign a rent note for their tenancy, which is substantially higher than any previous year, and that a condition of their tenancy is their executing an assignment of any diversion payments due them to Mr. Minter. Mr. O'Hara, the Dallas County ASC committeeman, then has them sign the intentjon to participate, although they are not told the amount of any estimated diversion payments, and he has them sign

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the assignment to Mr. Minter. Many of the tenants are illiterate and claim that when they signed the assignment form they were told they were signing for "their check".

4. They allege that a meeting was held in the second week of February, between all of the white large plantation owners to determine a method of keeping money out of the hands of Negro tenants during the spring and summer so that the conditions, some of which are hereinafter described, can be perpetuated.

Since the Negroes never have any cash, they must buy all food and supplies from the plantation owner. On Mr. Minter's plantation they claim that they have to buy their fertilizer from him at $56 a ton whereas if they had money they could buy elsewhere at $37. In order to get food he gives them food tickets redeemable only at his store where prices are double those at a regular store.

5. A number of the tenants have been told that this year they can only rent their house, but not any land to work, presumably so that the landowner can benefit by more diversion payments.

6. Any of the Negro tenants who go to the county ASC office are told they must go back to Mr. Minter for information when they inquire about notices and diversion payments.

7. Any of the Negro tenants who go to the local Farmers Home Admistration office to inquire about loans are told that they must borrow from Mr. Minter.

8. Many of the tenants have been told by Mr. Minter that unless they agree to the increased rent and sign the assignment forms, they will have to get off the plantation. He refuses to give them any figures as to loans, diversion payment estimates etc..

If these allegations are true it would appear that at the least, there are substantial violations of the Department's Cotton Domestic Allotment Program Regulations.

At the time I left Selma yesterday this group of Negro citizens advised me that they would not sign any papers for Mr. Minter until this matter was investigated by your office. They urged me to ask for

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an immediate investigation so that they may be properly advised and protected in their rights. I would hope that you answer their call immediately. The Negro tenants may be contacted through Miss Shirely Mesher, SCLC project director, 31½ Franklin Street, Selma, (205) 874-9380.

Sincerely yours,

Alvin J. Bronstein

cc: Administrator, ASCS
cc: Hon. John Doar, Department of Justice
cc: William Taylor, Civil Rights Commission
cc: Miss Shirley Mesher

SAMPLE COPY

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. II, NO. 14 | Weekend Edition: April 2-3, 1966 | TEN CENTS

Tenants Say Planter Won't Share Payment In U.S. Cotton P

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUN. 5 FORSYTH ST. NW. ATLANTA, GA.

BY TERRY COWLES

DALLAS COUNTY--Are sharecrop fair share of government money in mestic Allotment Program?

According to a letter sent last week to the Secretary e, some of them in Dallas County think they are not.

Last week the sharecroppers met with a lawyer from Jackson, Miss., and they told him the man they farm for, J.A. Minter, is trying to keep their share of the federal money away from them.

Under the Cotton Domestic Allotment Program the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) recommends to planters a certain number of acres on which they may grow cotton.

The lawyer the sharecroppers talked with, Alvin J. Bronstein, shot off a letter to U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman.

Bronstein wrote that sharecroppers complained that Minter had threatened to throw them off the land if they didn't sign over their share of the government money to him.

The sharecroppers also told Bronstein that they are forced to buy fertilizer from Minter at $56 a ton, though they can buy fertilizer other places for $37 a ton.

The sharecroppers said they never have any cash. Minter gives them food tickets, they said, that are good only at his store in nearby Tyler. The sharecroppers said that his prices are twice as high as at other stores.

If the planter grows what the ASCS recommends, the federal government guarantees it will buy his cotton if there is not a better price on the open cotton market.

If the planter uses sharecroppers for planting, he must share with them the money that would come from the sale of cotton to the U.S. government.

Sharecroppers working for Minter say that he is not sharing.

B.L. Collins, head of the Alabama ASCS office, said this week that he had heard nothing about the complaints of the sharecroppers. He said that if there is an investigation of their complaints it will be made by the office of general counsel of the Department of Justice.

IN BIRMINGHAM SATURDAY, A CROWD MARCHED TO THE JEFFERSON COUNTY COURTHOUSE, WHERE THEY STOOD TO HEAR SPEECHES BY BIRMINGHAM NEGRO LEADERS. A LIST OF GRIEVANCES WAS READ TO THE CROWD.

Rally Draws 1000 in Birmingham

AN ALL-LOCAL PROGRAM

BY HAROLD NEWTON

BIRMINGHAM--The first Birmingham mass rally and protest march led and organized entirely by local persons was held last Saturday. No special guest speaker drew the crowd of 1,000 persons who marched from Kelly Ingram Park and assembled on the steps of the Jefferson County Court House.

Instead, the crowd came to hear local Negro leaders and one white minister, representing Birmingham organizations including the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, the Birmingham Baptist Ministers Con-

candidates in Birmingham, Pitts asked, "But where are the white candidates? . . . The Negro candidates don't need to come and ask you for your vote. Who in the world are you going to vote for who you think you can see, if not the Negroes? They've got blackness born in them."

A petition, read by the Rev. J. E. Lowery, president of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, presented the following grievances: no Negro police, police brutality, token Negro employment, token desegregation, and inadequate educational facilities due to their duplication.

Political Confederation Lays Plans to Decide Who Gets Negro Vote

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

SELMA--"We got right here the strongest group known to any state in the South since Reconstruction," SCLC's Hosea Williams told about 200 people packed into St. Paul's C.M.E. Church last Saturday.

The new Confederation of Alabama's Political Organizations (COAPO) was just ending a six-hour meeting to unite the Negro vote. It looked like a very successful meeting.

Late in February, some of the same people had met in the same place to discuss setting up a state-wide organization. They came from 11 counties, most of them were SCLC people, and they didn't fill the church. But they agreed on what they wanted to do and went out to spread the word.

By last Saturday, the number of people had more than doubled, many of them were not associated with SCLC, and they came from 26 counties. These counties covered most of the heavily Negro Black Belt and the state's three major urban centers of Negro population: Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery.

Each county's delegation was supposed to include six official representatives from a branch of COAPO set up in the county since the February meeting here. Of the six, two were to be from the county "interview" committee, two from the "political guidance" committee, and two from the "patronage" committee. These pairs of representatives became members of the three statewide committees of the same name.

According to COAPO's plans, the county and state interview committees will meet with Democratic primary election candidates and then pass their findings along to the political guidance committees.

The political guidance committees will decide which candidates COAPO supports.

When COAPO candidates get into office, the patronage committees will watch whether they keep their campaign promises.

After these plans had been made, the

HOSEA WILLIAMS

the Negro voters will follow. Rogers said after Saturday's meeting that the counties represented held most of the Negro votes in the state and that "the people in Greene County, for instance, will listen to the Greene County representatives who are here."

But he admitted this wasn't true of all the counties present, and that some of the counties were not very well organized yet.

In addition, a few heavily Negro counties did not answer when the roll was called. These included Lowndes County, home of the black panther party, and Macon County, home of the Macon County Democratic Club, one of the oldest and, in the 1964 elections, most influential Negro political organizations in any

from Minter at $56 a ton, though they can buy fertilizer other places for $37 a ton.

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B.L. Collins, head of the Alabama ASCS office, said this week that he had heard nothing about the complaints of the sharecroppers. He said that if there is an investigation of their complaints it will be made by the office of general counsel of the Department of Justice.

Collins said he felt there probably would be an investigation, the first of many.

In answer to the complaints, Minter said, "That's just not true."

"Let's get one thing straight," Minter said, "I don't even have any sharecroppers."

Minter said all the people that plant on his farm plant as individual farmers. He said he doesn't take any of their crop.

What does Minter want in return for planting on his land?

"Rent," he said.

Minter said the people pay him rent depending on how many acres they plant and "other circumstances."

Minter said that he did ask the farmers working his land to sign over their federal money to him, but he said that was an accepted practice. He said he held their money until the people paid him the money they owe him.

"But I've never threatened to throw anyone off the land," he protested. "I have a theory of what this is, but I think it'd be better to keep it to myself," Minter said.

MONTGOMERY--This is a story an 11-year-old boy wrote down last week about an experience in Covington County:

'Rice from a Shotgun was after Me'

This summer at my grandfather's. My brother, cousin and I, were taking a watermelon. Well, out of nowhere came rice from a shotgun. Noing how a shotgun skatters you can imagine how we felt. First my cousin took out for the woods then my brother and I followed. Not noing where we were going we ended up in a place named Bear Branch. there we buried one melon in the cool sand. We ate the other. The funny thing about it was a preacher shot at use.

NEGRO LEADERS. A LIST OF GRIEVANCES WAS READ TO THE CROWD.

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Instead, the crowd came to hear local Negro leaders and one white minister, representing Birmingham organizations including the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, the Birmingham Baptist Ministers Conference, NAACP, and the Birmingham Council on Human Relations.

The unified effort of all these groups working towards the same goals for Birmingham Negroes was the unofficial theme. Dr. John Nixon, president of the Alabama NAACP, told the audience, "The NAACP has been out of business here--until today. But we've got too much to do to be separated."

Dr. Lucius H. Pitts, president of Miles College, agreed. "Don't you let anybody divide us," he said. Noting the absence of three Negro political candidates in Birmingham, Pitts asked, "But where are the white candidates? . . . The Negro candidates don't need to come and ask you for your vote. Who in the world are you going to vote for who you think you can see, if not the Negroes? They've got blackness born in them."

A petition, read by the Rev. J. E. Lowery, president of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, presented the following grievances: no Negro police, police brutality, token Negro employment, token desegregation, and inadequate educational facilities due to their duplication.

"It is utterly ridiculous that in 1966 we should have to spend time and energies protesting the failure of our city to employ Negro policemen. . . By now we should have 50-100 Negro policemen," the petition stated.

Mrs. Lucinda B. Robey, principal of Dudley School, described inadequate educational facilities in Birmingham. "Education is not only preparation for life; education is life, and we have been denied ours."

She also urged Negroes to keep their children in school, oppose vandalism, and participate in adult basic education.

Mrs. Bernice Johnson, a school teacher active in voter registration, told the crowd that there are 60,000 registered Negroes in Birmingham.

"With the ballot in your hand, freedom is yours," she said. ". . . We're going to use our ballot in Birmingham. . . so you can stop scratching your head and saying 'Yassir' to white men. With 225,000 of us registered in Alabama, you can walk with dignity."

The Rev. A. L. Woods Jr. told the group, "We do not want an all-Negro police force, nor do we want an all-white police force. We want fair representation."

The impetus for the rally was the dispute between the local Negro community and Liberty Supermarket. During the dispute, five Negroes were shot on the supermarket's property. In a settlement last week, the supermarket agreed to start hiring Negroes.

In This Week's Southern Courier

THE LOWNDES COUNTY CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT CELEBRATES AN ANNIVERSARY. Page Three.

ALL THE CULTURES OF THE WORLD MEET UNDER ONE ROOF, AT JACKSONVILLE STATE COLLEGE IN NORTHEAST ALABAMA. Page Four.

NEGRO CANDIDATES CHALLENGE POLITICAL VETERANS IN WILCOX COUNTY PRIMARY. Page Five.

A CANDIDATE FOR SHERIFF CAMPAIGNS FROM BEHIND BARS IN JAIL. Page Two.

A CRENSHAW COUNTY TEACHER WRITES ABOUT BEING ARRESTED FOR VIOLATING TRUANCY LAWS. Page Two.

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When COAPO candidates get into office, the patronage committees will watch whether they keep their campaign promises.

After these plans had been made, the Rev. T.Y. Rogers of Tuscaloosa was elected president. He said COAPO will be looking for candidates "who will really represent us at the local and state levels in this land which is rightfully ours."

And he said COAPO will not side with Negro leaders who want to do things the old way:

"We formed this organization because we were tired of being led by men who told us one thing and told the white power structure something else. . . . Some people say, 'Take it easy now. The white folks is upset.'

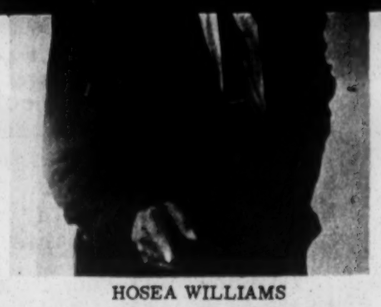
"Well, I've been upset since I was born. I don't care how many white folks get upset. The time has come for every black man and black woman who declares himself a citizen of this land to vote like he's upset. . . and we're gonna vote together this time."

The people shouted agreement, and went home to try to make their plans come true.

COAPO's success at bringing out a large, unified Negro vote in the coming election will depend on three things:

1. Whether the county branches work hard and fast enough. Mr. Rodgers and Williams reminded the delegates repeatedly that the candidates COAPO will support "can't be elected by you sittin' on your fat do-nothin's."

2. Whether COAPO and its county branches are a true confederation of local and state political organizations that



HOSEA WILLIAMS

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In addition, a few heavily Negro counties did not answer when the roll was called. These included Lowndes County, home of the black panther party, and Macon County, home of the Macon County Democratic Club, one of the oldest and, in the 1964 elections, most influential Negro political organizations in any county in the state.

There's also some question whether COAPO is a true confederation at the state level. SCLC got COAPO going and the other major civil rights organizations in the state have not allied themselves with COAPO.

Some SNCC people sat in on the meeting here Saturday, but they didn't say anything.

And no prominent leaders of the Alabama Democratic Conference Inc. (ADCI) or the State Coordinating Committee for Registration and Voting were present. The NAACP is officially a nonpartisan organization, but it is closely connected with the Coordinating Committee.

Mr. Rogers said he has spoken to Dr. John Nixon, president of the Alabama NAACP, and, "Nixon has agreed to go along. This brings in the State Coordinating Committee."

COAPO leaders have also talked with leaders of the ADCI. Mr. Rogers declined to say exactly what came of these conversations, but pointed out that he is on the ADCI executive committee.

The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee in Alabama (SNCC) has not shown any desire to ally itself with COAPO, and Mr. Rogers says he doesn't expect that SNCC will change its position.

But Mr. Rogers predicts, "Even if there's no structural union among the

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FOUR, Col. 5)

Klan an Issue in Macon Race

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--It was a dark and stormy night. Rain poured down on Macon County as if determined to wash it away.

Out on the old Army air field near Tuskegee, the rain fell on a group of well-known citizens. It soaked through their shoes and their sheets. It put out the torches with which they were trying to light a kerosene-drenched cross.

But it didn't seem to dampen their spirits. The local klavern of the Ku Klux Klan went right on with its public meeting. As a beginning, the Klansmen asked a Baptist lay preacher to lead them in prayer. He did.

It's been a long two years since that night. Tuskegee has acquired a bi-racial city council and Macon County has enrolled a lot of new voters, most of them Negro. The Klan doesn't hold public meetings any more.

But the Klan has become the thorniest issue in Macon County politics this spring. And the men feeling most of the prickles are the four Democratic candidates for sheriff.

Lucius D. Amerson is the only Negro running for sheriff in a county with seven Negro voters to every three white voters. He almost didn't enter the race.

"It was a hard decision," he said. "I was a federal employee--at the post office in Montgomery--so I had to give up money-making to run.

"But I feel strongly that the time is now. Macon County needs a sheriff that will work for the benefit of everybody in an unbiased way."

Amerson, 32, was a paratrooper in the Korean War. Afterward, he stayed in the service and took courses in civil and criminal investigation. If he wins the primary, he plans to study law enforcement with the FBI.

But some people in Macon County seem to think he won't be able to protect himself if he is elected. They think the Klan will kill him.

"People ask me what I'd do if I got a strange call late one night," said Amerson, grinning faintly. "Well, it would depend on the call. There are ways of dealing with these things." His grin grew broader.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 5)

SHERIFF CANDIDATE LUCIUS D. AMERSON SPEAKS TO VOTERS MEETING AS PRESENT SHERIFF, HARVEY SADLER (WITH GLASSES IN CENTER), LISTENS.

THE SOUTHERN COURIER
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Editorial Opinion

A-Changin'

"The times they are a-changin.'" the man sings. "The order is rapidly fadin.'"

A study of Southern white college students shows that the young people look more favorably on the Negro movement than their parents, according to Samuel Lubell, a well-known poll-taker.

The son of a Birmingham factory foreman told Lubell, "My father is a die-hard segregationist but I'd work with Negroes."

A junior at the University of Alabama, the son of a wealthy salesman, said, "My father wouldn't sit next to a Negro but I'm not against them."

Still, Lubell found, college-age youths oppose traditionally "liberal" causes like large federal spending, minimum wage increases, welfare programs, and the anti-poverty program. They think the best hope for the South and for their own futures lies in new industry and business in this region.

The students recognize that their views are contrary to those of the South their parents knew. A poll of their parents might reveal a stubborn, backward attitude on racial matters and a "liberal" acceptance of federal programs in the region.

The moral of the story is that no parent these days can really tell what his son or daughter believes, or how the youngsters might be trying to undo the mess the parents have made of society. Young Southerners' beliefs would probably shock their parents beyond hope.

One of the young people's heroes sings.

"Come mothers and fathers,
Throughout the land
And don't criticize
What you can't understand.

Big Jim Meets the People

CULLMAN--"Big Jim" Folsom, former governor of Alabama, wants to let all the "folks" know that he's not quite the same "Big Jim" they elected twice before.

He told supporters at his kick-off rally last Saturday in Cullman, "I've quit my drinking, my age has taken care of my other devilment. . . ."

Folsom said that he's running under the Bill of Rights.

"I pledge, as always, there will be no second-class citizens, neither white or Negro, and the scales of justice shall balance equally for just people."

"I've told you in my previous campaigns that the Civil War was over--now let us go forward and maintain law and order," he told his audience.

Pitts Gives Pep Talk To Women's Group

BY CINDY HAYWOOD

BIRMINGHAM--Dr. Lucius H. Pitts, president of Miles College, began his talk at St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, the only actively integrated church here, by moving his speaking platform forward to be closer to the audience.

He was addressing members of the Friendship and Action Committee and

Pitts spoke of his experience in Birmingham as both "painful and delightful. . . The pain has been cushioned by something good." He was referring to the work of the women in the Friendship and Action Committee.

Recognizing the difficulties the group had to overcome, he said, "You did something daring." He brought out the

Macon Sheriff's Race: Who's a Kluxer?

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

One of Amerson's three opponents is the man who already wears the sheriff's brass badge. Governor Wallace appointed Harvey Sadler to the job 15 months ago. Now Sadler, a big man who looks like most people's idea of a sheriff, is running on the slogan, "Continue good law enforcement."

It's a slogan some people don't like. One of them is Bob Dawson, another candidate for Macon County sheriff.

Three weeks ago, a man calling himself a Dawson supporter littered the county with a leaflet charging two deputy sheriffs with police brutality. But Dawson said he doesn't know anything about it.

"I don't have to stoop that low," he said. "I can win without slinging mud. But everything that pamphlet said was the truth."

A second leaflet appeared soon after the first. It was signed by "the Harvey Sadler Committee for Sheriff." Without mentioning Dawson by name, it accused him of being a friend of Wallace and a Klan chaplain.

The leaflet said Dawson was the man who led the prayers at the public meeting that rainy night.

Dawson admitted it. "I was there for a reason," he said. Some of his supporters hinted that he was investigating the Klan for the FBI. "I won't confirm or deny that," Dawson said.

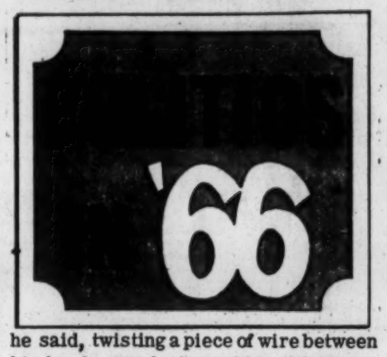
"But I'm not a Klansman. I never have been. I never will be. Their time is gone. We're living in a new day. They're a small minority."

Dawson paused for breath and glanced around the office of his plumbing business. His Negro campaign manager stood in the doorway. "I don't have any white customers any more," Dawson said. "But I expect to get a third of the white vote. The aristocrats are with me. Everybody's with me except that radical Wallace bunch and the Klan."

When Sadler left his service station to become sheriff in January, 1965, he said he didn't plan to stick around the courthouse very long.

"As time passed," he said this week, "I liked the office better than I thought I would. Now I feel I want it if the people want me."

Sadler denied rumors that he controls the Klan in Macon County. "I'm sure the Klan doesn't operate in this area,"



he said, twisting a piece of wire between his hands. "Nobody would truthfully say that I've ever been a Klan member.

"I have been a member of the White Citizens Council. But I'm not any more. I don't guess they're too active."

Two of his children attend Macon Academy, the Wallace-backed white private school formed when the courts ordered Macon County to desegregate its public schools two and a half years ago. But Sadler said a third child, his son, studies at a racially integrated college in Tennessee.

One month ago, Sadler appointed his first Negro deputy, John Kinebrew of Shorter. Dawson supporters have called the hiring a "political trick" and suggested that Kinebrew will lose his new job soon after the primary.

"If his work is satisfactory--and it has been--he has a job as long as I'm in office," Sadler replied.

Scott Davis, who owns and operates a service station, is the county's other candidate for sheriff. He said he joined the race after friends complained they "hadn't much choice" and urged him to provide one.

Like the other three candidates, Davis said he thought civil rights demonstrations were "perfectly all right as long as they're peaceful."

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Asked whether a predominantly Negro county should have a Negro sheriff, Davis replied, "I really don't know. I never have seen a nigger sheriff. I've heard of nigger mayors, though.

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He was addressing members of the Friendship and Action Committee and their families. The organization is made up of 60 women of various churches who are working to improve human relations.

When Pitts finished the Sunday afternoon talk the audience of an equal number of Negroes and whites had also been moved.

Pitts' speech was a pep talk to the group, urging them "to keep up the good work" as a coach might talk to his team.

Pitts spoke of his experience in Birmingham as both "painful and delightful. . . The pain has been cushioned by something good." He was referring to the work of the women in the Friendship and Action Committee.

Recognizing the difficulties the group had to overcome, he said, "You did something daring." He brought out the fact that there were those who hoped the organization would run into trouble.

"When we work on the side of the right, God blesses us," he commented.

Praising the successful summer play school project, Pitts told of his own son's experience in the program. He said that John used to have a "real mean feeling toward white people."

However, during the summer, he learned to enjoy playing with white boys, Pitts said.

Pitts commended the group for carrying out its project "without fanfare. . . .As a group, you have done this thing in a way that makes your friends who might not agree respect your attitude."

He outlined three important points for the group to consider. He discussed his concern about the progress of the poverty program, comparing Birmingham to Atlanta.

"The money is available in Birmingham and they are begging somebody to take it," he noted.

He expressed concern for high school students who never leave the city of Birmingham after graduation, and also for the retarded children who are not being reached by the program.

Second, he stated that a series of cultural events would be a worthwhile community project. Pitts believes that young people need help in developing cultural appreciation.

His third point was the need for a little theater for the committee. He said that the talents of interested actresses within the organization were being wasted.

An employee of Protective Insurance Company, whose wife is a member of the committee, commented on the meeting, "The F. and A.C. is the only group that is actually doing anything here regarding human relations."

"Women can do more because they better understand and are more concerned about the problems. They also have nerve enough to tackle them."

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

I, Mrs. Versie G. Merriweather, a teacher at the Helicon High School, was arrested at the school Tuesday, March 22, for violating the truancy law.

. . .The arrest didn't surprise me at all since so much is happening around here lately that I can't understand. I'll say this much, I sure hope they keep enforcing this truancy law here in Crenshaw County after our school gets straight and not just enforce it for Helicon High School. For so many years we've needed this to be done.

I have approached the principal several times even this school term before the boycott started about some of the children staying out of school helping others work.

He said, "Go tell those white people about it." I told him, "As a teacher I'm supposed to tell you. It's your responsibility to tell them."

He said, "They know it." He said he sees truck loads of people coming through Luverne with children on them, passing where he lives. He said, "Don't you think they see it?"

I told him that this was all against the child labor law.

I feel that I have not been given the consideration I should have gotten from the principal as a parent and teacher. I have asked him two times to schedule a meeting for the two of us with the superintendent and the trustees of the school, but got no consideration from him.

I will not send my daughter back to the school unless the principal is removed. Being with the principal five days a week and the superintendent almost five days a week, I feel that they could have asked me why my child was not attending school.

We as teachers have never been given the privilege of making and drinking coffee in school. The officers have been given this privilege.

Using tear gas on the demonstrators, having horses and dogs on the campus, and the firing of a teacher and a bus driver are all reasons I kept my daughter away from school. All of this, I think, was unnecessary.

I don't think truancy was the main reason I was arrested. On the way to jail the officer Deputy Clemens and Officer Horn stopped by a home to pick up another lady for truancy. While waiting for her to get dressed, I overheard a conversation between Officer Horn and a Negro man that was standing talking to them while the lady dressed for jail. He said, "Next year we are going to give them our old school and take their new one." Our school was built since theirs. Ours is cement blocks, and theirs is bricks.

I will try to enroll my daughter in another school. I didn't try to enroll her before now because I thought things would get straight at Helicon and I would carry her back there.

After I was arrested, I asked Deputy Clemens if I could make a telephone call, and he said, "Yes."

I thought maybe I should make it clear that it was going to be a long distance call, so I said, "I'm going to make it to Washington, D.C."

He said, "Versie, you won't hardly find Johnson at home, and if you find him, he won't be able to do you no good here."

I asked him why did he say that I was calling President Johnson because I had not said who in Washington I wanted to call.

He said, "Well, you said you wanted to call Washington, and I thought maybe you wanted to get in touch with Johnson."

I asked again if I could make the call, and he said, "Yes, but make sure you have enough money to pay for it."

I made the call to my sister and asked her to get in touch with President Johnson or his secretary and ask that he send someone to the jail that I could give a report to.

My mother made the call and was told in Washington where to call and ask that someone come to the jail. She made this call, and two F.B.I. men came to the jail that night but could not enter because the jail was locked and left unattended.

A white man in one of the front cells called out the window and told the F.B.I. there was no one with a key to let them in. This man that was talking to the F.B.I. has been there for years.

I asked him if he knew the fellow he was talking to and he said, "No." When the sheriff arrived at the jail that night, the man said to him, "Two well-dressed men came here tonight and they looked like the same men that came here this summer." He said, "I told them that you were gone to visit your wife in the hospital."

I didn't get a chance to talk with the F.B.I. that night, but they came to the school the next day to see me. I was in need of some medical supplies, but no one was there to give them to me.

I prayed that the building wouldn't catch on fire because we were all locked in. My mother, daughter, and other members of my family came, but could not enter until later that night.

Mr. James Kolb, a civil rights leader of Crenshaw County, and I myself made my bond.

Mrs. Versie G. Merriweather
Helicon, Ala.

His Campaign HQ: Calhoun County Jail

ANNISTON--W.E. "Bill" Sparks, who owns Dot and Bill's restaurant, is campaigning for sheriff of Calhoun County.

He is conducting his campaign from the confines of the city jail.

He was sent to jail on charges of operating an illegal drinking place at his cafe. Convicted in Recorders Court in December, he received a $107 fine and court costs. He appealed the conviction to the Calhoun Circuit Court where the charges were upheld.

To make matters worse, Judge Robert M. Parker added a 30-day sentence. Sparks is now serving the sentence.

He will be released April 13 when he pays his fine. In the meantime, Sparks is working as a cook at the city jail, and appealing to his fellow prisoners for their voting support.

Advisory Committee

MONTGOMERY--Moreland G. Smith is still chairman of the Citizens Advisory Committee in Alabama for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Smith is currently living in Atlanta, but according to J.E. Wilmore, director of the mid-south region of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "he (Smith) maintains a residence in Montgomery and votes there."

Wilmore said, however, that a new chairman for the advisory committee will be named. He said that he didn't "care to speculate on who the new chairman will be."

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Autauga High School Students Arrested in Prattville Sit-ins

PRATTVILLE--The students who have taken over civil rights activity here found out this week what they suspected all along about their home town.

Their leader, 17-year-old Samuel Jemison, kept telling people in town that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was not being enforced in Prattville.

The high school students had drawn up a list of grievances about this for a new bi-racial committee. The committee passed the complaints on to the mayor, and Mayor C.M. Gray gave his answers orally to the Rev. Frank N. Lowe of the bi-racial committee's steering sub-committee.

One of the things the mayor said, Mr. Lowe told the steering committee Monday night, was that it was up to individual restaurant owners whether or not they would serve Negroes.

Jemison and the others, staying away from classes at North Highland High School, decided to find out which establishments would serve Negroes.

A group went to the City Cafe and Murphy Drug Co., where they found all the tables occupied by men. The Negro students turned and walked out.

Eight students went to the Rexall Drug Store for service. The police were called and the four boys and four girls were arrested.

Jemison said the students refused to sign $200 bonds, and so they spent the night in jail.

A police officer came by Wednesday morning, he said, and told them, "Get out. We're not running no hotel." So they left.

The group picketed in front of downtown eating places again Wednesday. At one cafe, they found the door locked.

The group, called the Autauga County Young Non-Violent Association, said there would be more marches.

Street activity began in Prattville March 16, when a group of Negro pickets was roughed up by whites at the side of the post office. Two days later, the leaders agreed to halt demonstrations for ten days while the bi-racial committee considered grievances.

BY MARY MOULTRIE

This week let us consider the commercial and its influence upon the general public.

When was the last time you went out and bought a product that you saw advertised on TV and found that it really did none of the things the announcer claimed it to do? Recently?

Well, welcome to the club of disappointed buyers.

The TV commercial has 1001 gimmicks by manufacturers to plant a psychological picture in the mind of the potential buyer.

And more times than not you find yourself being the sucker in the deal.

You have probably seen a household product demonstrated on TV that cuts through grease and dirt as if they were nothing. And you decided to try it, only to find that it wasn't half as good as the product you were using.

TV is a media in which anything impossible can be made to look possible--and that includes cleaning grease and dirt out of ovens, off floors, off walls, and off ceilings.

Remember, if you buy because of commercial advertising on TV and the effectiveness of the products while being demonstrated, you stand the chance of losing in the overall deal.

SATURDAY, APRIL 2

HANDS OF AN ARTIST--A study of the art explosion in Birmingham, which features a tour of the local museum and several galleries, 8 p.m. Channel 13 in Birmingham.

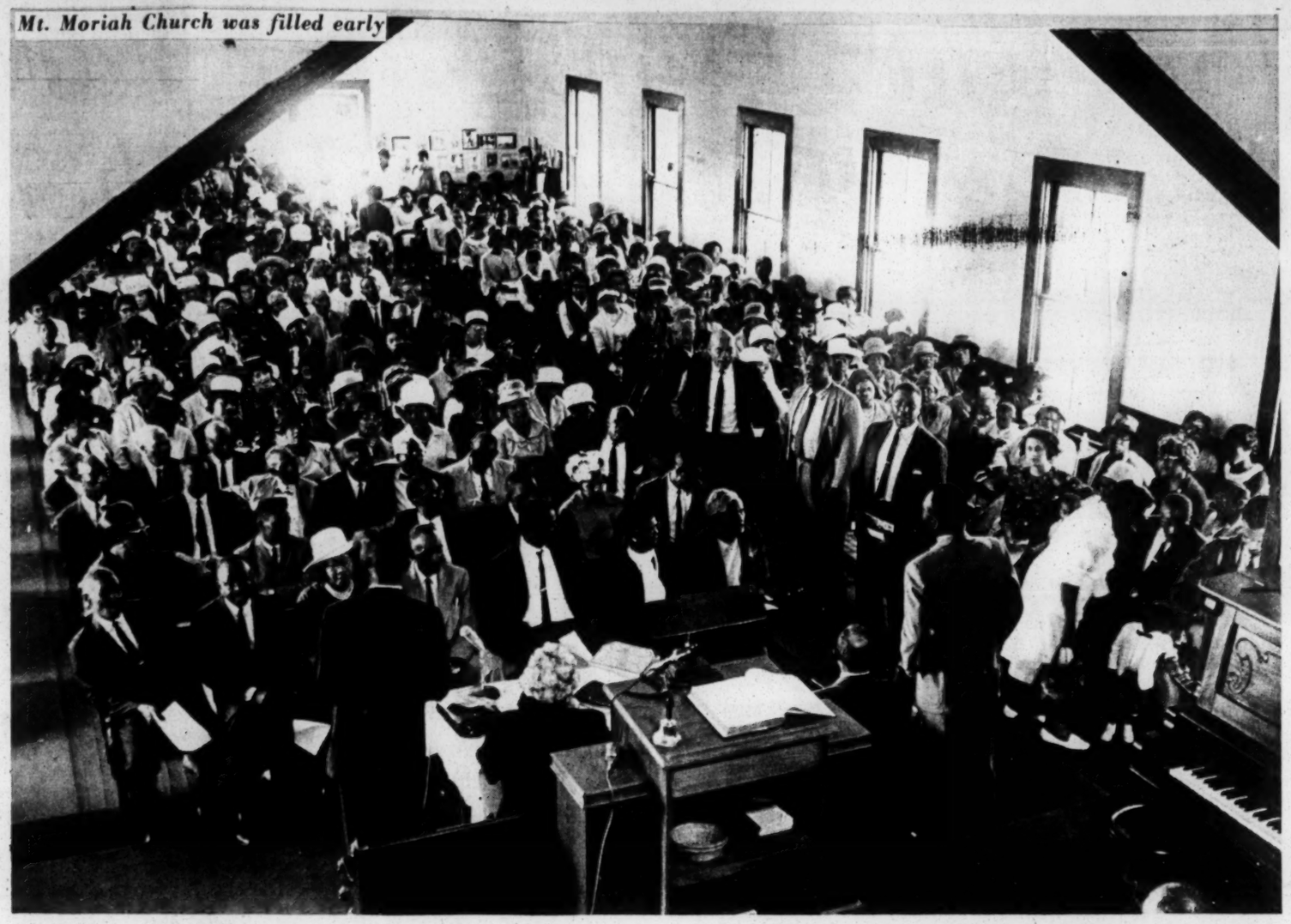
SUNDAY, APRIL 3

TWENTIETH CENTURY--American fighting men, white and Negro, in Viet Nam, 5 p.m. Channel 3 in Pensacola, Fla., and Channel 20 in Montgomery.

FRIDAY, APRIL 8

WILD WILD WEST--Agent West is blamed by the Serbian minister for the disappearance through some strange magical force of Serbia's fabulous Kara Diamond, 6:30 p.m. Channel 3 in Pensacola, Fla.; Channel 4 in Dothan, Channel 20 in Montgomery, and Channel 31 in Huntsville.

John Hulett and Sarah Logan confer


Mt. Moriah Church was filled early

Rosa Parks spoke

Lowndes Marks a Year Full of Historic Change

To celebrate their first anniversary, members of the Lowndes County Christian Movement met Sunday at Mt. Moriah Baptist Church in Hayneville to hear Julian Bond, Mrs. Rosa Parks, Stokely Carmichael, and others. The members told their story in a printed program for the occasion. Excerpts from the program follow:

On March 19, 1965 at 7:30 p.m. a meeting was held at the Haroldson's Place, an old deserted store, for the purpose of forming a movement of Lowndes County citizens.

There were many remarks from all the concerned people. The meeting began with the devotional services.

"We Shall Overcome."

There was a prayer by the Rev. James David Armstrong of Bennington, New York; and a scripture was read by the Rev. Ronald Hafer of Roxbury, Massachusetts.

The next song was "I Shall Not Be Moved."

guiding hands of God, we still toil on.

Some of the hardships were deprivation of homes, jobs, and many former friends; refusals of loans; foreclosures on mortgages; eviction of sharecroppers; denials of churches; refusal at the courthouse on registration days.

We had to stand for hours in the sun, rain, and the cold. We were even more anxious to get the vote because of these obstacles.

All has not been on the dark side for the LCCMHR. We tried to present a list of fair grievances to the Lowndes County School Board. We failed. We contacted the Justice Department and they sought a suit and won it against the

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The house was announced open for all business. The first thing decided by the group, which consisted of 28 local people, two SCLC workers and eight members of Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, was that all officers should serve temporarily.

Many remarks were made by the group which sat in a semi-circle. Each person made himself known and told where he came from.

A motion was made by Robinson G. Lapp that the new group should have a name. After many names were listed, we put together the name, Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights, and voted on it. The name was unaminously approved.

We noted we still had not finished our list of officers, so we proceeded to vote.

The officers elected were as follows: John Hulett, chairman; William J. Cosby, vice-chairman; Lillian McGill, secretary; Jesse Favors, assistant secretary; Elzie Lee McGill, treasurer; John Hinson, chaplain.

It seemed utterly impossible to find a church at first, but later the Mount Gillard Baptist Church, known as Trickum Church, opened her doors to us.

On April 11, 1965 the Ramer Baptist Church of Calhoun became the second church to welcome us, followed by the Old Bogahoma Baptist Church in Gordonville.

Later more churches were opened to us, but still too few.

The goals of the movement were many. We have made much progress, but not enough. Through prayers and guiding hands of God, we still toil on.

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As a result of this suit, 24 of the Negro schools must be closed.

We had no registered voters at the time of the formation of the LCCMHR, although two persons who had applied on the preceding Monday were later accepted. The rate of registration was too slow.

The LCCMHR, along with SNCC, sought the Justice Department on this, and we were one of the first counties to get federal examiners.

We went to court and won a decision whereby ALL MEN AND WOMEN regardless of race, would be allowed to serve jury duty in Alabama.

Yes, we have had many tragedies.

We had only one attempt to demonstrate. It ended in a tragedy with our losing Jonathan Myrick Daniels of Keene, New Hampshire.

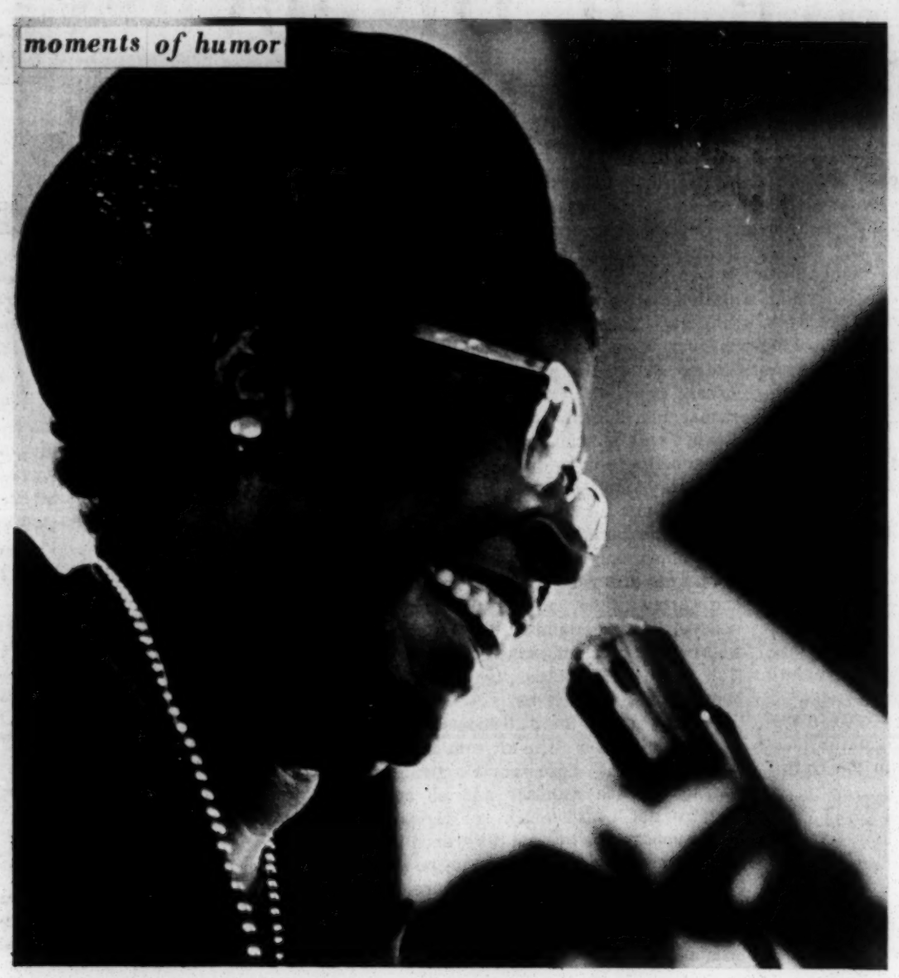
We tried to get our people out of jail, but we did not have the money.

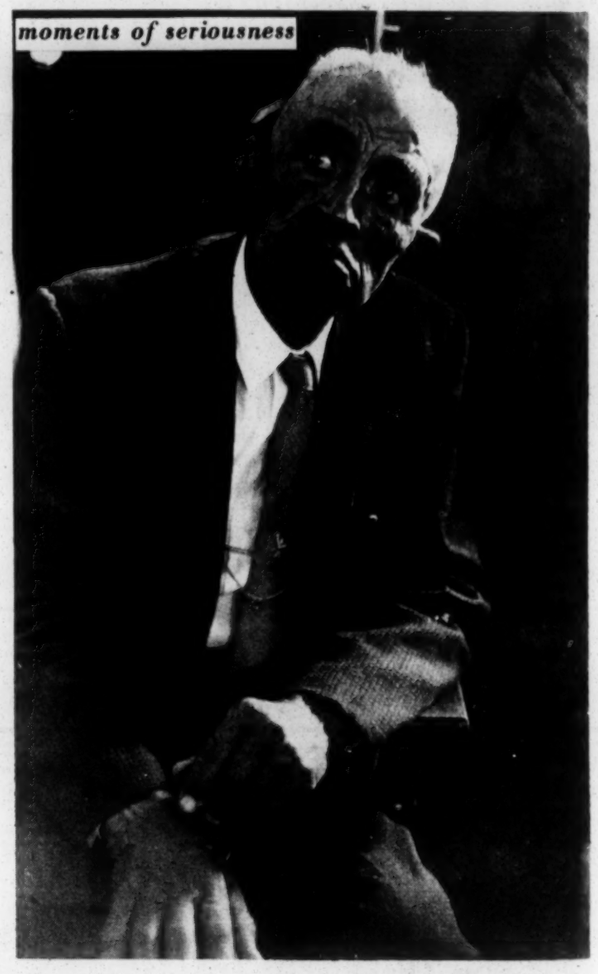
We organized our county by communities, with each community electing its community chairman. Each community has two chairmen. Each community gets two votes on the Board of Directors. Each community is encouraged to have meetings to talk about their problems.

We have a branch movement in Detroit, Mich., which sends us $100 per month to aid us in our struggle.

The expenses of the movement have been multiplied by the hardship of our people. Without the help of many, we could never have met our expenses. We are indebted to everyone who has helped us directly or indirectly.

Julian Bond spoke


moments of humor


moments of seriousness

Photographs by James H. Peppler

food was served outside

a summary

Students From Many Faraway Lands Learn From Each Other at Jacksonville

BY ALAN BAUGHMAN

JACKSONVILLE--They come from Africa and from India, from the Near and the Far and the Middle East, from the ancient nations of Europe and the Orient, from South and Central America, and from island Australia bounded by the sea.

Their eyes and hair and skins are every color of the earth, and their customs and cultures represent nearly every civilization in existence.

They come to this sleepy little town, in the foothills of the Piedmonts north of Anniston, for an experiment in international brotherhood at Jacksonville State College.

It is called International House. In the large white-pillared brick house, young men and women from all over the world live and work and play together.

"International House is unique," said the director, John R. Stewart. "This is the only program I know of that deliberately sets out to bring together under one roof all the cultures of the world."

The idea, he said, is that the cultures will mingle and the people who represent them will learn about life in other lands than their own. The result hoped for: better understanding and friendship.

"It's really a people-to-people program," Stewart said. "The students in the program are assigned 10 hours a week to travel around and speak to civic and church organizations, explaining about their country's culture and way of life. This is in addition to their college work."

Each foreign student has an American roommate. The students also spend weekends and holidays in American homes. Last Christmas some of them were guests of a Rotary Club in Florida.

Many friendships go on after the student returns to his native land. One man in Talladega writes to a dozen or more former students that he has entertained in his home.

There are disagreements. Each student believes in his way of life. No matter how open-minded a student may be, he finds some things strange about the others at first.

But the program was designed with human nature in mind. Students are selected partly for their ability to disagree reasonably. "Generally they have had more educational opportunities because they have more motivation," said Stewart. "We try to get outgoing individuals with a wide variety of experiences rather than the bookworm type."

Three groups support International House: District 686 of the Rotary International, the Alabama Federation of Womens' Clubs, and the International Endowment Foundation, Inc., founded in 1953 by the late Colonel Harry M. Ayers, publisher of The Anniston Star.

Scholarships for foreign undergraduate students are very rare, Stewart said, but these three organizations make it possible for students from all six continents, and every free country to take part in the program.

The chances are that no two students would sum up International House in the same words. But Alois Wiesler of Austria speaks for many of them.

"It will have been a great year, a year of many wonderful, interesting and instructive experiences from a country which is recognized in the world as the strongest, the richest, and the freest--a fantastic society, the land of the unlimited possibilities," he said.

"I'll carry my experience home, compare it with home, and use it as a little mosaic-stone in Austria's new and important task in this modern world--to be an ambassador between East and West."

THESE ARE SOME OF THE STUDENTS WHO LIVE IN INTERNATIONAL HOUSE. THEY COME FROM KOREA, HONG KONG, FRANCE, GERMANY, ARGENTINA, INDIA, SWEDEN, DENMARK, LEBANON, AUSTRIA, MEXICO, CHILE, AUSTRALIA--AND FROM ALABAMA. AT JACKSONVILLE STATE COLLEGE, THEY ARE LEARNING ABOUT LIFE IN OTHER COUNTRIES WHILE THEY STUDY, WORK, AND PLAY TOGETHER.

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Americans and Visitors Share in Discovery: 'We All Have the Same Problems'

BY ALAN BAUGHMAN

JACKSONVILLE -- "Everybody's alike," said Miss Annette Sloan, a senior from Oneonta, Alabama, and a resident of International House.

That, she said, was the most valuable thing she learned from living with foreign students. But she didn't mean that everyone looks or talks or thinks exactly the same way.

"We all have the same emotions," she explained. "We all have the same problems." Then she smiled and added, "At least the same problems of being young."

She founded some differences, too.

"Each culture has its own value system, and you learn to respect it. For instance, an Israeli places more importance on working for the common good and looking out for material things than a European does."

Miss Sloan entered the program to learn more about the world beyond her home town. She had always wanted to travel and study languages and cultures of other lands. And she also happened to be a student of J. H. Jones, who founded International House more than 10 years ago.

Alain Chandelier, from Paris, came to International House on the recommendation of his cousin, who had also been in the program.

"You get a completely different experience than we get in Europe," he said. "There aren't any campuses in France. The students live in apartments and rooms, and there aren't any dormitories.

"There are many little differences in our two countries. Here drinking is a big scene, you make a big thing of it, and and not many people drink. In France, everybody drinks like because they're thirsty, like you drink water or milk, and hardly anybody drinks to get drunk.

"In France, the churches are quite different. There are only six Protestant churches in Paris, and they are just Protestant. In my country people wouldn't know what a Baptist or a Presbyterian was. Either you're Catholic or Protestant.

"Americans are more relaxed and informal and--you say it--casual. I didn't find much friendliness in New York, everyone was too busy, but in Alabama there is a lot of friendliness and hospitality. To most of the students, I think, it's rather startling at first.

"France is a socialist country. Everything is owned by the government--the car manufacturers, the post offices, everything, even the television stations. We don't have commercials on TV. When the president wants to talk, he just goes on and talks as long as he wants to.

"And because the government owns the radio and TV stations, the newspapers and magazines, nobody can criticize DeGaulle. If they do, they just shut them off. There is a newspaper in Paris that is privately owned, but they can't criticize too much either.

"Our schools are very different. In France you have elementary school for six years and then high school for seven. The students are given seven subjects--mathematics, French, history, geography, physics, chemistry, and foreign languages--and they take them all the way through school."

Uffe Eriksen comes from Denmark. The son of a merchant, he goes looking for ideas to take home with him. He has hitchhiked rides to Georgia to see a carpet factory and to visit Rich's department store in Atlanta.

He thinks an important part of the International House program is to "let them (the American people) know something outside the United States exists."

Eriksen is an officer in the Danish army. He talked about Viet Nam. "I think the U.S. is not only fighting the war to save South, or maybe North and South, Viet Nam from the Communists, but also to defend the whole Western world from Communism.

"Many of the common people in Europe don't understand this, just as many of the common people in the United States don't understand it. They don't see the whole picture."

He talked about the United States of Europe. "I think it will come eventually--it has to come. But it will be a United States only economically and politically. There are too many different languages and customs to become a United States like you have. We will break down the trade barriers and taxes, and do business back and forth. Europe will become a very strong power, socialistic in nature.

"Russia isn't Communist anymore, and the United States isn't a democracy. They're both going toward a socialistic government and economy."

One big difference between America and Europe is the way their teen-agers behave, Eriksen claimed. "In Denmark we are sent to dancing schools. We have Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, tennis clubs, hunting and fishing clubs.

"Here you don't know all about music. You're fed from a little kit with music like--well, like those terrible Beatle songs, and the Animals and so on. They're not heard much in Europe.

"I suppose the biggest difference is in quality versus quantity. In Europe we build on quality. Things cost more, a suit, a washing machine, but they last a long time. Here you build things to sell cheaply and wear out quickly.

"There is a very great difference between people of the North and the South here. I came in to that little busy hole--New York. In the North people are very surface. In the South they are very polite, have a lot of hospitality, and are very equal to the people all over Europe in nature and behavior; they're not as hurried or as occupied as in the North."

Tony Callan of Gadsden is boys' counselor in International House. A political science major, he came into the program by a "sort of lucky accident." His room in the dormitory was taken during a break, and he had to move to International House. He liked it and and asked to stay.

"One of the things we run into is that the foreign students are used to more social freedom than we have here. In Europe, the parents make the students responsible for themselves, and the schools don't assume the responsibility for them. Here they have to come in at certain hours and follow all sorts of rules."

But most of the foreign students seem to think the advantages are more important than the disadvantages. At any rate, they keep on coming to Alabama to meet each other and see for themselves what some of America is like.

INTERNATIONAL HOUSE ON THE JACKSONVILLE CAMPUS IS HOME TO STUDENTS FROM MANY LANDS.

POLITICAL CONFEDERATION

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

major groups by May 3, it's a real possibility that we'll all be saying the same thing."

3. The third thing that will determine whether COAPO can unify the Negro vote is the choice of candidates the confederation plans to support for the major state offices.

Thousands of voters think that Attorney General Richmond Flowers will get the Negro vote for governor. And so, if COAPO decides that a solid Negro vote on May 3 for one candidate in the governor's race will be a victory for the organization, it can probably have that victory by backing Flowers.

However some people in COAPO feel that Flowers should not be COAPO's candidate. At the meeting Saturday, Williams suggested that Flowers is "doing some pretty stupid campaigning."

"He pops off so much about what he's gonna do for the Negro," said Williams, that he may get almost no white votes.

If COAPO decides to endorse some other candidate for governor, many Negro voters already convinced will still stick with Flowers.

Unifying the Negro vote, then, will be much more difficult. But COAPO may have decided, in effect, that a powerful political force by Negroes will be best felt in a split vote for governor in the Democratic primary.

O.E.O. Opens Records

WASHINGTON--The books and records of local anti-poverty agencies throughout the country are now open to the public, the Office of Economic Opportunity has said.

The records include names, salaries, source of money, budgets, and other information.

Wilcox: 83 Per Cent Illiterate

Portrait of County With Problems

A CLASSROOM AT CAMDEN ACADEMY IN WILCOX COUNTY.

CAMDEN--Any political candidate who makes promises to all the people of Wilcox County will have plenty of problems if he gets elected and tries to make good his promises.

Wilcox is one of the state's poorest counties. Tenant farmers labor for as little as $300 a year.

An estimated 83 per cent of the adults in the county--Negro and white--cannot read or write.

Any candidate who wins with Negro support will have his hands full: In addition to running into white resistance, he will be pressured to improve the lot of Wilcox Negroes, who make up 76 per cent of the county's 20,000 people.

There was no public elementary and secondary education for Negro youngsters until 1930. Before that, private church groups took on the job of running Negro schools.

The county spends about $1.2 million on its schools for 6,000 pupils. Wilcox turned down $640,764 in federal funds for county schools because accepting the money would force school desegregation, according to the Rev. Daniel Harrell, an SCLC official who has gathered facts and figures about the Negro's status in this Black Belt county.

There are 160 teachers for almost 5,000 Negro students, and 50 teachers for about 1,000 white students.

A third of the Negro schools have more than 40 pupils in each class. And, SCLC says, a couple of the schools have more than 60 pupils per class.

The average Negro school has 26 pupils for each teacher, according to Guy Kelly, Wilcox school superintendent. (The state average is 28, and the national average 25.)

Mrs. David Colston, whose husband was the man shot to death in front of a church in Camden last January, says she has 84 pupils in her third grade class at Camden Academy.

Only three of the 15 Negro schools have indoor toilet facilities, Mr. Harrell reported. The other 12 have pit-style outside toilets.

Mr. Harrell criticized the absence of school libraries and poorly equipped science classes.

He said there are no paved roads into Negro neighborhoods.

Disease is common in the Negro community, he said, and white doctors refuse to treat Negro patients.

Mr. Harrell said in his report to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta that the conditions stem from "political disfranchisement."

He said that if Negroes won political representation this would bring about change.

Negroes Oppose Senator, Sheriff

"If you miss me from the white folks' kitchen,
And you can't find me nowhere;
Just come on over to the courthouse,
I'll be clerkin' over there."

ROLAND COOPER

CAMDEN--A woman in Wilcox County has made up new lines for an old spiritual.

In it she expressed the confidence of many Negroes that in 1966 they will elect Negroes to office in Wilcox County and get their share of court house jobs.

Two of five Negro political candidates in the Democratic primary are taking on old pros in Wilcox County. Negroes claim a 3,500 to 3,200 edge over whites on registration lists.

Walter J. Calhoun, a 30-year-old grocer from Lower Peach Tree, is hoping the edge will be enough to get him nominated in the primary. He is taking on a tough customer--P.C. (Lonnie) Jenkins, who has been sheriff for nearly 30 years.

Lonnie L. Brown, an Alberta insurance man, is another Negro who is challenging a veteran politician. He is running against Roland Cooper, an auto dealer and cattleman from Camden who has been in the state senate for four terms.

Cooper, county Democratic vice chairman, used to represent the old 16th senatorial district of Monroe and Wilcox counties. He is now a candidate in the new 19th district, created by senate reapportionment. It includes Wilcox, Clarke, Monroe, and Conecuh counties in southwest Alabama.

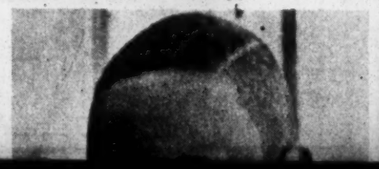
Only Wilcox County has more Negroes than whites registered to vote.

Maston M. Mims, of Uriah, is also seeking the nomination for the senate seat.

Brown, who has been a leader in a new confederation of Negro political groups in the state, is the only Negro in Alabama running for the senate.

Two Negroes are running for road commissioner and another for tax assessor in Wilcox County.

Women in Wilcox Form a Co-op To Sell, Make 'Freedom Quilts'



Candidate and Her Man Show Up for Chilly Rally

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

LEROY--Washington County Negroes talked for days about going to the big political rally last week at the Leroy High School football field.

It was cold the night of the rally, and only three Negroes showed up.

But the climate of the rally rather than the temperature of the air was probably responsible for the small turnout of Negro voters. The three who came didn't go inside the gate. They watched the rally from behind a fence at one end of the field.

They saw a chilly crowd of about 1,000 whites waiting expectantly while a hillbilly band tried to warm them up with country music played from a decorated truck bed flying two flags, American and Confederate. Wallace stickers, buttons, cards, posters, cars, trucks, and supporters were everywhere.

Most of the people concentrated on keeping warm, but some listened to the lesser candidates' speeches:

"He sure can't speak well."

"He sure can't. But he's sure a nice tax collector. I'm gonna vote for him."

"Me too, but I wish he'd stop talkin'."

The crowd forgot how cold it was and how long the line at the coffee stand was when the gubernatorial candidate and her husband finally appeared.

The candidate stood between the two flags and said she wanted to be elected so the Wallace record of "honesty, integrity, and progress" could continue in the State Capitol. The crowd clapped for that and for almost everything else she said in her five minute speech--except the promise that if she won, the governor's mansion would be free of alcoholic beverages for another four years.

Only two or three old ladies clapped for that.

Then the candidate introduced the man who would be her "number one adviser" and the crowd roared.

He said, "I'm gonna let you vote on the succession bill because my wife is a candidate for governor, and that's the way you'll be able to vote on it."

If his wife wins, he said, he will continue his nation-wide campaign to tell the truth about Alabama and to oppose the "dangerous trends" that are attacking our system of local government and property ownership.

But he said outsiders should not meddle in Alabama. "Let Bobby Kennedy run New York, and the people of Alabama will run Alabama."

He criticized national newspapers and magazines, including Esquire, which had attacked him and then added, "I reckon they'd have Playboy down here next, except we wear too many clothes in Alabama for them to be interested in us."

The freezing readers of Playboy in the audience applauded his support of clothes.

VOTE FOR
Otis Pinkard
for Tax Collector
Macon County
Democratic Primary May 3
(Pd. Pol. Adv. by Otis Pinkard, Tuskegee, Alabama)

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LONNIE L. BROWN

Women in Wilcox Form a Co-op To Sell, Make 'Freedom Quilts'

BY LARRY FREUDIGER

CAMDEN--Women of the Freedom Quilting Bee of Wilcox County voted Saturday to form a non-profit handicraft cooperative which will receive monetary help through a Ford Foundation grant.

About 60 of the Quilting Bee's 77 members met at Antioch Baptist Church in Camden and adopted a charter, elected officers, and chose a governing board of 12 women.

Although Gees Bend women held a clear majority, it was decided to give equal representation by region; four women were elected to the board from Coy, four from Possum Bend, and four from the Gees Bend--Alberta area.

Al Ulmer, a staff member of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, will work with the group, using a $300 Ford Foundation grant to search for technical assistance for the new cooperative.

The grant, which is part of the Ford Foundation's new program to aid non-profit handicraft cooperatives, will later provide a full-time salary for one technical assistant.

The Quilting Bee pays women $10 each for hand-made quilts, which are then sold in Alabama and New York.

Profits are used by the cooperative according to the vote of the membership, and it is expected that most of the money will go for sewing machines, a loom, and other equipment.

The Rev. Francis X. Walter, of Selma Inter-Religious Project in Tuscaloosa, who is advising the group, has been seeking donations of cloth and searching for new outlets to sell the quilts.

Musselman Recovering

EPHRATA, Pa.--Clay Musselman, formerly The Southern Courier's reporter in Birmingham, is in a Pennsylvania hospital slowly recovering from paralyzing injuries.

Musselman was severely hurt in an automobile accident in New Jersey last October. He regained consciousness in January and has since begun relearning to use some of his muscles. He cannot reply to mail himself but has letters read to him. He is in Room 113, Ephrata Community Hospital.

For Your
GROW
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Gene Crutcher
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Birmingham, Alabama

Two for $1 postpaid

Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta that the conditions stem from "political disfranchisement."

He said that if Negroes won political representation this would bring about change.

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Elliott Travels Middle of Road

THRU S.E. ALABAMA

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

UNION SPRINGS--"When I am governor, I will do anything I reasonably can do to promote racial peace and understanding," roared the big man at the microphone.

He raised both fists and smashed them down against the air.

"We cannot educate our children, we cannot bring in industry, we cannot make the progress we should make if we are wracked by racial turmoil from side to side and from year to year," he thundered.

Then he paused for a fraction of a second. His eyes swept over the people clumped here and there in front of the Bullock County Courthouse.

A hundred eyes stared back, and nobody smiled. But Carl Elliott went right on.

"I say to my white friends and I say to my colored friends: The time has come for those of us in the middle of the road to assume the responsibility we should, to see we have racial understanding.

"We cannot trust the extremists on either side to find a solution. We have tried extremists and we know where they have led us.

"It is time for the honest, God-fearing, middle-of-the-road people to take over in Alabama."

A couple of Negroes smiled. A couple of white men walked away. But nobody booed. And nobody clapped.

"I wanted to applaud," a Negro man said later. "He'd be a good governor."

"It's good talk," said another. "But who sets the standards for the extremes? Negroes who stand up for their rights--are they extreme?"

"I don't believe he'll get too many votes around here," said a white man. "Flowers will get all the black vote and I don't know who'll get the white--Patterson or Wallace, I guess."

But some white people thought Elliott had something to say to them. "Patterson's disqualified because of prejudice," said a young woman from Phenix City, Patterson's home town. "Of course none of them will do all they say, but Elliott seems like he'll keep most of his promises."

"I think he's fine," said a middle-aged man. "He seems like a mighty nice feller."

CARL ELLIOTT

That was the way things went for Carl Elliott all over southeastern Alabama last Monday. It was a cold day for spring. He was in old Patterson-Wallace country. The crowds were really only gatherings. Whatever he said, nobody seemed to get very excited.

But here and there, he made himself some friends.

He promised to raise old-age pensions, attract new industry, improve the schools, pave the roads, and develop Alabama's natural resources. In Hurtsboro and Eufaula, the people just blinked or nodded.

In Union Springs Elliott pledged to "double the size of our colleges," and a baby began to wail. Most of the audience grinned. Elliott didn't even pause.

"I'm a plainspoken man," he said. "I'm a simple fellow who grew out of the soil of the hills. I'm the son of a tenant farmer.

"I'm bringing a message of love and unity to every nook and cranny in Alabama. I love every single bit of this state and all her people. But I love my country, too. I get a lump in my throat every time I see Old Glory.

"I'm proud to be an Alabamian and I'm proud to be an American. As far as I'm concerned, there is no conflict." He looked around as if daring anyone to challenge him. No one did.

"Some of these fellers make me sick, running around talking about Carl Elliott's federal connections," he said. "I have federal connections because the people of Alabama sent me to Washington eight times to represent them.

"Carl Elliott wears no man's brand. Not the brand of LBJ. Not the brand of KKK. Not the brand of any special interest. I will not take orders in the light of day or in the darkness of night."

While his country musicians thumped a piano and twanged guitars, Elliott campaigned up and down the main street of each town. In a Eufaula drugstore, he held out his hand to a disbelieving Negro customer. "The name's Carl Elliott," he said.

When the man didn't extend his hand in return, Elliott reached for it, shook it briefly, and moved on. The man stood where he was, looking down at his hand as if he weren't sure Elliott had given it back.

Out on the street, Elliott moved from groups of whites to groups of Negroes. He had a smile and a friendly handshake for everyone.

THINK AND GRIN

BY ARLAM CARR JR.

When does a boat show affection?
When it hugs the shore.

Why is your hand like a hardware store?
It has nails.

At what time of day was Adam created?
A little before Eve.

Why should fish be better educated than bugs?
Because they live in schools.

When do 2 and 2 make more than 4?
When they make 22.

I appear once in every minute, twice in every moment, but never in a hundred thousand years. What am I?
The letter M.

What is the difference between here and there?
The letter T.

A man named Bigger got married. How did he compare in size with his wife?
He was larger, for he always had been Bigger.

What is worse than a giraffe with a

'10-73' Means Look Out

OZARK--If you're driving along Route 231 in southeast Alabama and you want to know how to find an address in Dothan, just call KDE4456. If you have an accident or car trouble or want to find a place to eat, you can do the same thing.

Of course, you have to have a citizens band two-way radio in your car, and thousands of motorists in the state do.

The Wiregrass area is one of the most active citizens band sections around. Ten of the radio men have begun a chapter there of REACT--Radio Emergency Associated Citizens Teams.

REACT members promise to provide emergency radio service every hour of every day. They have led police to accidents, alerted hospitals to emergency cases en route, helped to find lost children, and notified boats about sudden storms.

Napoleon Trawick, a teacher and store owner in Ozark, has the voice on KDE4456. If he replies, "10-73," that means look out for a speed trap; "10-23" means stand by; and "10-43" means there's a traffic tie-up ahead.

Ozark REACT members recently organized a fund drive over the air for a family whose house burned down last month.

Trawick is also active in a larger southeast Alabama association, with Negro and white members, which meets twice a month.

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High Court OKs Rights Law; FBI Arrests 13 in Hattiesburg

WASHINGTON--A civil rights law passed in 1870 may be used to prosecute private individuals who interfere with a person's "basic rights under the Constitution," the U.S. Supreme Court said Monday.

The old federal law had been used previously only against state officials who, in their positions of law, interfered with a person's exercising his constitutional rights.

But Monday the court ruled that non-state employees could be prosecuted under the law if they were accused of helping state employees in a civil rights crime, as charged in the Neshoba County, Miss., killing in 1964 of three civil rights workers.

And the court also ruled that one of those "basic rights" mentioned in the 1870 law is the right to travel interstate highways, as argued in the murder case of Lemuel Penn, a Negro educator shot near Athens, Ga., in 1964.

The same day that the court made its decision, the FBI rounded up 13 suspects in the fire bombing of a home in Hattiesburg, Miss., last January 10.

Vernon F. Dahmer, who was active with the NAACP in voter registration, died of burns suffered in the fire in his country home.

The 13, all described as Klansmen by the FBI, were charged with violation of the 1870 civil rights law. They were also charged with violating the part of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that makes it a crime to harm or intimidate anybody who is attempting to vote or register or anybody who is helping others to vote or register.

This week, the FBI was still looking for a 14th suspect, Mississippi Klan Imperial Wizard Sam Holloway Bowers Jr., of Laurel. The FBI described him as armed and dangerous.

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VERY IMPORTANT

WHAT
THOMAS REED
will do for the people of Macon, Barbour, and Bullock counties if elected to
The House of Representatives
31st District

THOMAS REED will seek

1. Higher welfare payments.
2. Laws placing public health nurses in each county to check the health of school children.
3. An end to capital punishment.
4. Laws providing state jobs for people unable to find work.
5. Laws removing state prisoners from public work projects.
6. Higher pay for school teachers and state employees; more money for state schools.
7. Laws permitting 18-year-olds to vote.
8. Free textbooks for college students who are Alabama residents.
9. A central medical facility to provide medical histories for state residents.
10. More state money for trade schools--one to be located in Macon, Bullock, or Barbour county.
11. Laws banning minors other than legal witnesses from controversial court cases and hearings.
12. Citizen support for President Johnson's policy on Viet Nam.

And THOMAS REED will open offices in Macon, Bullock, and Barbour counties permitting the people to come in and tell me what they want me to do for them.

Dem. Primary, May 3 Pd. Pol. Adv. by Thomas Reed, Tuskegee, Ala.

Why is your hand like a hardware store?
It has nails.

At what time of day was Adam created?
A little before Eve.

Why should fish be better educated than bugs?
Because they live in schools.

When do 2 and 2 make more than 4?
When they make 22.

I appear once in every minute, twice in every moment, but never in a hundred thousand years. What am I?
The letter M.

What is the difference between here and there?
The letter T.

A man named Bigger got married. How did he compare in size with his wife?
He was larger, for he always had been Bigger.

What is worse than a giraffe with a sore throat?
A centipede with sore feet.

What trade does the President follow?
Cabinet-maker.

St. Mark C.M.E. Church Plans Holy Week April 6-8

Sermons for this occasion will be delivered nightly by the following dedicated ministers: April 6, the Reverend Thomas L. Pratt, Presiding Elder, Birmingham District; April 7, The Reverend O.J. Ford, Pastor, Trinity C.M.E. Church, Collegeville.

Appropriate musical selections will be rendered by the host choir and the audience. An added feature for this observance will be the appearance of the Gospel Choir of the First Baptist Church, Mason City.

All services will begin at 7:30 p.m. A cordial invitation is extended to all churches in the Birmingham area to worship with us and become a participating supporter of this program. The location of the church is 301 Iota Avenue, South.

The Reverend J. Arthur Crumpton, Pastor

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"I think he's fine," said a middle-

'10-73' Means Look Out

OZARK--If you're driving along Route 231 in southeast Alabama and you want to know how to find an address in Dothan, just call KDE4456. If you have an accident or car trouble or want to find a place to eat, you can do the same thing.

Of course, you have to have a citizens band two-way radio in your car, and thousands of motorists in the state do.

The Wiregrass area is one of the most active citizens band sections around. Ten of the radio men have begun a chapter there of REACT--Radio Emergency Associated Citizens Teams.

REACT members promise to provide emergency radio service every hour of every day. They have led police to accidents, alerted hospitals to emergency cases en route, helped to find lost children, and notified boats about sudden storms.

Napoleon Trawick, a teacher and store owner in Ozark, has the voice on KDE4456. If he replies, "10-73," that means look out for a speed trap; "10-23" means stand by; and "10-43" means there's a traffic tie-up ahead.

Ozark REACT members recently organized a fund drive over the air for a family whose house burned down last month.

Trawick is also active in a larger southeast Alabama association, with Negro and white members, which meets twice a month.

Race doesn't make much difference over the air. "You'd be surprised at some of the different people who get talking to each other over the radio," says Trawick.

Alabama's natural resources. In Hurts-

held out his hand to a disbelieving Negro customer. "The name's Carl Elliott," he said.

When the man didn't extend his hand in return, Elliott reached for it, shook it briefly, and moved on. The man stood where he was, looking down at his hand as if he weren't sure Elliott had given it back.

Out on the street, Elliott moved from groups of whites to groups of Negroes. He had a smile and a friendly handshake for everyone.

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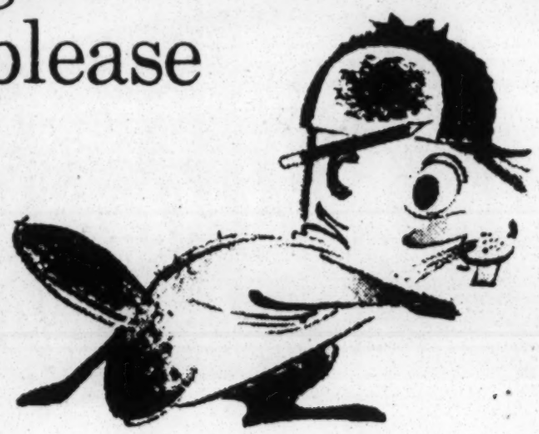

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FACTS

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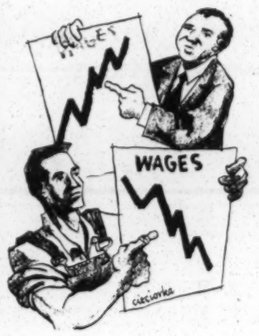

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File

July, 1966

ACLU TO LAUNCH LEGAL CLINICS IN POVERTY AREAS

One of the surprising facts emerging from our study, Police Procedures in Atlanta is that four out of five people interviewed had little or no idea that they had any rights when they encountered the police.

To remedy this lack of information, the ACLU of Georgia Executive Committee has authorized launching an educational program to inform citizens what their rights and responsibilities are when they encounter the police, and what the rights and responsibilities are of police officers. The program will be started in neighborhoods with a high arrest record.

The first step in the program has already been taken -- a meeting of forty interested lawyers and law students who discussed in general terms what form the clinic should take. They decided we should produce a film strip with a recorded commentary, running about fifteen minutes. This would show some of the basic situations in which civil liberties questions arose. The material would be kept simple -- we are not trying to turn out do-it-yourself lawyers, but to acquaint people with what would be helpful in a given situation until the lawyer gets there.

In addition, each person would be given a mimeographed cartoon book reviewing the information in the strip to take home with him. A committee of six attorneys has volunteered to work out material for the strip and the booklet.

After showing of the film strip with its recorded commentary, a moderator would answer general audience questions growing out of this material. For the first several clinics, the moderators would be lawyers. Based on their experience, a decision will be made as to whether the moderator could be a well-briefed layman.

Your Help Is Needed

Volunteers -- not necessarily lawyers -- will be needed to go into selected neighborhoods in advance of the clinics to find out what residents regard as the key problems, to find suitable places to hold the clinics, and to help insure good attendance.

If you are interested in participating in this way -- probably around the beginning of September, please call our office at 523-5398 and let us know -- now.

The first few clinics will be held in Atlanta. After the techniques have been perfected, they will be held in other metropolitan areas in Georgia. So we would like to hear from members in Macon, Savannah, Augusta, Athens and Columbus whether this program would be useful there and what organizations and individuals could be enlisted to provide places to hold the clinics and volunteers to serve them.

BI-ENNIAL CONFERENCE REPORT

The ACLU Bi-Ennial Conference at Stony Brook, Long Island, considerably expanded the area of civil liberties concerns, most notably in the field of Civil Liberties and Poverty. This broadened horizon is reflected in the following resolutions approved by the Plenary Board:

Resolved: That a special committee be appointed to study the question of entitlement to government benefits, to state substantively what the rights of entitlement are, and to recommend what steps are to be taken to enforce such rights. The special committee would report to the first Plenary Board meeting in 1967.

Resolved: That ACLU goes on record in opposition to depri vation of rights of beneficiaries of government benefits and applicants for such benefits including but not limited to: arbitrary residence requirements, midnight raids, arbitrary deprivations on grounds of race, size of family, illegitimacy, etc., and arbitrary work requirements.

ACLU also deplores the lack of procedural safeguards accorded to beneficiaries of government benefits and applicants for such benefits, including but not limited to: inaccessible regulations, no statement of reasons for agency action; lack of fair hearing; and denial of appellate review.

In the field of Privacy, the Plenary Board moved that the ACLU should establish a standing Committee on Privacy which could study the question with particular attention to: establishing criteria to justify incursions on privacy by government and private persons and organizations; psychological testing by private organizations and government of schoolchildren and for employment purposes; use of undercover agents to investigate private organizations.

The Plenary Board also moved that the Conference refer to

the Privacy Committee the suggestion that Congress should outlaw the sale of surreptitious electronic listening devices in interstate commerce, with the amendment that the Union does not thereby sanction the use of such devices by government agencies. The Board also reaffirmed its historical absolutist policy opposing the public or private use of electronic surveillance devices.

In other program areas, the Plenary Board:

1. Referred the entire subject of conscription to the affiliates for further discussion, then to be referred to the first Plenary Board meeting in 1967.

2. Moved that the FCC, in regulating broadcasting, should seek diversity of ownerwhip and diversity of program sources, but should not regulate program content either to require desirable programs or kinds of programs, except as specified by the Fairness Doctrine and the statutory provisions concerning political candidates.

3. Moved that the ACLU commit itself during the next two years to seeking detailed policy positions on the wide range of issues posed conceptually in the following question: Given the complexity of modern society, does the government have an obligation to encourage and support affirmatively means of securing freedom of expression?

On Organizational Matters, the Board voted to:

1. Give more representation on standing committees to affiliate members and attempt to hold some of these meetings out of New York.

2. Appoint a three-man committee to investigate integrating the Northern California ACLU with the rest of the Union.

3. Retain the third-arm voting status of the National Committee.

4. Charge the committee working on recommendations to "maintain the integrity, effectiveness and viability of the ACLU" to work in conjunction with the Constitution Committee, and that pending the report of this joint committee, the National Board is requested to hold its meetings at times more convenient to all its members, including members from the affiliates.

5. Have the Roger Baldwin Foundation mark the 50th Anniversary of the ACLU in 1970 by raising a major fund to undertake basic research and educational programs.

Georgia ACLU Grant Approved

The Steering Committee of the National Development Council met at Stony Brook and approved our request for a grant based on our considerable activity in the past nine months and our more than 100% increase in membership. The grant is to maintain our present level of operation, plus an additional $2,500 to launch new programs such as the legal clinics outlined above.

While we are pleased at this recognition, the grant does not mean that we can depend upon the National organization to provide our funds. On the contrary, it carries with it the obligation to secure increased funds locally and to up our membership goals to the point where we can be self-supporting.

Some Unofficial Conference Notes: The President of the State University at Stony Brook greeted the Conference and recounted his own active role in the ACLU. He reeled off an impressive list of faculty members who belong to the ACLU, and jokingly remarked: "Of course, it's not a pre-condition of employment here, but..." Most of the delegates took this charming little introduction calmly, but I kept trying to envision the Chancellor of the University of Georgia doing this.

The Stony Brook campus is a flat, treeless affair, with the buildings cunningly laid out each identical to the other, giving you the eerie feeling of never quite knowing which one you're in. It's the kind of architecture known as Advanced Urban Renewal Reform School.

Two of the ACLU's honored founders, Roger Baldwin and Norman Thomas, now in their eighties, were introduced at the Sunday lunch. Their pungent remarks, delivered in ringing, vigorous voices, belied their years and reminded us anew how much we are in their debt.

Finally, there were too many meetings, too much smoke, too much staying up late, too many new people to meet and new ideas to absorb. Which makes it kind of hard to explain why I found the Conference to stimulating and can hardly wait until the next one.

RUNNING FOR OFFICE IN LOUISIANA LOCAL ELECTIONS

Prepared by:

BARBARA SOBOL

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70113

523-1797

INTRODUCTION

This handbook was prepared especially for those who are planning to become candidates in their local elections, --- for parish, district, ward, or municipal offices.

The first part of the book is a general memorandum on Louisiana election law. It explains procedures and sets forth the Louisiana law for both primaries and elections. Its purpose is to acquaint the candidate with what he must do, and how it must be done for each step of the election--from the day he declares himself a candidate to the day of the election.

In the section "Schedule of Important Dates," you will be able to find the exact deadlines for each step of the election. But--since these dates may be changed between now and any particular election, the dates should be carefully checked before you rely on them.

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

SOURCES

SOURCES FOR THE MATERIAL IN THIS REPORT ARE:

1. Louisiana Revised Statutes, amended through January 1967*
2. West's Louisiana Legislative Service, August 1966 (including Acts of the 1966 Regular Session of the Legislature)
3. Documents and Records of the Office of the Secretary of State
4. Roster of Officials, 1965 (issued by Secretary of State's Office)
5. Records of the Offices of clerks of courts of the parishes
6. Political and Governmental Structure of Louisiana, CORE pamphlet (1965)
7. New Orleans Times-Picayune
8. The following pamphlets issued by the Secretary of State's office**
   a. General Election Law (based on Louisiana Revised Statutes)
   b. Primary Election Law
   c. Absentee Voting Law
   d. Registration of Voters (1964)
   e. Voting Machine Law
   f. Election Information, Summer and Fall, 1966
   g. Information Relative to Muncipal Elections, 1966

* Items in the general memorandum that follows have a number after each heading. The numbers refer to the Louisiana statutes that should be consulted to find the exact law and complete details about a particular item.

** These pamphlets are brought up to date on election years. Since the election laws and schedules tend to be changed fairly often, it would be helpful to have the most recent copies of the books. Write to the Elections Office of the Office of the Secretary of State; State Capitol, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Telephone: 344-0321

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TABLE I

ELECTED OFFICES COVERED IN THIS MEMORANDUM

State-wide Offices	District Offices	Parish-wide Offices	Ward Offices of Parish
none covered	State Senator (elected by Senatorial Districts)	Sheriff	School Board Members
	State Representatives (elected by Representative Districts)	Clerk of Court	Police Jurors
	District Attorney (elected by Judicial District)	Assessor	Constables
		Coroner	Justices of the Peace
			Judges of City Courts and Marshals of City Courts in wards which contain cities over 5,000 population
			Commissioners in Parishes with Commission form of government (Plaquemines)

Municipal Offices
Mayor
Marshal
Aldermen
Selectmen, Councilmen or Trustees
City Commissioners in cities with commission plan

TABLE II: SUMMARY OF ELECTION SCHEDULES

ELECTION	OFFICES ELECTED	TERM OF OFFICE	PARTY COMMITTEE IN CHARGE	FIRST PRIMARY	SECOND PRIMARY	ELECTION DATE
GENERAL GUBERNATORIAL ELECtion (every 4 years (1968, 1972 etc.)	State Senator Representative Sheriff Clerk of Court Assessor Constable Justice of Peace Police Jurors Coroner party state central committee	4 years	District Committees Parish Committees	first Saturday in November	5 weeks from date of first primary	A Tuesday, seven weeks and three days after the 2d primary, or twelve weeks and three days after the 1st.
CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION (every 2 years) 1968, 1970, 1972, stc.)	School Boards	2 years (1/3 elected every 2 years)	Judicial District and Parish committees	Second Saturday after the first Monday in August	6 weeks from date of first primary	The Tuesday following the first Monday in November
	City Judges & Marshals District Attorney	6 years				
	party parish committees	2 years				
MUNICIPAL ELECTION(most cities every 4 years)*	Mayor Marshal Aldermen or **	4 years	Municipal executive committees	a Saturday between 60 & 70 days before election	5 weeks from date of first primary	the Tuesday following the second Monday in June

* (cont... (Bogalusa, Minden some cities) hold their elections with the congressional Election **(cont... Selectmen or councilmen or commissioners(commission form of government) municipal executive party committees

TABLE III

LIST OF SPECIAL QUALIFICATIONS FOR OFFICE

Any registered voter who has been a resident of his parish for a year may run for any office; with the following exceptions:

All candidates in political primaries: must be registered as party members for at least 6 months and must also meet any special qualifications the party requires. NOTE: Check on special qualifications by contacting your local party committee chairman (his name is filed with the clerk of the Parish Court).

All candidates who run as independants: must be registered but not as a party member of the Democrats, Republicans or other official party. He must have no party membership for at least 6 months.

State Representative: citizen of Louisiana for five years; resident of the representative district for two years

State Senator: at least 25 years old; citizen of Louisiana for five years; resident of his senatorial district for two years

Police Juror: citizen of Louisiana for five years: resident of Parish (not ward) for two years

Sheriff: State Central Committee requires that he own property

Justice of the Peace: property owner; of good moral character; able to read and write the English language

District Attorney: resident of district; three years practice of law in Louisiana (next election 1972).

Judge of City Court: same qualifications as Justice of the Peace (in cities of more than 15,000 judges must be practicing attorneys (opinion of Attorney General)).

Minden: Practice of law for 1 year

Monroe: Practice of law for 3 years

Bogalusa: Practice of law for 2 years

Mayor: resident of municipality; resident of the parish for 2 years

Aldermen: resident of municipality and resident of ward for 2 years. (If a city is divided into ward 1 aldermen is elected from each ward, and 1 at large.)

Political Party Committee Member: qualified voter in Parish from which he desires to be elected, registered for at least 2 years with party for State Central Committee and 6 months for other committees (Parish, municipal)

City Attorney: (Bogalusa): Resident of Bogalusa with 2 years practice in Louisiana

RUNNING FOR OFFICE IN LOUISIANA LOCAL ELECTIONS

I. THE THREE TYPES OF REGULARLY-HELD ELECTIONS.

A. GENERAL (GUBERNATORIAL)ELECTION. (18:544)

WHEN: Every four years on the first Tuesday following the end of the seventh week after the date of the second primary. (The primaries will fall in the autumn of 1967, 1971 etc; the elections will fall in January 1968, 1972 etc.) WHO IS ELECTED: Both state and parish officers, including STATE SENATORS and REPRESENTATIVES, SHERIFF, CLERK OF COURT, ASSESSOR, CORONER, POLICE JURORS, CONSTABLE, JUSTICES OF THE PEACE, and State Central Committee Members.

B. CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION (18:548)

WHEN: Every two years (1968, 1970 etc.) on the first Tuesday following the first Monday in November. WHO IS ELECTED: DISTRICT, ATTORNEYS (every six years 1972, 1978, etc.) MEMBERS OF PARISH SCHOOL BOARDS (one-third every two years); CITY JUDGES AND MARSHALS of the CITY COURTS (every six years 1972, 1978, etc.), and Parish Executive Committee Members.

C. MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (18:781)

WHEN: In most cities (including specifically Arcadia, Jonesville, Ferriday, Vidalia, Lake Providence, Slaughter, Norwood, Wilson, Jonesboro, Tallulah, Clinton, Opelousas, Covington, St. Francisville), they are held every four years on the Tuesday following the second Monday in June. Cities with special charters (Homer, Monroe, Plaquemines, Bogalusa, Minden) may hold their elections at different times. WHO IS ELECTED: Municipal officers--- See Table I.

II. WAYS TO BECOME A CANDIDATE: POLITICAL PRIMARIES (18:281)

There are three ways to become a candidate. The only way to become a candidate of a political party is through the party's primary. Usually, this is the best method of becoming a candidate for office. To be a candidate in a political primary, you must be registered in the party. (The other procedures to become an independant candidate or a write-in candidate will be discussed in later paragraphs. (See pp. 16-18). This section will deal only with the political primary.

A. KINDS OF PRIMARIES

1. The general (Gubernatorial) election first primary is held on the first Saturday of November before the election (November 1967, November, 1971.)

2. The Congressional election first primary is held on the second Saturday after the first Monday in August before the election(August, 1968, August, 1970, etc.)

3. The Municipal Primary (for the majority of municipal elections) is held on a Saturday between 60 and 70 days before the election.

B. WHO MAY RUN IN A PRIMARY

You may run as a candidate if (1) You are a voter who is registered with the party for at least 6 months; (2) have the qualifications for the office that Louisiana state law requires (see Table III: Qualifications for Office, pages 3, 4); and (3) you have any special qualifications for the office that the party's state central committee requires over and above the Louisiana law. (Also see Table III for these).

C. WHO MAY VOTE IN A PRIMARY (18:33)

State law requires that a voter must be registered at least 30 days before the primary. Party rules require that voters must be registered party members. Anyone who has changed his registration from one party to another

may not vote in his new party 's primary for six months.

D. FIRST PRIMARY AND SECOND PRIMARY

If a candidate gets a majority of the votes cast in the first primary, he is the nominee of the party for the general election. If no candidate gets a majority, there must be a second primary held to decide between the two candidates who got the highest number of votes in the first primary. The dates of the second primaries are as follows: (See also TABLE II for dates p. 2)

1. The general (gubernatorial) second primary is held five weeks FROM THE FIRST PRIMARY. If there is no second primary for governor, the second general primary for all other offices is held six weeks from the date of the first primary.

2. The congressional second primary is held six weeks from the date of the first primary.

3. Municipal second primaries are held five weeks from the first primary.

NOTE: When a candidate in a primary has no opponent, the committee that called the primary cancels the primary and declares him to be the nominee of the party. (18:361)

E. WHO CONTROLS PRIMARIES: (18:258-298)

While almost everything that happens in a primary or an election is made official only with the approval of the Secretary of State in Baton Rouge, the main responsibility for conducting and supervising both the primaries and the elections is in the hands of the political party com-

mittees. (These are important positions of political power and are elected just as other political officeholders.) The following are the three major committees that control the conduct of the political party primaries.

1. The State Central Committee. This committee makes the rules and regulations for running primaries. As long as its rules do not conflict with state law, the committee can decide who is qualified to vote or run in its own primaries. It is made up of elected members from each parish (as many members from each parish as there are members of the state House of Representatives). The members of this committee also serve on the district committees that run the district primaries for the state legislature, judges, etc. Members of this committee are elected at the gubernatorial primary.

2. The Parish Executive Committees. These committees supervise the parish primaries in congressional election years. The members are elected by wards at the congressional primaries (as many from each ward as there are police jurors, plus 5 at-large members.)

3. The Municipal Executive Committees in each municipality run their local primaries. Each ward of a municipality elects one member to the committee at the municipal primary.

F. HOW THE FIRST PRIMARY IS CALLED (18:299-305)

1. General Election Primary. The State Central Committee meets and calls the primary for the State officers on the first Saturday in August before the election. Within 10 days, the

respective district and parish committees call the primaries that will nominate candidates for all the district, ward, parish officers and state legislators.

2. The Congressional Primary. This is called by the State Central Committee or the Congressional District committees on the second Friday in June preceding the election. Within 5 days, the local party committees (district, parish, municipal) meet and issue their calls for primaries to nominate candidates for district, judicial, parish, ward or other local offices.

3. The Municipal Primary. The municipal executive committees meet and call for municipal primaries between 118 and 133 days before the election.

4. Public Notice of Party Meetings. The party committees must keep minutes of all meetings, including the meeting to call the primaries. The minutes are always available at the Clerk of Court's office in the parish courthouse. A copy of the minutes must also be posted on the main door of the courthouse within 24 hours of the meeting. The minutes of the meetings to call primaries will include the following important information:

   a. The deadline for filing your notification to become a candidate.

   b. The exact amount of money required as a deposit (to be paid at time of filing)

   c. The name of the chairman and the secretary of the

party committee calling the primary. Since documents must be filed with the chairman of the committee, these are important names to know.

G. HOW TO DECLARE ONESELF A CANDIDATE IN A PRIMARY (18:308-312)

The deadline for a candidate's filing his "intention to become a candidate" notice with the chairman of the committee that called the primary is no later than 5:00 p.m. on the seventh day after a particular primary has been called.

Within the proper period, the candidate he must file a written notification that he intends to become a candidate and must declare under oath that he is "to the best of his knowledge and belief" a duly qualified elector under the constitution and laws of Louisiana, a member of the party, and that he possesses the qualifications required by the state central committee. *(NOTE: If chairman of the proper committee is unavailable, the notification may be filed with the secretary of the committee: if the secretary is also not available, then and only then it may be filed by mail, properly registered, and addressed to the chairman).

H. Fees: Candidates must deposit the following fees when they file their notice to become a candidate.

1. For parish or district officers: $5 (plus up to $25 more see Note below)

2. For ward officers: $1 (plus up to $25 more, see Note below)

3. For municipal officers: up to $100 (to be used by the committee to defray expenses, see Note below).

*NOTE: It is important not to miss the deadline for filing notification of intent to become a candidate. If the exact date of the deadline and the exact deposit required are not posted on the courthouse door or available from the clerk's office as required by law, telephone the party committee chairman at once and ask for the information. (His name, address, and phone number should be available from the clerk of court or the Secretary of State's office in Baton Rouge). Whenever public information such as this is not given to you, you should contact a lawyer without delay.

*NOTE: When no candidates have filed notices of intent to run in the primary, the committee that called the primary chooses its own nominee. They may select anyone they wish as long as he has been registered with the party for at least 6 months.

I. OBJECTION TO CANDIDATES

Any candidate, qualified voter, or member of the committee calling the election may object to a candidate on the ground that he does not meet the specified qualifications. The objection must be filed with the proper committee chairman or secretary within 5 DAYS AFTER THE LAST DAY FOR NOTIFICATION OR CANDIDACY. The objection must be in writing, and must give detailed reasons for objecting. An exact

copy of the objection must be served on the candidate objected to and a certificate must be submitted to the chairman or secretary of the committee saying that this has been done (giving the time and the place that it was served) Once the objection is filed, the candidate has 48 hours to file an answer; then the committee meets within the next 72 hours and hears the evidence. Within 24 hours after the hearing ends, the committee gives its opinion. Either side may appeal the decision by bringing a suit.

J. VOTING COMMISSIONERS AND OTHER OFFICERS FOR PRIMARIES

Voting is supervised by voting commissioners and other officers who are chosen by the party committees from among names submitted by the candidates. These officers keep order, count the ballots and record protested ballots at the polls. It is of utmost importance for a candidate to have persons of his choice serving as election officials.

1. First Primary Officials (18:339-345)

Each candidate on or before 5:00 p.m. of the 40th day before the first primary, submits a list of proposed voting commissioners for each precinct (or poll) in which he is running. These lists can be submitted any time after the candidate files his "notice of intention" until the deadline. Lists must include addresses and precinct (or poll) where each would serve. *

If there are	Each candidate submits _____ names per precinct
5 or more candidates for office	1
3 or 4 candidates for office	2
2 candidates for office	3

You can find out exactly how many candidates there are for a particular office by either calling the party committee chairman or by calllng the Secretary of State office (election department) in Baton Rouge, (telephone: 344:0321). The list of certified candidates is a public document and the Secretary of State keeps a copy of it for at least a year.

The committees meet at 10:00 a.m., 28 days before the primary and select 5 commissioners for each precinct by means of a public drawing at the courthouse (city hall in municipal elections). The losers automatically become poll watchers. Therefore, if a candidate files names of proposed commissioners in accordance with these procedures he is assured of having a representative in each polling place at all times.

There must also be alternate commissioners chosen. Each candidate who has had one of his commissioners chosen is entitled now to choose his alternate. He submits names to the committee chairman no later than 5:00 p.m., 10 days before the election. The paper he files must tell (1) the name of the commissioner that was chosen and opposite each name (2) the name of the alternate and (3) the ward and precinct for each. The paper is to be signed by the candidate.

2. Second Primary Officials (18:357)

In second primaries, voting commissioners and pollwatchers will be the same as in first primaries. This is true for

all primaries except second primaries for governor (and all local officials who run at the same time) and for mayor. A different procedure is used to choose voting commissioners in these primaries, as follows:

At least 15 days before the 2nd primary, the candidate for mayor or governor submits to each respective parish or municipal committee, the names of five persons in each precinct as possible commissioners. On the 15th day before the primary, the party committee officers meet at the courthouse and select the commissioners by a drawing in such a way that one candidate shall have three commissioners and the other candidate have two commissioners in every alternate precinct. The left-over names in each precinct will be the pollwatchers. No other candidate gets to select commissioners in second primaries that include a race for governor or mayor. Whenever a candidate does have a commissioner in a second primary, he must select alternate commissioners.

K. POLLING PLACES AND VOTING PROCEDURES

1. Location of polling places. The location of the polling places is published by the parish committees at least three times in the official parish journal. Any candidate or committee member may object to the location or arrangement of any polling place within 5 days of the first official publication. (The first publication is at least 30 days before the election). A hearing is held within a week of the first publication date to determine the legality of the polling place. The decision reached by the authority that fixed

the polling place may be challenged in court.

2. A list of voters who are registered as members of the party holding the primary is made up by the Registrar of Voters and sent to the polling places 5 days before the primary. This is the checklist against which each voter is checked as he comes in to vote.

3. Protesting a vote. A commissioner, a pollwatcher, or any qualified voter may protest someone's casting his ballot. A challenged voter who has the proper credentials may go ahead and vote, but the commissioner makes a record of the challenge and the reasons for it and attaches it to the ballot.

L. DECLARING THE WINNERS

The voting commissioners keep accurate poll lists (lists of those who voted), lists of protested ballots and talley sheets of the actual number of votes cast for each candidate. When district, parish, ward, or municipal local candidates are running for nomination, one sheet and one poll list are sent to the chairman of the party committee. The party committee then compiles the results and officially certifies the winner to the Secretary of State on the 4th or 5th day after the primary. (Specific dates of certification for different elections are included in the Calendar of Important Dates). The actual day of official certification will be written in the party committee's minutes and should be posted on the door of the courthouse.

M. CONTESTING A PRIMARY

When a candidate feels that fraud or some other irregularity has prevented him from being nominated or from entering a second primary, he can contest the primary results. To do so, he must file a petition

with the parish district court NO MORE THAN TWO DAYS AFTER THE OFFICIAL DECLARATION OF RESULTS. To find out the days that the results are officially declared, consult the posted minutes of the party committee on the courthouse door or check with the clerk of court on the 4th or 5th day after the election.)

The candidate's petition must tell specifically why he is contesting the primary. He may ask for a recount of specific ballot boxes (a charge of $20 is made for each box recounted.)

NOTE: Since contesting the primary is a matter that will be tried in court, it is important to contact a lawyer at once.

III. BECOMING A CANDIDATE OTHER THAN THROUGH A POLITICAL PRIMARY (18:621-628)

A. INDEPENDANT CANDIDATES for municipal, parish and ward offices may be nominated by NOMINATION PAPERS submitted to the Secretary of State. A candidate nominated in this way will be included on the ballot as an independant.

For parish and municipal offices, at least 100 qualified voters (for ward offices, at least 25) must sign their names and addresses, in person. No voter who is registered with a political party can be a certified signer of nomination papers. The voter must be unaffiliated with a party for at least 6 months. No voter who has changed or cancelled his party membership within 6 months before the primary can sign. It is always best to submit at least ten names more than the number required to allow for disqualifications. The nomination papers are first submitted to the registrar of voters of the parish who certifies how many names are actually qualified voters. For each page of the nomination papers, one of the

signers of that paper must attach an affidavit that the statements on that page are true to the best of his knowledge and belief; and he must include his street address and post office address. These papers must be filed with the Secretary of State ON OR BEFORE THE DAY OF THE SECOND PRIMARY, whether or not there is a second primary. It is best to file in person, but if the papers are mailed allow 3 days. The papers also contain:

1. Candidate's name
2. Place of residence
3. Place of business
4. no more than 3 words to designate his political principal or "party"
5. The name of the office for which he is being nominated

If there is no objection to the nomination papers, the candidate is certified and his name is placed on the official ballot. Certificates of nomination and nomination papers are public documents, and copies of them are kept in the Secretary of State's office.

Any one who wishes to object to the regularity of nomination papers must do so in writing within 72 hours after the last day for filing the papers. He must also notify the candidate objected to and must certify under oath to the Secretary of State how he has notified the candidate. A contest board (made up of the Secretary of State, the Auditor, Treasurer and two electors appointed by the governor) hears the case and its decision is final.

B. <u>WRITE-IN CANDIDATES</u> (18:732)

A person who wishes to become a write-in candidate must file a statement with a clerk of the district court of the parish; the statement must con-

tain his correct name and must state that he is "willing and consents to be voted for that office." The deadline for filing is NOT LATER THAN THE TENTH DAY AFTER THE DATE OF THE SECOND PRIMARY. The clerk must post a copy of this notice on his door and must give a copy to the board of supervisors of the election. The board of supervisors makes sure the name is forwarded to the polling places.

C. WHEN THERE ARE NO INDEPENDANT AND NO WRITE-IN CANDIDATES WHO QUALIFY

When only one party (the Democratic Party) has certified its nominees to the Secretary of State, and no independant or write-in candidates qualify, the governor issues a Proclamation cancelling the general election and declaring the primary winners elected to office.

IV. FORMING A NEW POLITICAL PARTY (18:625)

Whenever more than 1000 voters wish to organize a new political party that will be recognized as such by law, and they have nominated a candidate for a statewide office or an office in a congressional district, they must follow this procedure:

1. State in their nomination certificate that they are candidates for party recognition under _____(name). (This party name will be printed on the ballot)

If at the election their candidates or any one of their candidates receives 5% of all the votes cast in the entire state, they shall be recognized as a lawful political party for the next election.

V. THE ELECTION

The general election, congressional election and municipal elections are run in the following manner:

A. SUPERVISION

1. A Board of Supervisors for each parish, made up of the Registrar of Voters and two others appointed by the governor, supervises the election.

2. Commissioners and Clerk. 30 days before the election, the board of supervisors appoints 3 commissioners and 1 clerk for each polling precinct. The names are chosen from lists that the political parties (not the individual candidates) submit at least 35 days before the elections. The lists contain the names of at least 6 qualified voters registered with the party. These officers are present at the polling places on election day and supervise the voting, the record keeping, counting of votes, etc.

3. Pollwatchers. Each party (not individual candidates) may appoint one watcher per precinct. The pollwatchers help to keep order at the polls. They may protest irregularities and individual votes.

B. PROCEDURES ON ELECTION DAY.

The commissioners keep duplicate lists of those who voted. When the votes are counted, the commissioners make a triplicate record of the votes cast, the number of votes rejected and why. One set of records is sent to the board of supervisors; one is mailed to the Secretary of State; the third set is placed back in the ballot box and the ballot box is sealed and delivered to the Clerk of Court.

Within six days after the polls are closed, the Board of Supervisors meets

at the parish courthouse in the presence of at least 3 voters, makes a true statement of the election results, and makes a public proclamation of the results. They make 3 official statements; one goes to the Secretary of State; one to the Clerk of Court, and one is kept by the Board of Supervisors.

C. DECLARING A WINNER.

The Secretary of State declares the official results. Not less than 10 and not more than 20 days after election day, the Secretary of State compiles the returns received from the Boards of Supervisors, publishe them, and declares the official winners.

Thereafter, the governor issues commissions to the winners. In a gubernatorial election, he issues commissions to local elected officials within 30 days of his inauguration. In other elections, he issues commissions at least 30 days after the election.

D. CONTESTING THE ELECTION (18:1251)

Any defeated candidate for a parish, district, or municipal office who feels that he is the rightful winner can contest the results of the election. He must do so within 30 days after the official declaration of results. He files a petition in the district court giving the facts that he intends to contest, and he also files a petition signed by at least 20 voters for district or parish offices and 10 voters for ward or municipal offices asking the court to proceed and examine these facts. Since this is a legal proceeding, it is important to contact an attorney.

APPENDIX I

SPECIAL PRIMARIES AND ELECTIONS in case of vacancy, death, withdrawal or resignation of candidates.

A. Special elections for state legislators. (18:546)

If a state legislator's seat becomes vacant because of death or resignation, and there is going to be a session of the legislature before the next general election, the governor orders a special election.

B. Special elections in case a candidate dies before the scheduled election. (18:305)

If a candidate dies during a period of time from thirty days before the primary up to the date of the election, a special election must be held, between the original remaining candidates and a new candidate who gets the nomination for the vacant place. (18:631) The date for the special election is fixed by the authority in accordance with the laws for general elections. When a special election of this sort is to be held, the party committee with the authority to call the primary calls a new primary and sets new deadlines for filing, choosing commissioners, second primaries, etc. They may fix whatever dates they choose, as long as they allow a reasonable amount of time for candidates to act. These dates will be included in the committee's minutes of their meetings and are required by law to be posted on the front door of the courthouse.

C. When a candidate in a primary dies more than 30 days before the primary.

In a primary, if a candidate dies more than 30 days before the pri-

mary date, new candidates may enter and file their notification of intent to become a candidate even though the deadline for filing has passed. The new filing deadline is 5 days after the death.

APPENDIX II

ABSENTEE VOTING PROVISIONS for both Primaries and Elections (for absentee voting in person only)

During the period of time 19 days to 6 days before an election (or primary) any registered voter who is or expects to be absent from the parish may vote in person. Voters make their applications in person at the Clerk of Court's Office or at one of the "sub-offices" he is allowed to set up to make voting easier. The Clerk must keep regular office hours during the period for absentee voting. He must also keep a list of absentee voters posted "in a conspicuous place at the entrance to his office."

The absentee voter applies in person and makes a written application to vote. He marks his ballot in the office, but in secret. All the absentee ballots are delivered by the Clerk of Court to the proper election commissioners at the proper precincts.

At the polls, the absentee ballots are individually verified as to qualifications; if verified, a ballot is counted just like other ballots. The ballot of an absentee voter may be protested the same as votes cast in person on election day.

APPENDIX III

MULTIPLE OFFICE RACES

A.

VOTING FOR PLURAL CANDIDATES (18:351) IN PRIMARIES AND ELECTIONS

Whenever there are two or more officers of the same kind to be elected (for example, when there are three school board members to be elected from one ward), each voter must vote for as many candidates as there are open places to be filled. If he votes for fewer than the full number, his vote will not count.

In a case of plural offices, for example 5 candidates for three school board positions, the voter can best help the candidate of his first choice win by VOTING FOR HIS FIRST CHOICE CANDIDATE PLUS THE OTHER CANDIDATES WHO ARE FAVORED TO WIN. This procedure will avoid casting votes for candidates whom your candidate may otherwise defeat.

B.

HOW TO DETERMINE MAJORITY IN MULTIPLE OFFICE RACES

Total number of votes cast for all candidates
Divide by the number of offices to be filled
Divide by 2

Any candidate having a number of votes in excess thereof will have a majority.

If more candidates receive a majority than the number of offices to be filled, offices are filled from the candidates having the largest number of votes. (201 La. 637; 10 So. 2d 213)

APPENDIX IV

LOUISIANA STATE SENATORIAL DISTRICTS, AS REAPPORTIONED IN 1966

District No. 1: Caddo Parish (3 senators)

District No. 2: Bossier and Webster Parishes (1 senator)

District No. 3: Claiborne, Bienville, Lincoln and Union Parishes (1 senator)

District No. 4: Ouachita, East Carroll, Morehouse and West Carroll Parishes (2 senator.

District No. 5: Richland, Madison, Franklin, and Tensas Parishes (1 senator)

District No. 6: De Soto, Sabine, Vernon and Beauregard Parishes (1 senator)

District No. 7: Red River, Natchitoches, Rapides and Grant (2 senators)

District No. 8: Avouelles, Evangeline and Allen Parishes (1 senator)

District No. 9: Calcasieu, Jefferson Davis and Cameron Parishes (2 senators)

District No. 10: Acadia and Vermillion Parishes (1 senator)

District No. 11: Lafayette Parish (1 senator)

District No. 12: St. Landry Parish (1 senator)

District No. 13: West Feliciana, Pointe Coupee, West Baton Rouge and Iberville Parishes (1 senator)

District No. 14: St. Martin and Iberia Parishes (1 senator)

District No. 15: St. Mary, Assumption, Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes (2 senators)

District No. 16: East Feliciana and East Baton Rouge Parishes (3 senators)

District No. 17: Ascension, St. James, St. John the Baptist, and St. Charles Parishes (1 senator)

District No. 18: Jefferson Parish less Wards 1,2, and 3 (2 senators)

District No. 19: Wards 1, 2, 15, of Orleans Parish (1 senator)

District No. 20: Wards 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, and 11 of Orleans (2 senators)

District No. 21: Wards 12, 13, 14, 16 and 17 of Orleans (2 senators)

District No. 22: Ward 7 of Orleans Parish (1 senator)

District No. 23: Wards 8 and 9 of Orleans Parish (2 senators)

District No. 24: St. Helena, Livingston and Tangipahoa (1 senator)

District No. 25: Washington and St. Tammany Parishes (1 senator)

District No. 26: Plaquemines, St. Bernard, and Wards 1, 2, 3, of Jefferson Parish (1 senator)

District No. 27: Winn, La Salle, Caldwell, Catahoula, Concordia and Jackson Parishes (1 senator)

LOUISIANA STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DISTRICTS AS REAPPORTIONED IN 1966

District No. 1: St. Bernard and Plaquemines Parish (2 representatives)

District No. 2: Jefferson Parish (6 representatives)

District No. 3: St. James, St. Charles, St. John the Baptist Parishes (2 representatives)

District No. 4: St. Martin Parish (1 representative)

District No. 5: St. Landry Parish (3 representatives)

District No. 6: Ascension Parish (1 representative)

District No. 7: St. Mary and Iberia Parishes (3 representatives)

District No. 8: La Fourche and Assumption Parishes (2 representatives)

District No. 9: Terrebonne (2 representatives)

District No. 10: Iberville, West Baton Rouge and Pointe Coupee Parishes (2 representatives)

District No. 11: East Feliciana and West Feliciana Parishes (1 representative)

District No. 12: St. Tammany and Washington Parishes (3 representatives)

District No. 13: Livingston and St. Helena Parishes (1 representative)

District No. 14: Tangipahoa Parish (2 representatives)

District No. 15: Jefferson Davis Parish (1 representative)

District No. 16: Evangeline Parish (1 repeesentative)

District No. 17: Avoyelles Parish (1 representative)

District No. 18: Calcasieu and Cameron Parishes (5 representatives)

District No. 19: Lafayette Parish (3 representatives)

District No. 20: Wards 1 and 2, Orleans Parish (1 representative)

District No. 22: WArd 4, Orleans Parish (1 representative)

District No. 23: Ward 5, Orleans Parish (1 representative)

District No. 24: Wards 6, and 7, Orleans Parish (3 representatives)

District No. 25: Ward 8, less the first 6 precincts, Orleans Parish (1 representative)

District No. 26: Ward 9 plus precincts 1-6 of Ward 8, Orleans Parish (4 representatives)

District No. 27: Wards 10 and 11, Orleans Parish (2 representatives)

District No. 28: Wards 12 and 13, Orleans Parish (2 representatives)

District No. 29: Wards 14 and 16, Orleans Parish (1 representative)

District No. 30: Ward 17, Orleans Parish (1 representative)

District No. 31: Ward 15, Orleans Parish (1 representative)

District No. 32: East Carroll and West Carroll Parishes (1 representative)

District No. 33: Vernon, Beauregard and Allen Parishes (2 representatives)

District No. 34: East Baton Rouge Parish (7 representatives)

District No. 35: Acadia and Vermillion Parishes (3 representatives)

District No. 36: Grant and Rapides Parishes (4 representatives)

District No. 37: Natchitoches Parish (1 representative)

District No. 38: De Soto, Red River and Sabine Parishes (2 representatives)

District No. 39: Caddo Parish (7 representatives)

District No. 40: Bossier Parish (2 representatives)

District No. 41: Webster and Claiborne Parishes (2 representatives)

District No. 42: Bienville and Jackson Parishes (1 representative)

District No. 43: Lincoln Parish (1 representative)

District No. 44: Union and Morehouse Parishes (2 representatives)

District No. 45: Winn and La Salle Parishes (1 representative)

District No. 46: Caldwell and Richland Parishes (1 representative)

District No. 47: Franklin, Madison, and Tensas Parishes (2 representatives)

District No. 48: Catahoula and Concordia Parishes (1 representative)

District No. 49: Ouachita Parish (3 representatives)

SECTION TWO

THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS

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Offices to be Elected, by Parish, Ward, and Municipality, in the forthcoming elections 1967 - 1972	29
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NOTE: These schedules are for use as guides, dates and deadlines included on the schedules may be changed between now and the time of any particular election. Be sure to check all dates carefully.

PARISH OF CATAHOULA

OFFICES TO BE ELECTED
1967 - 1970

GENERAL (GUBERNATORIAL) ELECTION, JANUARY 30, 1968

1 State Senator (s) from District 27

1 State Representative(s) from District 48

State Central Committee members

Sheriff

Clerk of Court

Assessor

Coroner

Police Jurors (ALL 7 WARDS)

Constable

Justice of the Peace (1 EACH FROM ALL WARDS)

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 5, 1968

School Board Members, WARDS 1 AND 5

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 3, 1970

School Board Members WARDS 4, 6, AND 7

~~CITY~~ TOWN ~~VILLAGE~~ of JONESVILLE (2,341)

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (held under provisions of LRS 13:321 the "Lawrason Act") (special charter) JUNE 9, 1970

Mayor

Marshal

5 Aldermen, Selectmen, Councilmen

PARISH OF BIENVILLE

OFFICES TO BE ELECTED
1967 - 1970

GENERAL (GUBERNATORIAL) ELECTION, JANUARY 30, 1968

1 State Senator (s) from District 3

1 State Representative(s) from District 42

State Central Committee members

Sheriff

Clerk of Court

Assessor

Coroner

Police Jurors (all 7 wards)

Constable
Justice of the Peace
} one each from: District One (wards 1 and 2)
District Two (wards 4 and 5)
District Three (wards 3, 6, 7,)

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 5, 1968

School Board Members, Wards 4 and 6

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 3, 1970

School Board Members Wards 1 and 7

~~CITY~~ TOWN ~~VILLAGE~~ of ARCADIA (2,547)

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (held under provisions of LRS 13:321 , the "Lawrason Act") (~~special charter~~) JUNE 9, 1970

Mayor

Marshal

5 Aldermen, ~~Selectmen, Councilmen~~

PARISH OF ST. TAMMANY

OFFICES TO BE ELECTED
1967 - 1970

GENERAL (GUBERNATORIAL) ELECTION, JANUARY 30, 1968

1 State Senator (s) from District 25

3 State Representative(s) from District 12

State Central Committee members

Sheriff

Clerk of Court

Assessor

Coroner

Police Jurors (10 wards)-ward 3 and ward 9 each have 3 Police Jurors

Constable

Justice of the Peace

2 constables and 2 Justices of the Peace each for wards 2, 3, 4, 9, 10
1 constable and 1 Justice of the Peace each for wards 1, 5, 6, 7, 8

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 5, 1968

School Board Members, Wards 1, 2, 3, (2 members)

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 3, 1970

School Board Members Wards 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, (2 members)

CITY ~~TOWN~~ ~~VILLAGE~~ of COVINGTON (6,754)

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (held under provisions of LRS 13:321 , the "Lawrason Act") (~~special charter~~) JUNE 13, 1967

Mayor

~~Marshal~~

6 ~~Aldermen, Selectmen~~, Councilmen

PARISH OF CONCORDIA

OFFICES TO BE ELECTED
1967 - 1970

GENERAL (GUBERNATORIAL) ELECTION, JANUARY 30, 1968

2 State Senator (s) from District 27

1 State Representative(s) from District 48

State Central Committee members

Sheriff

Clerk of Court

Assessor

Coroner

Police Jurors All 12 wards (ward 5 and ward 7 have 2 Police Jurors each

Constable

Justice of the Peace

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 5, 1968

School Board Members, Wards 1, 4, 10, 12

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 3, 1970

School Board Members Wards 3, 5, (2 members) 7 (2 members), 11

~~CITY~~ TOWN ~~VILLAGE~~ of Vidalia (4,313) and FERRIDAY (4,563)

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (held under provisions of LRS 13:321 , the "Lawrason Act") (~~special charter~~) JUNE 11, 1968

Mayor

Marshal (Vidalia only)

5 Aldermen, ~~Selectmen, Councilmen~~

PARISH OF EAST FELICIANA

OFFICES TO BE ELECTED
1967 - 1970

GENERAL (GUBERNATORIAL) ELECTION, JANUARY 30, 1968

3 State Senator (s) from District ~~16~~

1 State Representative(s) from District ~~1~~

State Central Committee members

Sheriff

Clerk of Court

Assessor

Coroner

Police Jurors (all 8 wards)- ward 3 has 3 Police Jurors

Constable)
) one from each:
Justice of the Peace) Justice of the Peace ward 1 (wards 1 & 2)
Justice of the Peace ward 2 (wards 3 & 4)
Justice of the Peace ward 3 (wards 5 &6)
Justice of the Peace ward 4 (wards 7 & 8)

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 5, 1968

School Board Members, wards 2, 3, and 7

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 3, 1970

School Board Members wards 1, 3, 4, and 8

---IGT of _____ ( )

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS FOR:

TOWN of SLAUGHTER (403) . . .JUNE 11, 1968
VILLAGE OF NORWOOD (427). . .JUNE 11, 1968
*VILLAGE OF WILSON (-) .. . .JUNE 10, 1969
} held under provisions of LRS 13:321, "the Lawrason Act"

TOWN OF JACKSON (1,864). . . .SEPT. 2, 1968
TOWN of CLINTON (1,568). . . JUNE 13, 1967
} held under a special city charter)

Election of: Mayor, Marshal (in Norwood and Wilson), and aldermen or trustees.

*in 1965, officials in Wilson appointed by Governor

PARISH OF CLAIBORNE

OFFICES TO BE ELECTED
1967 - 1970

GENERAL (GUBERNATORIAL) ELECTION, JANUARY 30, 1968

1 State Senator (s) from District 3

2 State Representative(s) from District 41

State Central Committee members

Sheriff

Clerk of Court

Assessor

Coroner

Police Jurors (9 wards)

Constable and Justice of the Peace — 1 each for the following districts:

1st justice of peace court (ward 2,3,4)
2nd justice of peace court (ward 5,6,7)
3rd justice of peace court (ward 1,8,9)

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 5, 1968

School Board Members, ward 7 (3 members)

ward 8 and ward 9

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 3, 1970

School Board Members ward 4,5,6

~~CITY~~ TOWN ~~VILLAGE~~ of Homer (4,665)

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (held under provisions of LRS 13:321 , the [redacted]) (special charter) June 9, 1970

Mayor

Marshal, night marshal

5 [redacted] Selectmen, Councilmen

PARISH OF PLAQUEMINES

OFFICES TO BE ELECTED
1967 - 1970

GENERAL (GUBERNATORIAL) ELECTION, JANUARY 30, 1968

1 State Senator (s) from District 26

2 State Representative(s) from District 1

State Central Committee members

Sheriff

Clerk of Court

Assessor

Coroner

~~Police Jurors~~ PARISH COMMISSION COUNCIL (no Police Jury) elected from 4 districts ~~xx~~ in the parish

Constable
Justice of the Peace

District 1 elects 2 commissioners
District 2 elects 1 commissioner
District 3 " " "
District 4 " " "

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 5, 1968

School Board Members, wards 2, 3, 4, 5,

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 3, 1970

School Board Members wards 7, 8, 9

CITY TOWN VILLAGE of _____ ( )

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (held under provisions of LRS 13:321 , the "Lawrason Act") (special charter) _____

Mayor

Marshal

___ Aldermen, Selectmen, Councilmen

PARISH OF EAST CARROLL

OFFICES TO BE ELECTED
1967 - 1970

GENERAL (GUBERNATORIAL) ELECTION, JANUARY 30, 1968

2 State Senator (s) from District 2

1 State Representative(s) from District 32

State Central Committee members

Sheriff

Clerk of Court

Assessor

Coroner

Police Jurors (all 7 wards) - ward 3 has 2 Police Jurors

Constable

Justice of the Peace

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 5, 1968

School Board Members, Wards 1, 5, 6

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 3, 1970

School Board Members Wards 4, 7

~~CITY~~ TOWN ~~VILLAGE~~ of LAKE PROVIDENCE (5,781)

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (held under provisions of LRS 13:321 , the "Lawrason Act") (~~special charter~~) JUNE 9, 1970

Mayor

Marshal

5 Aldermen, ~~Selectmen, Councilmen~~

PARISH OF IBERVILLE

OFFICES TO BE ELECTED
1967 - 1970

GENERAL (GUBERNATORIAL) ELECTION, JANUARY 30, 1968

1 State Senator (s) from District 13

2 State Representative(s) from District 10

State Central Committee members

Sheriff

Clerk of Court

Assessor

Coroner

9 Police Jurors, all 9 wards (ward 1 and 2 have 2 Police Jurors each)

9 Constables, all 9 wards

9 Justice of the Peace, all 9 wards

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 5, 1968

School Board Members, wards 1 (2 members) 2, and 4

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 3, 1970

School Board Members Wards 1, 3, 5 and 6 (2 members)

CITY ~~TOWN VILLAGE~~ of PLAQUEMINES (7,689)

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (held under provisions of ~~LRS 19:321~~ , ~~the "Lawrason Act"~~) (special charter) APRIL 16, 1968
date supplied by Mayor's office

Mayor

Marshal

5 ~~Aldermen~~, Selectmen, ~~Councilmen~~

PARISH OF WASHINGTON

OFFICES TO BE ELECTED
1967 - 1970

GENERAL (GUBERNATORIAL) ELECTION, JANUARY 30, 1968

1 State Senator (s) from District 25

3 State Representative(s) from District 12

State Central Committee members

Sheriff

Clerk of Court

Assessor

Coroner

Police Jurors , 9 wards (ward 3 has 2 Police Jurors and ward 4 has 5 Police Jurors)

Constable
Justice of the Peace } one from each of 9 wards except ward 4

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 5, 1968

School Board Members, wards 2, 3, 6
Bogalusa City School Board (5 members) elected 1968

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 3, 1970

School Board Members wards 1, 5, and 7

CITY ~~TOWN VILLAGE~~ of BOGALUSA (21,423)

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (held with congressional elections 1970, 1974 / ~~under provisions of LRS 13:421 the "Lawrason Act"~~) (~~special charter~~) NOVEMBER 3, 1970

Mayor (Legislative Council)

~~Marshal~~

4 ~~Aldermen, Selectmen, Councilmen~~ Commissioners , City Atty.

PARISH OF OUACHITA

OFFICES TO BE ELECTED
1967 - 1970

GENERAL (GUBERNATORIAL) ELECTION, JANUARY 30, 1968

2 State Senator (s) from District 4

3 State Representative(s) from District ~~49~~

State Central Committee members

Sheriff

Clerk of Court

Assessor

Coroner

Police Jurors (all 10 wards) wards 3, 5, and 10 have 4 Police Jurors each

Constable)
) for wards 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9
Justice of the Peace)

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 5, 1968

School Board Members, wards 1, 2, 3, (2 members) and 5 (2 members)

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 3, 1970

School Board Members wards 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10)2 members)

CITY TOWN VILLAGE of Monroe (52,219)

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (~~held under provisions of LRS 13:321 the "Lawrason Act"~~) (special charter)

Mayor
Commissioner of Finance and Utilities
~~Marshal~~
Commissioner of Streets
~~Aldermen~~, ~~Selectmen~~, ~~Councilmen~~
City School Board - 5 members

of 9.

PARISH OF WEBSTER

OFFICES TO BE ELECTED
1967 - 1970

GENERAL (GUBERNATORIAL) ELECTION, JANUARY 30, 1968

1 State Senator (s) from District 2

2 State Representative(s) from District 41

State Central Committee members

Sheriff

Clerk of Court

Assessor

Coroner

Police Jurors 5 wards (wards 2 and 4 have 4 police jurors)

Constable ward 1 and 5 have 2 constables, ward 3 has 1 constable

Justice of the Peace ward 1 and 5 have 2 justices of the peace, ward 3 has 1 justice of the peace

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 5, 1968

School Board Members, wards 2,4(2 members)

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 3, 1970 (see also Minden*, below)

School Board Members wards 1,2, 4(2 members)

CITY TOWN VILLAGE of MINDEN (12,785)

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (held under provisions of LRS 13:321, the "Lawrason Act") (special charter) November 3, 1970

Mayor

~~Marshal~~

~~Aldermen, Selectmen, Councilmen~~

Police chief
5 commissioners

PARISH OF WEST FELICIANA

OFFICES TO BE ELECTED
1967 - 1970

GENERAL (GUBERNATORIAL) ELECTION, JANUARY 30, 1968

1 State Senator (s) from District 13

1 State Representative(s) from District 11

State Central Committee members

Sheriff

Clerk of Court

Assessor

Coroner

Police Jurors 10 wards

Constable

Justice of the Peace

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 5, 1968

School Board Members, wards 8 and 9

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 3, 1970

School Board Members wards 2,5, and 7

CITY TOWN VILLAGE of ST. FRANCISVILLE (1,661)

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (held under provisions of LRS 13:321 , the "Lawrason Act") (~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~) June 11, 1968

Mayor

Marshal

5 Aldermen, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

PARISH OF ST. LANDRY

OFFICES TO BE ELECTED
1967 - 1970

GENERAL (GUBERNATORIAL) ELECTION, JANUARY 30, 1968

1 State Senator (s) from District 12

3 State Representative(s) from District 5

State Central Committee members

Sheriff

Clerk of Court

Assessor

Coroner

Police Jurors all 7 wards

Constable } one from each: Ward 1 (pre. 2 and 5)
Justice of the Peace } Ward 2 (pre. 1 and 4)
Ward 2 (pre. 2 and 3)
Ward 3 (pre. 1 through 5)
Ward 4 (pre. 1,2,5 and 7)
Ward 4 (pre. 3 and 6)
Ward 4 (pre. 4)
Ward 5 (pre. 1 and 3)
Ward 5 (pre. 2)
Ward 6 (pre. 3 and 11)
Ward 6 (pre. 4)
Ward 7 (pre. 1 and 3)
Ward 7 (pre. 4 and 5)

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 5, 1968

School Board Members,
Wards 1 (2 members) 2, and 4

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 3, 1970

Wards 1, 3, 5, 6 (2 members) Congressional Election November 1972 School Board
Attorney and Judge and ~~Marshal of City Court~~ School Board Members of Opelousas (wards 1 and 6)

CITY ~~TOWN VILLAGE~~ of OPELOUSAS (17,417)

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (held under provisions of LRS 13:321 ,
the "Lawrason Act") (~~special charter~~) JUNE 9, 1970

Mayor

Marshal

5 Aldermen, ~~Selectmen, Councilman~~

Aldermen-at-large

PARISH OF MADISON

OFFICES TO BE ELECTED
1967 - 1970

GENERAL (GUBERNATORIAL) ELECTION, JANUARY 30, 1968

1 State Senator (s) from District 3

2 State Representative(s) from District 47

State Central Committee members

Sheriff

Clerk of Court

Assessor

Coroner

Police Jurors (all 8 wards) - ward 4 has 3 Police Jurors

Constable

Justice of the Peace

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 5, 1968

School Board Members, wards 3, 4 (2 members) and 8

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 3, 1970

School Board Members wards 1, 5, 6

CITY TOWN VILLAGE of TALLULAH (9,413)

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (held under provisions of LRS 13:321 , the "Lawrason Act") (~~special charter~~) JUNE 9, 1970

Mayor

Marshal

3 Aldermen, ~~Selectmen, Councilmen~~

Police Chief

PARISH OF JACKSON

OFFICES TO BE ELECTED
1967 - 1970

GENERAL (GUBERNATORIAL) ELECTION, JANUARY 30, 1968

1 State Senator (s) from District 27

1 State Representative(s) from District 42

State Central Committee members

Sheriff

Clerk of Court

Assessor

Coroner

9 Police Jurors (all 7 wards) ward 2 has 3 police jurors

7 Constable (all 7 wards)

7 Justice of the Peace (all 7 wards)

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 5, 1968

School Board Members, wards 2(2 members), 3, and 5

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 3, 1970

School Board Members wards 2(1 member) and 4

CITY TOWN VILLAGE of Jonesboro (3,848)

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (held under provisions of LRS 13:321 , the (special charter) June 9, 1970

Mayor

Marshal

5 Aldermen,

SCHEDULE OF IMPORTANT DATES FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION, JANUARY 30, 1968

AUGUST 5 - 15, 1967 PRIMARY CALL

Meeting of political party district and parish committees to call the primary to nominate candidates for district and parish offices (within 10 days of the party State Central Committee meeting on August 5). Exact date will be in the committee's minutes posted on the courthouse door.

AUGUST 12 - 26, 1967, 5:00 P.M. NOTIFICATION OF CANDIDACY

In this period falls the last possible day to file notification of your "intention to become a candidate" with the chairman of the committee that called the primary (the seventh day after the primary call, above). Exact date and required fees are in committee minutes.

AUGUST 13 - 23, 1967 CERTIFICATION OF CANDIDATES

In this period falls the last possible day for the chairman of the committee to certify names of all candidates to Secretary of State (within 24 hours of last day to file notification, above)

AUGUST 17 - 27, 1967 OBJECTIONS TO CANDIDACY

In this period falls the last day to file objections to someone's candidacy with the chairman of the committee that called the primary (within 5 days after last day to file notification, above).

SEPTEMBER 25, 1967, 5:00 P.M. LISTS OF VOTING COMMISSIONERS

Last possible day and hour for candidates to submit names of proposed voting commissioners, for precincts in which he is running, to party committee chairman.

OCTOBER 4, 1967, VOTER REGISTRATION

Last day for registration of voters. Registrar's office closes 30 days before election.

OCTOBER 4, 1967 VOTING PLACES

Last possible day for parish committees to make their first publication of their list of proposed voting places. Second and third publication are at least a week apart. Objections to voting places must be filed within 5 days of first publication.

OCTOBER 7, 1967, 10:00 A.M. VOTING COMMISSIONERS CHOSEN

Commissioners are chosen at a public drawing held at the courthouse by the committee that called the primary. Losers automatically become pollwatchers.

OCTOBER 16, 1967 - OCTOBER 28, 1967 ABSENTEE VOTING

Absentee voting in person (in the Clerk of Court's office or sub-offices) begins not more than 19 days before the primary and ends not more than 6 days before the primary.

OCTOBER 25, 1967 5:00 P.M. ALTERNATE COMMISSIONERS

Last day and hour for candidates whose commissioners have been chosen to submit names of alternate commissioners to party committee chairman.

OCTOBER 27, 1967 LISTS OF QUALIFIED VOTERS

Last possible day for Registrar of Voters to make a complete list of all voters affiliated with the party (at least 7 days before primary). October 29 is the last day for Registrar to deliver this list to the Parish Custodian of Voting Machines (at least 5 days before primary).

NOVEMBER 4, 1967 FIRST PRIMARY

NOVEMBER 8 - 9, 1967 RETURNS COMPILED AND CERTIFIED

Returns in local elections are tabulated and compiled by the party committee and nominees are certified to the Secretary of State no earlier than the fourth nor later than the fifth day after the primary.

NOVEMBER 8, 1967 VOTER REGISTRATION, SECOND PRIMARY

Last possible day to register before the second primary. Registrar's office closes 30 days before the primary election.

NOVEMBER 8, 1967 PUBLICATION OF VOTING LOCATIONS

Last possible day for Parish Committees to make first publication of voting places for the second primary. Objections must be filed within 5 days.

NOVEMBER 10 - 11, 1967 CONTESTING PRIMARY

Last possible day (within 48 hours of certification date, above) that one may contest a primary for a local official.

NOVEMBER 20, - DECEMBER 2, 1967 ABSENTEE VOTING

Absentee voting for the second primary in person in the Clerk of Court's office or sub-offices.

NOVEMBER 23, 1967 VOTING COMMISSIONERS FOR GUBERNATORIAL PRIMARIES ONLY

In second primaries for governor, last possible day for gubernatorial candidates to submit names of voting commissioners to parish party committees.

DECEMBER 1. 1967 LISTS OF QUALIFIED VOTERS

Last possible day for Registrar of Voters to make up a list of all

voters registered as party members. December 3 is the last possible day the Registrar may deliver the list to the Custodian of Voting Machines.

DECEMBER 9, 1967 SECOND PRIMARY

Same procedures as first primary.

DECEMBER 9, 1967 NOMINATION PAPERS

Last possible day for independant candidates--not affiliated with a political party- to file "nomination papers" with the Secretary of State in Baton Rouge

DECEMBER 12, 1967 OBJECTION TO NOMINATION PAPERS

Last possible day to object to the regularity of a candidate's papers.

DECEMBER 13 - 14, 1967 RETURNS COMPILED AND CERTIFIED

Returns of second primary for local candidates are certified to the Secretary of State by the party committee no earlier than the 4th and no later than the 5th day after the primary.

DECEMBER 15 - 16, 1967 CONTESTING PRIMARY

Depending on day of certification, above, this is the last possible day to contest the second primary (48 hours after day of certification)

DECEMBER 19, 1967 WRITE-IN CANDIDATES

Last possible day for write-in candidates--persons whose names are not authorized to be on the official ballot as a party or independant candidate-- to qualify. They must file a notice with the Clerk of Court that they are willing to be voted for.

DECEMBER 24, 1967 OFFICIALS FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION

Last possible time for Parish Executive party committees to give the Board of Supervisors of the Election lists of names of at least 6 persons they want to serve as Commissioners and Clerk for the Election.

DECEMBER 30, 1967 VOTER REGISTRATION

Last possible day to register before the general election. Registrar's office closes 30 days before the election.

DECEMBER 30, 1967 APPOINTMENT OF ELECTION OFFICIALS

Board of Supervisors in each parish appoints 3 commissioners and 1 clerk to serve in the election. Political parties may appoint 1 pollwatcher for each precinct.

JANUARY 11, 1968 - JANUARY 23, 1968 ABSENTEE VOTING

Absentee voting in person at the Clerk of Court's office or sub-office begins not more than 19 days before and ends not more than 6 days before the election.

JANUARY 30, 1968 GENERAL ELECTION

FEBRUARY 5, 1968 ANNOUNCING RESULTS

Last possible day for the Board of Supervisors of the Election to meet at the courthouse and, in the presence of at least 3 voters, publicly announce the results of the returns. Copies of all documents, returns, etc. are sent to the Secretary of State and the Clerk of the District Court.

FEBRUARY 9 - 19, 1968 RESULTS OFFICIAL

Period during which the Secretary of State declares the results officlal and proclaims the official winner.

MARCH 10 - 20, 1968 CONTESTING THE ELECTION

Deadline for contesting the election results in district court (within 30 days of declaration of results)

COMMISSIONS TO ELECTED OFFICERS

The winners of the elections receive their commissions from the governor within 30 days of his inaugubation. This does not effect the date that sheriffs take office.

SCHEDULE OF IMPORTANT DATES FOR THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS OF 37.

NOVEMBER 5, 1968 and NOVEMBER 3, 1970

JUNE 14 - 19, 1968 (JUNE 12 - 17, 1970) PRIMARY CALL

Meeting of district, parish, and municipal party committees to call the primary to nominate local candidates running in the congressional election. (within 5 days of the primary call for U.S. Congress on June 14, 1968 (June 12, 1970)

JUNE 21 - 26, 1968 (JUNE 19 - 24, 1970), 5:00 P.M. NOTIFICATION OF CANDIDACY

Within this period falls the last possible day for candidates to file their notification of "intention to become a candidate" with the chairman of the committee that called the primary. (the seventh day after the call for local primary, above). Exact date is required to be in minutes of committee's meeting, posted on the courthouse door. Candidates are certified to Secretary of State within 24 hours.

JUNE 26 - 31, 1968 (JUNE 24 - 29, 1970) OBJECTIONS TO CANDIDATES

In this period falls the last day to file objections to someone's candidacy with the chairman of the committee that called the primary (within 5 days after last day to file "notification of intent," above)

JULY 8, 1968 (JULY 6, 1970) 5:00 P.M. LISTS OF VOTING COMMISSIONERS

Last possible day for candidates to submit to committee chairman names of proposed voting commissioners to serve in precincts where he is running.

JULY 17, 1968 (JULY 15, 1970) VOTER REGISTRATION

Last day for voters to register before primary. Registrar's office closes 30 days before primary.

JULY 17, 1968 (JULY 15, 1970) VOTING PLACES

Last possible day for parish committees to publish the location of polling places. Objections to locations must be filed with committee within 5 days.

JULY 20, 1968 (JULY 18, 1970) 10:00 A.M. VOTING COMMISSIONERS CHOSEN

Parish executive committee meets and holds public drawing for voting commissioners. Losers automatically become pollwatchers.

JULY 29,- AUGUST 10, 1968 (JULY 27 - AUGUST 8, 1970) ABSENTEE VOTING

Period of absentee voting in person at the Clerk of Court's office or sub-offices. Voting begins not more than 19 days before primary and ends not more than 6 days before primary.

AUGUST 7, 1968 (AUGUST 5, 1970) 5:00 P.M. ALTERNATE COMMISSIONERS

Last day and hour for candidates whose commissioners have been chosen to submit names of alternate commissioners to committee chairman.

AUGUST 9, 1968 (AUGUST 7, 1970) LISTS OF QUALIFIED VOTERS

Last day for registrar of Voters to make a complete list of voters registered as members of the party. On August 11, 1968 (August 9, 1970) these lists are submitted to the Custodian of Voting Machines.

AUGUST 17, 1968 (AUGUST 15, 1970) FIRST PRIMARY

AUGUST 21 - 22, 1968 (AUGUST 19 - 21, 1970) RETURNS COMPILED AND CERTIFIED

Returns are tabulated and compiled by the party committees in charge and nominees are certified to the Secretary of State on

the fourth or fifth day after the primary.

AUGUST 23, 24, 1968 (AUGUST 21 - 22, 1970) CONTESTING PRIMARY

Last possible day (within 48 hours of certification date, above) that one may contest a primary for a local official.

AUGUST 28, 1968 (AUGUST 26, 1970) VOTER REGISTRATION

Last possible day to register to vote before the second primary.

AUGUST 28, 1968 (AUGUST 26, 1970) VOTING PLACES

Last day for parish executive committees to make first publication of the 1 location of polling places. Objections to locations must be filed within 5 days.

SEPTEMBER 9 - 21, 1968 (SEPTEMBER 7 -19, 1970) ABSENTEE VOTING

Period of absentee voting, in person, at the Clerk of Court's office or sub-offices, beginning not more than 19 days before the primary and ending not more than 6 days before the primary.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1968 SEPTEMBER 10, 1970) VOTING COMMISSIONERS IN MAYORALTY ELECTIONS

(BOGALUSA, MINDEN, and other cities that hold city elections with congressional elections.

Last possible day for mayoralty candidates to submit names for voting commissioners to municipal executive committees. In all other elections, voting commissioners are the same as in first primary.

SEPTEMBER 20, 1968 (SEPTEMBER 18, 1970) LISTS OF QUALIFIED VOTERS

Last day for Registrar of Voters to make complete list of voters registered as party members. September 22, 1968 (September 20, 1970) is the last day the Registrar may submit these lists to the Parish

Custodian of Voting Machines.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1968 (SEPTEMBER 26, 1970) SECOND PRIMARY

Same officers and procedures as first primary.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1968 (SEPTEMBER 26, 1970) NOMINATION PAPERS

Last day for independant candidates--not affiliated with a political party--to file "nomination papers" with the Secretary of State in Baton Rouge.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1968 (SEPTEMBER 28, 1970) OFFICIALS FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION

Last possible time for parish executive committee to furnish to the Board of Supervisors of the election a list of at least 6 voters registered with the party whom they wish to serve as commissioners and clerk for the election.

OCTOBER 1, 1968 (SEPTEMBER 29, 1970) OBJECTION TO NOMINATION PAPERS

Last possible time to file objection to the regularity of a candidate's papers.

OCTOBER 2- 3, 1968 (SEPTEMBER 30- OCTOBER 1, 1970) RETURNS COMPILED AND CERTIFIED

Results of the second primary for local candidates are officially tabulated and certified to the Secretary of State on the fourth or fifth day after the primary.

OCTOBER 4 - 5, 1968 (OCTOBER 2 - 3, 1970) CONTESTING PRIMARY

Depending on the day of official certification, above, this is the last possible day to contest the second primary for local official.

OCTOBER 5, 1968 (OCTOBER 3, 1970) APPOINTMENT OF ELECTION OFFICIALS

Board of Supervisors in each parish appoints 3 commissioners and 1 clerk to serve in the election. Each party may appoint 1 poll-watcher per precinct.

OCTOBER 5, 1968 (OCTOBER 3, 1970) VOTER REGISTRATION

Last day to register to vote before the election.

OCTOBER 5, 1968 (OCTOBER 3, 1970) NOTICE OF ELECTION

Last day for Board of Supervisors to give notice of the election by an advertisement in the parish journal or posting public notices.

OCTOBER 8, 1968 (OCTOBER 6, 1970) WRITE-IN CANDIDATES

Last day for write-in candidates--those whose names are not authorized to be on the ballot--to qualify by filing a notice with the Clerk of Court that they consent to be voted for.

OCTOBER 16-29, 1968 (OCTOBER 14-27, 1970) ABSENTEE VOTING

Period for absentee voting, in person, at the Clerk of Court's office or sub-offices.

NOVEMBER 5, 1968 (NOVEMBER 3, 1970) CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION

NOVEMBER 15-25, 1968 (NOVEMBER 13-23, 1970) DECLARING THE WINNER

Period during which the Secretary of State compiles the returns and declares the official winners.

DECEMBER 6, 1968 (DECEMBER 4, 1970) COMMISSIONS ISSUED

First possible day on which the Governor may issue commissions to elected officials.

DECEMBER 15-25, 1968 (DECEMBER 13-23, 1970)

In this period falls the last day on which the election may be challenged in district court (within 30 days after declaration of results.)

SCHEDULE OF IMPORTANT DATES FOR MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS
June 13, 1967 June 11, 1968 June 10, 1969 June 9, 1970

JANUARY 31 - FEB. 14, 1967 JANUARY 30 - FEB. 13, 1968 JAN. 28 - FEB. 11, 1969 JAN. 27 - FEB. 10, 1970

Municipal executive committees of the political parties meet and call for the primary to nominate candidates between 133 and 118 days before the election date)

FEB. 7 - 21, 1967 FEB. 6 - 20, 1968 FEB. 4 - 18, 1969 FEB. 3 - 17, 1970

In this period is the last day (7 days after meeting of the municipal executive committee, above) to file a "notification of intention to become a candidate" with the chairman of the committee.

FEB. 12 - 26, 1967 FEB. 11 - 25, 1968 FEB. 9 - 23, 1969 FEB. 8 - 22, 1970

In this period (5 days after above date) is the last day to file objection to some one's candidacy. Candidate must answer the charges within 48 hours.

FEB. 27, 1967 FEB. 26, 1968 FEB. 24, 1969 FEB. 23, 1970

(5:00 deadline) Last day for candidates to submit names of proposed voting commissioners to party chairman. (40th day before primary)

MARCH 8, 1967 MARCH 6, 1968 MARCH 5, 1969 MARCH 4, 1970

Last day for first publication of proposed polling places. Second and third publications must be at least a week apart. Objections must be filed within 5 days of first date.

MARCH 8, 1967 MARCH 6, 1968 MARCH 5, 1969 MARCH 4, 1970

Last day fo register before the primary, Registrar of Voters must close office 30 days before primary.

MARCH 11, 1967 MARCH 9, 1968 MARCH 8, 1969 MARCH 7, 1970

Date of public drawing (10:00 A.M.) for commissioners for first primary. (28th day before primary)

MARCH 20 - APRIL 1, 1967 MARCH 18 - 30, 1968 MARCH 29, 1969 MARCH 16-[illegible]

Period for absentee voting in person at the Clerk of Court's office or sub-offices. (19 - 6 days before primary).

MARCH 29, 1967 MARCH 27, 1968 MARCH 26, 1969 MARCH 25, 1970

Deadline (5:00 P.M.) for filing list of alternate commissioners with committee chairman. (10th day before primary)

MARCH 31, 1967 MARCH 29, 1968 MARCH 28, 1969 MARCH 27, 1970

Last day (at least 7 days before primary) for Registrar to make out lists of voters affiliated with party. At least 5 days before the primary, Registrar submits these lists to the custodian of voting machines.

APRIL 8, 1967 APRIL 6, 1968 APRIL 5, 1969 APRIL 4, 1970

FIRST PRIMARY (between 60 and 70 days before the general election, on a Saturday). Polls open at 6:00 A.M.

APRIL 12 - 13, 1967 APRIL 10 - 11, 1968 APRIL 9 - 10, 1969 APRIL 8 - 9, 1970

Committees meet, compile returns and certify them to the Secretary of State (on the fourth or fifth day after the primary) 48 hours later is the deadline for contesting the primary.

APRIL 12, 1967 APRIL 10, 1968 APRIL 9, 1969 APRIL 8, 1970

Last day for registration before second primary. Office closes 30 days before the primary.

APRIL 24, - MAY 6, 1967 APRIL 22, - MAY 4, 1968 APRIL 21-MAY 3, 1969
APRIL 20 - MAY 2, 1970

Period of absentee voting in person for second primary, at the Clerk of Court's office or sub-offices. (19 - 6 days before the primary)

APRIL 27, 1967 APRIL 25, 1968 APRIL 24, 1969 APRIL 23, 1970

In second primaries for mayors (At least 15 days before primary) each candidate for mayor submits to committee chairman a list of 5 people for each voting precinct. 15 days before the primary, the committee meets and chooses commissioners and pollwatchers by public drawing so that in every alternate precinct one candidate will have three commissioners and the other candidate will have two. The remaining names in each precinct become the pollwatchers. A representative of each candidate is present at the drawing. Alternate commissioners are chosen in same way as in first primary. If there is no second primary for mayor, the same officials serve.

MAY 5, 1967 MAY 3, 1968 MAY 2, 1969 MAY 1, 1970

Last day for Registrar to make complete list of voters registered with the party. They submit these lists to the Custodian of Voting Machines at least 5 days before the primary.

APRIL 23, 1967 APRIL 21, 1968 APRIL 20, 1969 APRIL 19, 1970

If no second primary, the newly elected municipal executive committee must organize and meet on or before the 15th day after the first primary.

MAY 13, 1967 MAY 11, 1968 MAY 10, 1969 MAY 9, 1970

SECOND PRIMARY (5 weeks from date of first primary) procedures same as for first primary except in case of choosing voting commissioners in primary for mayor (see above)

MAY 17-18, 1967 MAY 15-16, 1968 MAY 14-15, 1969 MAY 13-14, 1970

Returns are certified to Secretary of State on fourth or fifth day after the primary. Within 48 hours is the deadline for contesting the primary.

MAY 13, 1967 MAY 11, 1968 MAY 10, 1969 MAY 9, 1970

Last day for independant candidates to file nomination papers for the election with the Secretary of State. (same day as second primary)

MAY 16, 1967 MAY 14, 1968 MAY 13, 1969 MAY 12, 1970

Last possible day to object to regularity of candidate's nomination papers. Objections considered by a contest board with 24 hours after last time to file. Decision is final.

MAY 23, 1967 MAY 21, 1968 MAY 20, 1969 MAY 19, 1970

Last possible day for persons whose names are not authorized to be on the ballot (write-ins) to qualify as candidates (10 days after second primary). They must file a notice with the Clerk of Court that he is willing and consents to be voted for. Correct name and address must be given. The Clerk must post a copy of this notice on his door and give a copy to the board of Supervisors of Elections. If no write-ins or independant candidates, governor may dispense with election and declare primary winner the election winner.

MAY 28, 1967 MAY 26, 1968 MAY 25, 1969 MAY 24, 1970

Last day for newly elected municipal executive committee to meet and organize.

JUNE 13, 1967 JUNE 11, 1968 JUNE 10, 1969 JUNE 9, 1970

ELECTION DAY.

NOTE: Officials in municipalities with Commission Plan of government take office first Tuesday after election (33:522)

Officials in municipalities with Mayor-Board of Aldermen form of government take office on July 1st. (33:383)

Commissions for officials in municipalities governed by special charters which do not specify beginning dates (18:571) are issued no less than 30 days after the election.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFL CIO

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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WALTER P. REUTHER
GEORGE M. HARRISON
JAMES B. CAREY
HARRY C. BATES
DAVID J. McDONALD
DAVID DUBINSKY
WM. F. SCHNITZLER

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

PWL
SB

March 11, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am enclosing a recent statement on "Waging War Against Poverty" which was adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council at its recent meeting. Also enclosed are two recent statements which were presented by the AFL-CIO to Congressional Committees -- on extension of coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act and continuation, with an increased appropriation, of the Accelerated Public Works program.

I believe you will find them of interest.

Sincerely,

Nat Goldfinger

Nat Goldfinger, Director
Department of Research

enclosures
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STATEMENT OF ANDREW J. BIEMILLER, DIRECTOR
DEPARTMENT OF LEGISLATION, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF
LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS BEFORE
THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

March 11, 1964

Mr. Chairman, my name is Andrew J. Biemiller, I am Director of the Department of Legislation of the AFL-CIO and I am appearing here today on behalf of that organization.

We are here to support the continuation of the Public Works Acceleration Act, and to endorse the purposes of S. 1856, introduced by Senator McNamara.

But our appearance is not merely a pro forma expression of approbation for a generally desirable piece of legislation. We are here because in our view this program is an essential element in the broad and varied campaign that must be undertaken to insure the security of the nation, at home and abroad.

The overriding economic challenge to the United States today is jobs -- jobs for the unemployed, jobs for those who are displaced daily by the advance of automation, jobs for the flood of newcomers entering the labor force. This is beyond dispute.

Equally beyond dispute is the fact that public works programs have proved to be a most effective weapon for creating jobs -- good jobs on needed public facilities of permanent worth.

Yet the accelerated public works program is now expiring. Unless the Congress moves quickly, the 200,000 jobs it is currently providing will vanish. This must not happen.

When this committee conducted hearings on the Public Works Acceleration Act almost two years ago, the AFL-CIO testified to its great importance as a means of providing jobs and creating public improvement of long-term worth. Experience has verified that testimony. The benefits of the program are unquestionable. But the need is as great today as when the program was initially proposed.

The tax cut hopefully will prevent, this year, an economic downturn and the sharp rise in unemployment it would bring. However, as the AFL-CIO Executive Council recently pointed out, "There is no sound basis for anticipating anything more than a small reduction of joblessness in 1964. By next year, the economic stimulus of the tax cut will be wearing out -- with the possibility of a renewed upward movement of unemployment."

Let us frankly face the facts about unemployment in the United States.

1. Unemployment has been in a rising trend for 10 years -- up from 1.9 million, or 2.9% of the labor force, in 1953 to 4.2 million, or 5.7% of the labor force in 1963.

2. There were fewer full-time jobs in private, profit-making businesses last year than there were 10 years ago.

3. Unemployment actually increased more than 150,000 in 1963 -- a year of general prosperity for most Americans -- despite a $30 billion rise in total national production.

4. America's job needs are accelerating. While productivity continues to increase at a rapid pace, with the spread of automation, the growth of the labor force is also speeding up -- from an average of 900,000 a year in the last decade to an expected 1.4 million a year during the remainder of the 1960's.

The growth of unemployment over the last 10 years, and its persistence even during years of so-called boom, is statistically demonstrated by the table attached to this testimony. This problem is far more serious than most Americans realize. The waste of manpower, the loss of personal income and dignity, the sharpening of labor-management and race relations conflicts, the tremendous social costs are greater than the nation can safely endure for long. And without decisive action on many fronts, these costs will mount.

In 1963, a record production year, an average of 4.2 million Americans were unemployed and 2.3 million additional workers were compelled to work part-time because full-time jobs were not available. Moreover, an estimated 1.5 million to 2 million people had given up seeking work; people who want to work, people who would return to the labor force if jobs became available again.

In order to achieve and sustain reasonably full employment in the United States more than four million new job opportunities must be created each year through the remainder of the 1960's, or more than 80,000 jobs every week.

It would be a dangerous illusion to believe that the tax cut, or any other single measure, could alone achieve this goal. Nor will any amount of wishful thinking achieve it. What the nation needs is action, not just one action but many.

Therefore it would be a tragedy to allow the accelerated public works program to die. It is the conviction of the AFL-CIO that this job-creating program -- which also provides vitally needed public facilities of lasting worth -- should be both extended and strengthened.

Since President Kennedy signed the Public Works Acceleration Act in September 1962, thousands of workers in areas of substantial unemployment have gone back to work building public facilities of long-term value. Additional thousands have been at work providing material and equipment for those construction projects. At a time like the present, when the private sector of the economy is failing to utilize the nation's full manpower and production resources, this is an unsurpassed way to put people to work and, at the same time, permanently enrich the nation.

Let me summarize the record:

All of the $880 million in federal funds made available by the Congress under this Act have now been committed. As a matter of fact, by January 1963 -- more than a year ago and after the program had been in effect for less than four months -- the backlog of project requests already exceeded the $900 million originally authorized for this program by the Congress.

The $880 million ultimately appropriated is helping to finance about half of the cost of nearly 8,000 projects in more than 3,000 communities where unemployment is most severe. These projects are not only putting people to work; they are also helping to create the basis for future economic growth and well-being.

These 8,000 job-creating projects are public investments of enduring value. They include about 1,200 badly-needed water supply improvement and expansion projects, about 650 waste treatment works, about 600 sewer projects and over 800 new public buildings such as fire and police stations, courthouses and libraries. In addition, they include over 500 long-needed health and recreation projects, 1,150 street and road improvements and 1,650 conservation and natural resource undertakings.

These projects, on completion, will not only have generated 220,000 more years of work in on-site employment and in the production of materials and supplies. In addition, many of the facilities made possible by the program -- like airports, libraries, water purification plants and hospitals -- will establish permanent jobs.

When state and local matching funds are added to the $880 million federal outlay, the total adds up to about $1 3/4 billion in important public improvements. Had it not been for the Public Works Acceleration Act, these improvements would not be under construction; the manpower and industrial resources they are using would otherwise have remained idle.

Within the next month or two the peak job-impact of these projects will be reached. Thereafter, the number of jobs will quickly dwindle as the projects are completed. This, I repeat, would be a tragedy.

A tremendous backlog of essential public works still exists in areas of substantial unemployment. If the act is extended, these job-creating projects will move forward, providing employment for thousands of workers. If the act is not extended, most of this backlog of projects will remain on the shelf.

We are advised that there are on file already, here in Washington, some $800 million in such projects which were submitted after all the authorized federal funds, under the 1962 act, had been committed. This is despite the fact that as early as January 1963, federal officials discouraged the submission of further requests because it was apparent that the number on hand exceeded the funds available.

It is unquestionable, then, that a vast number of equally worthy and equally needed projects remain which have never been submitted. There is no doubt that there is work to be done; all that is lacking is the wherewithal to do it.

As the recent report of the Committee on Public Works of the House of Representatives pointed out in urging continuation of the accelerated public work program:

"It would be unrealistic to expect these huge backlogs to be eliminated in the immediate future, but it would be even more unrealistic to ignore the urgency of accelerating our efforts to meet these needs. The accelerated public works program is directing the economic potential of our idle resources toward that goal."

The value of the Public Works Acceleration Act to the jobless, to the communities that are obtaining lasting improvements and to the nation as a whole has been clearly demonstrated. At its recent Constitutional Convention, the AFL-CIO unanimously voiced its support for the extension of this act and for an additional authorization of $2 billion in order to increase its job-creating impact. Our proposed authorization is $500 million higher than the amount proposed by S. 1856.

A federal effort of this magnitude, plus the supplemental state and local matching funds, would stimulate almost $4 billion in construction projects, at the right time and in the right places. Moreover, according to U.S. Department of Labor studies, this $4 billion outlay would directly create about 400,000 badly-needed jobs in on-site construction and in the production and distribution of building materials and equipment. What is more, as these funds are spent by working people and businesses, another 200,000 to 400,000 jobs would be created indirectly. These are jobs that America badly needs.

In a sense, Mr. Chairman, what we are talking about is one avenue toward the implementation, at long last, of the Employment Act of 1946.

The tax cut, just signed into law, is one such avenue. But it is only one of the many that are required. The Public Works Acceleration Act of 1962 was another; it must not now be closed.

We in the AFL-CIO are deeply convinced that the principles of the Employment Act of 1946 -- committing the federal government to use its resources to reach and sustain maximum production, employment and purchasing-power in the United States -- are more important today than they were when the law was passed.

They can no longer be honored more in the breach than in the observance. The unprecedented growth in the American work-force, the mounting impact of automation, confront us with an employment problem which few envisioned a decade and a half ago.

We must solve these problems, for even more compelling reasons than could then be seen. The economic strength of this country is no longer a matter of concern to Americans alone; it will determine the future of freedom on earth.

We know that this committee, which worked so hard on behalf of the original public works acceleration program two years ago, is fully aware of the need. We urge your prompt approval of an extension of the existing program, backed by a federal appropriation of $2 billion.

This is not a time for half-measures, or even three-quarter measures; the need is immediate and growing, and it can be met only by imaginative, decisive action.

	The Unemployed		Long-Term Unemployed			
			Jobless 15 weeks or More		Jobless 27 weeks or More	
Years	Number of Jobless	Percent of Labor Force	Number	% of Total Unemployment	Number	% of Total Unemployment
1953	1.9 million	2.9%	211,000	11.3%	79,000	4.2%
1954	3.6 "	5.6%	812,000	22.7%	317,000	8.9%
1955	2.9 "	4.4%	703,000	24.2%	336,000	11.6%
1956	2.8 "	4.2%	533,000	18.9%	232,000	8.2%
1957	2.9 "	4.3%	560,000	19.1%	239,000	8.1%
1958	4.7 "	6.8%	1,452,000	31.0%	667,000	14.2%
1959	3.8 "	5.5%	1,040,000	27.3%	571,000	15.0%
1960	3.9 "	5.6%	956,000	24.3%	454,000	11.5%
1961	4.8 "	6.7%	1,532,000	31.9%	804,000	16.7%
1962	4.0 "	5.6%	1,119,000	27.9%	585,000	14.6%
1963	4.2 "	5.7%	1,088,000	26.1%	553,000	13.3%

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Labor

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT ON EXTENSION OF COVERAGE UNDER FLSA PRESENTED BY AFL-CIO TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON GENERAL LABOR OF THE HOUSE EDUCATION AND LABOR COMMITTEE.

March 5, 1964

In 1938, when Congress established the Fair Labor Standards Act, it set out to "correct" and "eliminate ... labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers."[1/] This is the avowed purpose and intent of this Act. In order to further this aim, the coverage of the Act must be extended to all workers within the reach of Congressional power. Each group of workers that remains excluded from the coverage of the Act is excluded from the benefits of a national policy of eliminating detrimental labor conditions, and from the same basic protection recognized more than twenty-five years ago for millions of workers, principally in manufacturing industries. Today, millions of additional workers, principally in service industries, also need this protection for their "health, efficiency, and general well-being."

Poverty can accompany employment and hard work in 1964. Today, poverty is the lot of millions of families, even where the head of the family has a job. These are the families with money incomes of less than $3,000.

There are 4,600,000 such families. Their incidence is particularly high in those industries that have been excluded from minimum wage and hour protection.

It is precisely in the industries that have not yet been covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act that great poverty among the workers' families exists. Forty-five percent of the families in agriculture, forestry and fisheries, 38 percent of the families in personal services and 18 percent of those in entertainment and recreation services have annual incomes of less than $3,000.

Poverty is reflected, however, not only in low levels of annual income, but also in low hourly wages. These uncovered workers are earning less than $1.25 an hour since there is no statutory requirement for such wage payment. In some cases, workers are paid as low as 25 cents an hour, which was the minimum wage first established by the Congress twenty-five years ago.

Without minimum wage protection, the employed workers in these families are at the mercy of unscrupulous employers who pay wages detrimental to their general well-being, as expressed in the Act. Thus, an important step toward attacking poverty of employed heads of families is to extend the Fair Labor Standards Act

1/ Sec. 2(a) 29 U.S.C. 201-219

broadly. The Congress can effectively advance the unconditional war on poverty, declared by President Johnson in his State of the Union Message, by providing minimum wage and maximum hours protection for millions of workers not yet covered by the Act. There cannot be a real war on poverty if millions of Americans are allowed to work under conditions that fail to meet our basic tests of minimum wages and hours.

While coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act will not ensure that these workers will rise above the poverty level, it will at least be a step in that direction. It will mean that for those hours during which the individual works he will be paid at least the minimum wage established by Congress.

We believe that the minimum wage should be raised to $2 an hour in order to provide a more realistic minimum. Even that wage standard, however, would not help workers not protected by the Act.

Studies of covered workers presented by the Labor Department show that during the period 1948-62, without the spur of the Fair Labor Standards Act, there was no change in wages in certain particularly low-wage industries. The Labor Department found that adjustments in wages took place only when Congress changed the basic minimum wage.

While millions of workers remain excluded from the federal minimum wage law, there is no spur to force their employers to raise the wages of the lowest-paid. Originally, when Congress established a minimum wage law basically applied to manufacturing, it had hoped that such minimum standards would be adopted by the community as a whole. Unfortunately, this has not occurred. Those who have been denied the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act have lagged far behind their fellow citizens in terms of basic wages.

State laws have not filled the gaps left by limited federal coverage. Twenty-one states provide no minimum wage protection whatsoever. What passes for protection in the other 29 states is often inadequate. Only 15 states include protection for men; only 10 have minimums of $1.25 or more an hour; only 22 have overtime provisions -- just eight covering both men and women -- and only 24 have equal pay provisions.

This rundown is a clear indication that the states have not provided adequate fair labor standards protection for these workers.

Only 10 states provide wage standards for workers which are substantially equal to or above the federal minimum. Less than a third of the states have wage provisions of $1 to $1.25 for laundry, hotel and restaurant workers. Many of the states have not established wage orders for certain industries or have excluded such industries from coverage. Only two states, California and Wisconsin, have moved to protect farm workers. The states have clearly shown that they have no intention of acting in this area. Congress must act to fill this void.

Experience With Extension of Coverage

Experience with previous extensions of wage-hour coverage has been favorable.

The 1961 amendments brought under the Act 3.6 million workers not previously covered. A large portion of the newly-covered were in retail trade.

The Wage and Hour Division study of the effect of the 1961 amendments states in its 1963 4(d) report:

> "Despite repeated predictions to the contrary, the evidence is emphatic that the successive amendments to the act have gone far toward its objective of eliminating conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary to health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers ... without substantially curtailing employment or earning power."
>
> "In covered retail trade, between June 1961 and June 1962, about one-fourth of the employees in the Southern non-metropolitan areas received increases to $1.00 an hour ... These increases in the wages of low-paid workers made possible, on the average, a 10 percent improvement in their level of living."

However, the extension of coverage to 3½ million workers had "no discernible effect on the wage levels in the economy generally." The Act's impact was primarily upon the specific groups that Congress undertook directly to cover.

Extension of coverage to retail workers did not bring adverse employment effects; the results were just the opposite. The Labor Department reported that "employment in covered retail trade increased between June 1961 and June 1962."

In a detailed study trying to seek out reports and comments, the Labor Department was able to find only six cases in the whole country that substantiated the adverse predictions and "even these were found to have been overstated." On the other hand, the department received many inquiries from uncovered workers

objecting to long hours and lack of a guaranteed minimum wage.

In its study of prices, the Labor Department found that the minimum wage increase and extension of coverage did not have adverse effects. The changes made in the law exerted no upward pressure on the overall level of wholesale prices.

The general consumer price index has also been relatively stable during the past few years. There has been no sudden spurt in prices to suggest an impact by the higher minimum wage.

Thus there is no indication of an inflationary effect due to minimum wage extension.

Neither is there reason to fear greater foreign competition from a further extension of minimum wage coverage. The industries still uncovered are not in direct competition with foreign products or services.

Union Contracts Show that Extension is Possible

In the uncovered industries, including some restaurants, hotels, laundries and hospitals, AFL-CIO unions have negotiated many contracts providing for a minimum wage of $1.25 or more an hour. These contracts show that these industries can adjust to the level of the federal minimum wage.

In order to prevent the undercutting of minimum standards, whether established by unions or by considerations of common humanity, it is necessary to extend the coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act. In the following sections I will discuss the groups of workers to whom the AFL-CIO believes minimum wage and maximum hour protection should be extended at this time. Later on, I will discuss the need for extending maximum hour protection to substantial groups of employees who now have minimum wage protection but are presently denied full maximum hours protection under the Act.

Retail Trade

In 1961, minimum wage and hour protection was extended to 2.2 million retail employees. These are employees of establishments with $250,000 or more in gross annual sales which are part of enterprises with $1 million or more in gross annual sales. We propose to remove the $1 million enterprise test, so that all establishments with $250,000 or more in gross annual sales will be covered by the Act, provided they have an inflow of $100,000 of goods from across state lines. This proposal would extend the protection of minimum wages and hours to 674,000 additional retail employees.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics survey of retail employee earnings showed that 8 percent of the employees in such large establishments were paid less than $1 and 29 percent were paid less than $1.25. These workers sorely need the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Restaurants

Restaurant workers have been waiting twenty-five years for coverage under the FLSA. Since 1961 they have been awaiting fulfillment of a promise by Congress to remove the inequity of their exemption from the Act.

We urge that the present exemption for restaurant workers be removed so that restaurant employees in large food establishments that clearly are in interstate commerce will be protected by FLSA. As recommended by the Administration, so-called "tip" employees should be included among those to be covered. In 1961, Congress enacted a simplified test based on dollar volume of sales to help a businessman know whether his establishment is in interstate commerce for purposes of the Act. We urge that the same standard be extended to restaurants. If this were done, restaurant establishments with sales of $250,000 or more would be covered. This would be considerably broader than that provided in H.R. 9824, under which a $250,000 restaurant establishment would be covered only if it was part of an enterprise doing a business of $1,000,000 or more. We do not believe an inflow test such as is applied at present to retail trade need be applied in the case of restaurants.

Presently there are 1,286,000 non-supervisory restaurant workers not protected by FLSA. H.R. 9824 would protect 180,000 of these workers. Our suggested standard would protect 424,000 -- still only a third of the employees in this industry and only about 4 percent of the establishments. These restaurant workers need minimum wage protection. Fifty-five percent of those we propose to cover are being paid less than $1.25 an hour.

The impact of a $1.25 minimum wage on the total wage bill of restaurants would be nearly 15 percent. However, since labor costs are only 22 percent of total sales, the real impact would amount to only 3 percent, or about the same amount as most existing state sales taxes.

Nearly a fifth of all restaurant employees are already guaranteed a minimum wage of $1.15 or more an hour by state minimum wage laws. Thus the industry is able to adjust to a minimum wage level when one exists.

Long hours are another problem in this industry. One-third of all restaurant employees are now working 48 hours or more each week. If all hours over 40 were curtailed for the 424,000 restaurant employees that the AFL-CIO proposes be covered, an additional 30,000 full-time jobs could be made available. Certainly this would be a desirable effect.

Hotels-Motels

In the hotel industry, the AFL-CIO also asks that FLSA be extended to establishments with total sales of $250,000 or more. This is again based on recognition by the Congress that establishments with sales volume of $250,000 or more affect interstate commerce. Here, too, no inflow test seems necessary.

The hotel and motel industry has 416,000 non-supervisory employees. The AFL-CIO plan would cover 274,000 of them, rather than the 190,000 to be covered under H.R. 9824. Thus we would cover two-thirds of the employees in the industry -- those working in large establishments.

Establishments with sales of $250,000 or more account for only 4 percent of all hotels and motels. Yet, even by covering only this small minority of the establishments, the great proportion of employees can be protected.

The surveys of wages paid in this industry underline the great need for the protection of the Act. Surveys made by the U. S. Labor Department (Bureau of Labor Statistics) show chambermaids in some cities earning less than 50 cents an hour in 1963. In New Orleans the average hourly earnings of such employees had risen from 29 cents in July 1948 to only 50 cents in July 1961 -- an increase of 21 cents over a 13-year period, compared with a 60-cent increase in the federal minimum wage in the same span.

Earning less than $1.25 in 1963 were 54 percent of the non-supervisory employees in establishments with sales of $250,000 or more. Raising the earnings of these workers to $1.25 would have an 18 percent impact upon the hourly wage bill. Since labor costs account for only 20 percent of motel receipts, and 35 percent of hotel receipts, the total impact on costs would be no more than 5 to 6 percent.

This industry has also shown that it can accommodate itself to decent minimum wages. Approximately 20 percent of all hotel and motel employees are protected by a state minimum wage rate of $1.15 or more.

The hotel industry has demonstrated its profitability by the large number of investors it attracts. Two thousand motels with 150,000 rooms and 80 hotels with 25,000 rooms were built in the United States during 1962, according to a Fortune Magazine survey.

Long hours are also an unwholesome feature of the hotel and motel industry. Thirty percent of the employees work 48 hours or more a week. By extending the Fair Labor Standards Act to 274,000 workers, and curtailing their hours to 40, an additional 20,000 full-time jobs could be made available, again assuming that the excessive hours now worked by hotel employees would be translated into new jobs for workers presently unemployed.

Laundries

For laundries, the AFL-CIO again asks a $250,000 establishment test for FLSA coverage. This would remove both the present exemption and the million-dollar enterprise test applicable to laundry workers.

Of the 530,000 non-supervisory laundry workers in the United States, 17,000 are currently covered by FLSA. These are workers in laundries selling across state lines or selling primarily to manufacturing plants. Under the AFL-CIO proposal 173,000 employees would be protected by the Act, whereas H.R. 9824 would only protect 80,000.

Again, extension of coverage to laundry and cleaning services under our formula would protect a third of the industry's workers, but the extension would affect only 3 percent of the establishments.

Wages paid laundry workers are particularly oppressive. Forty-seven percent of the employees of large establishments are paid less than $1.25, according to a June 1963 survey by BLS. Ten thousand of these workers earned less than 75 cents an hour. The 100 lowest-paid employees, according to the survey, were in establishments with annual sales of $250,000 or more. They were paid less than 35 cents an hour. This is sheer exploitation.

Other BLS studies show that average hourly earnings for bundle wrappers in Memphis increased only 11 cents -- from 47 cents to 58 cents -- between 1951 and 1963. In this same period the federal minimum wage rose 50 cents.

Setting a $1.25 minimum wage for laundry establishments with sales of $250,000 or more would have a 10 percent impact on the hourly wage bill. The industry in some areas has increased its average hourly pay by more than this in the last two years. In the Newark-Jersey City area, average hourly earnings for laundry and cleaning employees rose 13 percent between 1961 and 1963.

Union contracts in this industry also show that large laundries and cleaning establishments can pay at least $1.25 an hour. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (AFL-CIO) and the Laundry and Dry Cleaning International Union (AFL-CIO) have union contracts with minimums of at least $1.25.

Experience in various states has also shown that a $1.25 minimum wage for laundry workers is feasible. Eight states have minimum wage rates of at least that amount.

Overtime protection is also needed by laundry workers. One-fifth of them work more than 44 hours a week.

Hospitals

Hospital employees also urgently need FLSA coverage. Congress has long recognized its concern for hospitals by providing funds for their construction and expansion through the Hill-Burton program. Now it is time for the Congress to concern itself with the needs of the employees.

Hospital operations affect interstate commerce. Hospitals today regularly furnish, as part of hospital services, drugs, medicines, vaccines, special diagnostic aids and artificial body parts and aids, which are administered by hospital personnel or by physicians to patients who have been admitted for hospital services. Many such articles so furnished by hospitals move in interstate commerce. Increasingly, hospital services are being paid for by insurance plans that operate interstate.

The AFL-CIO urges an extension of FLSA to employees of both voluntary (so-called nonprofit) and proprietary (profit) hospitals.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics studied wages and working conditions in this growing industry in 1956, 1960 and 1963. The surveys showed large numbers of workers were earning less than $1.25 an hour.

Some of these workers are engaged in the same type of work as would be covered by H.R. 9824. Among the lowest-paid hospital employees are kitchen helpers, dishwashers, porters, maids and laundry workers. The earnings of some of these hospital employees are just as low as those found in the surveys of restaurants, hotels and laundries.

A review of state minimum wage laws shows that it is feasible to cover hospitals by minimum wage and hour legislation. Many States cover nongovernmental hospitals.

According to the BLS surveys, long hours are not a serious problem. Forty or less hours per week was the normal schedule. Nevertheless, the full protection of FLSA should be extended to hospital workers, including the overtime provisions.

Motion Picture Theaters

Large motion picture theaters are also involved in interstate commerce. The films are clearly produced outside of the state.

The AFL-CIO proposes to cover motion picture theaters with annual gross sales of $250,000 or more. This proposal would protect 55,000 theater employees. Still excluded would be the small neighborhood theaters which employ few workers.

A Bureau of Labor Statistics survey of wages paid here in the District of Columbia showed that 40 percent of men who work in motion picture theaters were paid less than $1 an hour.

Payroll only accounts for 23 percent of receipts in the motion picture industry. Wage costs thus are a small part of total costs, and an increase to the minimum wage would not have disastrous effects upon the industry, but would certainly have beneficial effects for the workers.

Miscellaneous Services

In 1961 Congress decided that whenever any employees in an establishment were engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce all of the employees in the establishment should be covered by FLSA. As in the case of retail trade, however, coverage was provided on this basis only where the establishment was part of an enterprise where annual gross volume of sales is not less than $1,000,000.

We believed in 1961 that the $1,000,000 sales test adopted by Congress was too restrictive, and we are more than ever convinced in 1964 that it should be relaxed. We can see no reason for continuing to exclude from the protection of the Act any employee where employers are engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, and we urge, Mr. Chairman, that as in the case of retail trade, coverage be provided on an establishment basis wherever any employees in the establishment are engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce and the annual gross volume of sales of such establishment is at least $250,000.

Such an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act will bring under the Act some 200,000 additional employees, principally in such industries as wholesaling, business services and manufacturing.

Nonprofit Organizations

The FLSA continues to exempt substantial numbers of employees of large nonprofit institutions. Basically there is no more justification for excluding the employees of such institutions than there is for excluding hospital employees. Many of these employees receive extremely low wages and are urgently in need of the Act's protection. We strongly urge that the coverage of the Act be extended to employees of nonprofit institutions doing a volume of business or servicing at least $250,000 a year. This will bring under the protection of the Act some 200,000 additional employees.

Small Logging

Logging camp and sawmill employees, whether working in large or small crews, are already engaged in the production of goods for interstate commerce. Coverage for these workers can be provided simply by removing the present exemption contained in section 13(a)(15) of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Such action is provided for in the administration bill, H.R. 9824.

These logging employees need minimum wage protection. Thousands are being paid less than $1.25 an hour. A Labor Department survey showed that in 1963, 52 percent of the workers in small, nonintegrated

logging establishments in the south earned less than $1.25. Raising their wages to $1.25 would have a 6.6 percent impact on the hourly wage bill. Labor costs represent about one-fourth of the total value of shipments. Thus the real impact in the lowest-wage areas would only be about 1½ percent.

When the $1.25 minimum wage went into effect for covered sawmill and planing mill workers, 73 percent of them received wage increases to $1.25. The industry met this requirement and continued to prosper. Certainly the industry can adjust to covering those workers now exempt.

Many of these workers are in areas of our country plagued by poverty, such as parts of Appalachia and northern Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. They need minimum wage protection in order to maintain minimum standards.

Overtime protection is also needed for workers in this industry. The BLS survey showed that 15 percent of the employees worked more than 40 hours a week. They need the same overtime safeguards as other covered logging employees.

Agricultural Processing and Cotton Gin Workers

Agricultural processing and cotton ginning are both activities which produce goods for interstate commerce. We favor elimination of the minimum wage and maximum hours exemption contained in sections 13(a)(10), 13(a)(17) and 13(a)(18) of the Fair Labor Standards Act as proposed in H.R. 9824. Later, I shall have something further to say about the elimination of the overtime exemptions for agricultural employees contained in Section 7(b)(3) and 7(c).

Again, these are workers who need the minimum wage and overtime protection of the Act. The great bulk of agricultural processing workers are already covered by FLSA, without any detrimental effects upon the economy.

The 13(a)(10) exemption for agricultural processing workers is a hodge-podge. For example, a grain elevator that (a) is not located in a place of 2,500 or more population or within a mile of such places, and (b) has not received 95 percent of the grain from within 50 miles of the elevator, is

exempt. However, for the storing of commodities other than grain and soybeans, a 20-mile test applies. For cotton ginning, a 10-mile test applies. A tobacco warehouse has to be within 50 miles of its source to be exempt.

There is no reason for the special privileges given to particular interest groups at the expense of workers who are thereby denied the protection of FLSA.

Extension of Hours Protection

The AFL-CIO supports the extension of hours protection proposed in H.R. 9824 for employees engaged in agricultural processing, transportation, and gas stations. In addition, we propose that the exemption contained in section 13(b)(17) of the Fair Labor Standards Act applying to the hours of local transit employees be removed.

Agricultural processing employees have been plagued with duplicating and overlapping overtime exemptions, all applying to the same industry. The Labor Department in its report on the handling and processing of agricultural products reported that the "differences in extent of the exemption period available for the various industries are not related to length of season or length of work-weeks." In this period of high unemployment, there is no need for continuing the present exemptions from the overtime requirements of the Act.

We oppose the continuation of a 14-week overtime exemption for agricultural processing workers. These exemptions are not needed in a period of continual high unemployment as has existed since 1957. We propose that the whole exemption be repealed, not just consolidated. We urge the repeal of section 7(b)(3) as well as section 7(c).

We submit that the proposal in H.R. 9824 to extend overtime protection to transportation employees is reasonable and should be approved by the Congress. Equally reasonable, we believe, would be the repeal of section 13(b)(7) which exempts local transit employees from the overtime provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Gas station employees also deserve the protection of a standard workweek as proposed in H.R. 9824. This bill would not bring any new gas stations under the coverage of the Act. The bill would only extend overtime protection to those gas station employees already covered.

Employees engaged in these industries deserve overtime protection just as those employed in other industries. Hours in excess of FLSA standards are detrimental to an overall policy of providing additional job opportunities.

Time Lag in Meeting FLSA Standards

We propose that employees brought under FLSA coverage by the FLSA Amendments of 1964 be given the safeguards of the Act without waiting five years.

In regard to minimum wages, we urge that $1.15 become effective on September 3, 1964, and $1.25 on September 3, 1965. This would keep these newly covered workers in step with the workers first covered in 1961. These industries were in effect advised in 1961 that they could expect coverage even sooner than 1964. They have had ample time to prepare for such coverage.

To delay a $1.25 minimum wage in these industries until 1967 is unwarranted. The workers in these industries have lagged behind too many years already. They should not be called upon to endure subminimum wages for another five years.

In regard to overtime, we urge that the 40-hour week become effective on September 3, 1965. Again, this would be in keeping with the protection given workers first covered in 1961. The 40-hour week has been the standard in this country for nearly 25 years. This is certainly enough time for employers to adjust to a recognized American norm.

Experience with the 1961 amendments would also support the proposal for establishing a 40-hour week in 1965 without any interim 44 or 42-hour week. The Labor Department reported that "by far the single largest group of comments indicated that many retail enterprises were establishing a 40-hour work week standard on or about September 3, 1963, rather than setting a 44-hour work week, then reducing it to 42, and then to 40, on the dates specified in the amendments." These workers should not be required to forego a 40-hour standard for five years.

While extension of FLSA coverage along the lines we have recommended is a necessary first step toward extending coverage to the millions of workers still unprotected by wage and hour standards, much more will remain to be done even if all of our proposals are approved. Farm workers and other large and important groups will continue to remain unprotected.

We strongly urge the Congress, even if it makes the limited extensions of coverage we have proposed, to direct the Secretary of Labor to study means whereby the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act may be extended to those yet unprotected.

Protection of all American workers within the scope of the federal commerce clause is needed for a full scale assault on poverty. Let Congress demonstrate its concern with this vital endeavor.

AFL-CIO Recommendations for Extension of Fair Labor Standards Act Coverage

I.	Minimum wage and overtime coverage	
	A. Employees of large establishments	
	Retail trade	674,000
	Restaurants	424,000
	Hotels	274,000
	Laundries	173,000
	Hospitals	500,000
	Theatres	55,000
	Miscellaneous services	200,000
	Nonprofit institutions	200,000
	B. Small logging	87,000
	C. Processing farm products	90,000
	D. Cotton ginning	34,000
		2,711,000
II.	Overtime coverage (already covered by the minimum wage)	
	A. Agricultural products processing & seasonal industries	534,000
	B. Gasoline service stations	86,000
	C. Transportation, including local transit	1,304,000
		1,924,000
III.	Total additional coverage	4,635,000

Summary of State Minimum Wage Requirements 1/
(50 States, District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico)

State	Hourly Minimum	Effective Date	Coverage	Type of Employee
Alabama	None			
Alaska	$1.75	7/63	Most industries	Men, women, & minors
Arizona	47¢ - 56¢	1948	3 industries	Women & minors
Arkansas	16¢	1915	Most "	Women & girls
California	$1.30	8/64	Most "	Women & minors
Colorado	60¢ - 1.00	5/56	4 "	" "
Connecticut	1.25	10/63, 5/64	Most "	Men, women & minors
Delaware	None			
District of Columbia	90¢ - 1.25	8/59-10/65	Most industries	Women & minors
Florida	None			
Georgia	None			
Hawaii	1.25	1/64	Most industries	Men, women & minors
Idaho	1.00	5/63	" "	" " "
Illinois	None			
Indiana	None			
Iowa	None			
Kansas	None			
Kentucky	65¢ - 75¢	10/61-11/63	Most industries	Women & minors
Louisiana	None			
Maine	1.00	12/59	Most industries	Men, women & minors
Maryland	None			
Massachusetts	1.00 - 1.25	9/63	Most industries	Men, women & minors
Michigan	None			
Minnesota	70¢ - 1.15	1/57-5/62	Most industries	Women & minors
Mississippi	None			
Missouri	None			
Montana	None			
Nebraska	None			
Nevada	1.15	7/57	Most industries	Women & girls
New Hampshire	75¢-1.25	6/60, 1/65	" "	Men, women & minors
New Jersey	80¢-1.50	2/56-12/62	4 industries	Women & minors
New Mexico	70¢-80¢	7/63	Most industries	Men, women & minors
New York	1.25	10/64	" "	" " "
North Caroline	85¢	1/64	" "	" " "
North Dakota	50¢-85¢	7/53-9/63	5 industries	Women & minors
Ohio	70¢ - 1.25	9/61-1/63	3 "	" "
Oklahoma	None			
Oregon	75¢-1.00	2/53-7/64	Most industries	Women & minors
Pennsylvania	85¢-1.00	9/59-10/62	" "	Men, women & minors 2/
Puerto Rico	35¢-1.50	6/56-1/64	" "	Men, women & minors
Rhode Island	1.00-1.25	9/63	" "	" " "
South Carolina	None			
South Dakota	22¢-28¢	1943	Most industries	Women & girls
Tennessee	None			
Texas	None			
Utah	85¢-1.00	9/60, 9/62	4 industries	Women & minors
Vermont	1.00	9/59	Most industries	Men, women, & minors
Virginia	None			
Washington	1.25	1/62-10/63	Most industries	Women & minors
West Virginia	None			
Wisconsin	1.00-1.10	9/64	Most industries	Women & minors
Wyoming	75¢	5/55	" "	Men & women

1/ Information as of January 1964. Rates shown are currently effective or are scheduled for future dates in 1964 or 1965.

2/ Women and minors only in hotels and restaurants outside Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

Source: Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor

Appendix

State Minimum Wage Requirements for Restaurants 1/
(50 States, District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico)

State	Minimum Hourly Rate 2/	Effective Date	Type of Employee
$1.25 or more (8)			
Alaska	$1.75	9/63	Men, women & minors
California	1.30	9/64	Women & minors
Connecticut	1.25	5/64	Men, women & minors
Hawaii	1.25	1/64	Men, women & minors
Massachusetts	1.25	9/63	Men, women & minors
New York	1.25	9/63	Men, women & minors
Rhode Island	1.25	9/63	Men, women & minors
Washington	1.25	3/62	Men, women & minors
$1.00 and under $1.25 (7)			
Idaho	1.00	5/63	Men, women & minors
Maine	1.00	9/59	Men, women & minors
Minnesota	85¢ - 1.00	7/59	Women, & minors
Nevada	1.15	9/64	Women & girls
New Jersey	1.00	2/56	Women & minors
Pennsylvania	95¢ - 1.00	9/59 & 10/62	Women & minors 3/
Vermont	1.00	10/59	Men, women & minors
Under $1.00 (15)			
Arkansas	16¢	1915	Women & girls
Colorado	60¢ - 80¢	5/56	Women & minors
District of Columbia	90¢	9/60	Women & minors
Kentucky	65¢ - 75¢	11/63	Women & minors
New Hampshire	75¢	6/60	Women & minors
New Mexico	70¢	6/63	Men, women & minors
North Carolina	85¢	1/64	Men, women & minors
North Dakota	61¢ - 64¢	8/61	Women & minors
Ohio	70¢	9/61	Women & minors
Oregon	75¢	11/56	Women & minors
Puerto Rico	50¢ - 63¢	5/63	Men, women & minors
South Dakota	22¢ - 28¢	1943	Women & girls
Utah	85¢ - 95¢	10/62	Women & minors
Wisconsin	85¢ - 95¢	11/63	Women & minors
Wyoming	75¢	5/55	Men & women

No Minimum Wage (22)

Alabama, Arizona, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia

1/ Information as of January 1964. Rates include those already in effect or scheduled for future dates in 1964 and 1965.
2/ Non service rates
3/ Men also covered in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh

State Minimum Wage Requirements for Hotels and Motels[1/]
(50 States, District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico)

State	Minimum Hourly Rate[2/]	Effective Date	Type of Employee
$1.25 or more (8)			
Alaska	$1.75	9/63	Men, women & minors
California	1.30	9/64	Women & minors
Connecticut	1.25	5/64	Men, women & minors
Hawaii	1.25	1/64	" " "
Massachusetts	1.25	9/63	" " "
New York	1.25	10/64	" " "
Rhode Island	1.25	9/63	" " "
Washington	1.25	3/62	" " "
$1.00 and under $1.25 (7)			
Idaho	1.00	5/63	Men, women & minors
Maine	1.00	9/59	" " "
Minnesota	85¢ - 1.00	7/59	Women & minors
Nevada	1.15	9/64	Women & girls
Pennsylvania	85¢ - 1.00	9/59 & 10/62	Women & minors[3/]
Utah	90¢ - 1.00	9/60	Women & minors
Vermont	1.00	10/59	Men, women & minors
Under $1.00 (14)			
Arkansas	16¢	1915	Women & girls
Colorado	60¢ - 80¢	5/56	Women & minors
District of Columbia	90¢	9/60	" "
Kentucky	65¢ - 75¢	11/63	" "
New Hampshire	75¢	6/60	" "
New Mexico	70¢	6/63	Men, women & minors
North Carolina	85¢	1/64	" " "
North Dakota	61¢ - 64¢	8/61	Women & minors
Ohio	70¢	9/61	" "
Oregon	75¢	11/56	" "
Puerto Rico	42¢ - 76½¢	1/61	Men, women & minors
South Dakota	22¢ - 28¢	1943	Women & girls
Wisconsin	85¢ - 95¢	11/63	Women & minors
Wyoming	75¢	5/55	Men & women

No Minimum Wage (23)

Alabama, Arizona, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia

1/ Information as of January 1964. Rates include those already in effect or scheduled for future dates in 1964 and 1965.

2/ Non service rates

3/ Men also covered in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh

Source: Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor

State Minimum Wage Requirements for Laundry and Dry Cleaning[1/]
(50 States, District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico)

State	Minimum Hourly Rate	Effective Date	Type of Employee
$1.25 or more (11)			
Alaska	$1.75	9/63	Men, women & minors
California	1.30	9/64	Women & minors
Connecticut	1.25	10/63	Men, women & minors
Hawaii	1.25	1/64	" " "
Massachusetts	1.25	9/63	" " "
New Hampshire	1.25	1/65	" " "
New Jersey	1.25	12/63	Women & minors
New York	1.25	10/64	Men, women & minors
Ohio	90¢ - 1.25	1/63, 1/65	Women & minors
Rhode Island	1.25	9/63	Men, women & minors
Washington	1.25	3/62	" " "
$1.00 and under $1.25 (7)			
District of Columbia	1.15	9/65	Women & minors
Idaho	1.00	5/63	Men, women & minors
Maine	1.00	9/59	" " "
Nevada	1.15	9/64	Women & girls
Pennsylvania	1.00	10/62	Men, women & minors
Utah	95¢ - 1.00	9/60	Women & minors
Vermont	1.00	10/59	Men, women & minors
Under $1.00 (13)			
Arizona	47¢ - 54¢	1948	Women & minors
Arkansas	16¢	1915	Women & girls
Colorado [2/]	60¢ - 80¢	5/56	Women & minors
Kentucky	65¢ - 75¢	9/61	" "
Minnesota	70¢ - 85¢	1/57	" "
New Mexico	70¢	6/63	Men, women & minors
North Carolina	85¢	1/64	" " "
North Dakota	75¢ - 85¢	9/63	Women & minors
Oregon	80¢	7/58	" "
Puerto Rico	60¢ - 67¢	6/62	Men, women & minors
South Dakota	22¢ - 28¢	1943	Women & girls
Wisconsin	85¢ - 95¢	11/63	Women & minors
Wyoming	75¢	5/55	Men & women

No Minimum Wage (21)

Alabama, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia

1/ Information as of January 1964. Rates include those already in effect or scheduled for future dates in 1964 and 1965.

2/ Laundries only

State Minimum Wage Requirements for Hospital Workers [1]
(50 States, District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico)

State	Minimum Hourly Rate	Effective Date	Type of Employee
$1.25 or more (11)			
Alaska	$1.75	9/63	Men, women & minors
California	1.30	9/64	" " "
Connecticut	1.25	10/63	" " "
Hawaii	1.25	1/64	" " "
Massachusetts	1.25	9/63	" " "
New Hampshire [2]	95¢ - 1.25	1/65	" " "
New Jersey [3]	1.00 - 1.25	2/56 & 12/63	Women & Minors
New York [4]	1.25	10/64	Men, women & minors
Ohio	70¢ - 1.25	9/61 & 1/65	Women & minors
Rhode Island	1.00 - 1.25	9/63	Men, women & minors
Washington	1.25	7/63	Women & minors
$1.00 and under $1.25 (9)			
District of Columbia	90¢ - 1.15	Various dates	Women & minors
Idaho	1.00	5/63	Men, women & minors
Minnesota	85¢ - 1.00	7/59	Women & minors
Nevada	1.15	9/64	Women & girls
Oregon	1.00	7/64	Women & minors
Puerto Rico	96¢	2/63	Men, women & minors
Utah	90¢ - 1.00	9/60	Women & minors
Vermont [2]	1.00	9/59	Men, women & minors
Wisconsin	1.10	9/64	Women & minors
Under $1.00 (6)			
Arizona [5]	54¢	1948	Women & minors
Arkansas	16¢	1915	Women & girls
Colorado	60¢ - 80¢	5/56	Women & minors
Kentucky	65¢ - 75¢	11/61	Women & minors
North Dakota [5]	85¢	9/63	" "
Wyoming	75¢	5/55	Men, Women & minors

No Minimum Wage (26)

Alabama, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia.

1/ Information as of January 1964. Rates include those already in effect or scheduled for future dates in 1964 and 1965.

2/ Nonprofit hospital employees covered only in laundry, nurses aide, and practical nurse occupations.

3/ Restaurant and laundry occupations only.

4/ Nonprofit hospitals covered on optional basis.

5/ Laundry occupations only.

Source: Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor.

Hourly Wages in Hospitals
Nongovernmental
(June 1963)

The following jobs in selected cities are similar to jobs in hotels, laundries, and restaurants which would be covered in H.R. 9824.

Kitchen Helpers

City and Number of Kitchen Helpers Employed			Percent Paid Less than 70¢		Percent Paid Less than $1		Percent Paid Less than $1.20	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Atlanta	48	96	27	42	88	100	92	100
Boston	173	562	-	-	-	-	8	4
Chicago	470	1,677	-	-	3	8	35	26
Dallas	41	160	-	8	54	74	100	99
Philadelphia	462	1,217	3	2	42	47	86	86
Portland, Ore.	20	170	-	-	-	-	0	5

Women Maids

City and Number of Women Maids Employed				
Atlanta	269	79	98	100
Boston	744	-	-	0
Chicago	2,014	-	3	29
Dallas	125	-	11	100
Philadelphia	1,281	4	24	82
Portland	241	-	-	2

Men Porters

City and Number of Men Porters Employed				
Atlanta	179	7	84	100
Boston	579	-	-	1
Chicago	956	-	16	46
Dallas	174	-	8	79
Philadelphia	927	-	52	65
Portland	113	-	-	0

Women Laundry Finishers

City and Number of Women Laundry Finishers Employed				
Atlanta	77	68	99	100
Boston	203	-	-	25
Chicago	602	-	5	45
Memphis	58	12	100	100
Philadelphia	267	-	43	82
Portland	56	-	-	4

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor

Weekly Wages in Nongovernmental Hospitals
June 1963

This is the largest non-professional occupation that is peculiar to hospitals.

City and Number of Nurses Aids Employed			Nurses Aids Percent Paid Less than $30		Less than $40		Less than $50	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Atlanta	0	626	-	-	-	68	-	95
Boston	322	1,385	-	-	-	-	2	12
Chicago	529	6,272	-	-	-	2	2	17
Dallas	95	515	-	-	-	4	75	100
Philadelphia	794	2,938	12	4	9	12	85	89
Portland, Ore.	85	543	-	-	-	-	-	3

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor.

Nongovernmental Hospitals
(August 1963)

Type of Hospital	Number of Hospitals	Number of full-time Personnel*	Total Expenditures (Millions)	Average Expenditure per hospital (000)
Nonprofit	3,623	911,083	$ 5,184	$ 1,431
Profit	990	64,647	383	387
Total	4,613	975,730	5,567	1,818

*(Includes full-time personnel and full-time equivalents of part-time personnel. Excludes residents, interns, and students.)

Nongovernmental Hospitals by Size and Type

Nonprofit			
Under 25 beds	226	5,003	108
25 - 49 beds	718	32,789	242
50 - 99 beds	947	97,051	550
100 - 199 beds	849	201,916	1,319
200 - 299 beds	472	214,433	2,604
300 - 399 beds	232	153,022	3,854
400 - 499 beds	99	82,597	4,905
500 and over beds	90	124,289	8,191
Total	3,623	911,100	1,431
Profit			
Under 25 beds	282	5,350	98
25 - 49 beds	354	15,453	262
50 - 99 beds	240	21,449	554
100 - 199 beds	98	17,665	1,044
200 - 299 beds	13	3,630	1,643
300 - 399 beds	2	664	1,614
400 - 499 beds	1	419	3,057
500 and over	--	--	--
Total	990	64,630	387,000

Source: Hospitals, Journal of the American Hospital Association, Part Two
August 1963

Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council

on

Waging War Against Poverty

Bal Harbour, Florida
February 21, 1964

We applaud President Johnson for his pledge to lead the nation in an "unconditional war, here and now, on poverty". With forthrightness and courage he has forced millions of more affluent Americans to face up to the fact that one-fifth of the families in the richest and most productive nation of the world still live in poverty. Even more important, he has challenged us to end this ugly blight.

The AFL-CIO has long sought to focus public attention on the paradox of poverty in the midst of America's plenty. We have spelled out steps which must be taken to end it and we have sought to implement this program through both public and private action.

Our concern is not only the magnitude of poverty remaining in the United States -- the fact that 35 million Americans still live in families with incomes of under $3,000, before tax. We are even more concerned because progress towards eradication of this cancer has slowed down almost to a halt in the past decade of spreading unemployment and under-employment. What is more, success in winning civil rights and dignity for Negroes and other minority groups is inseparably linked with our success in effectively waging war against want.

President Johnson now must reverse nearly ten years of stagnation in the effort to reduce the prevalence of poverty. Moreover, the Administration's anti-poverty campaign in 1964 must be viewed as hardly a first, small step. Bold measures and substantial funds will have to be added to achieve meaningful progress in this worthy national crusade.

No nation in the history of the world has a greater capability of lifting all of its people above the level of want. The test we now face is our will to do it.

If we now engage in merely a token effort -- a mere skirmish instead of a war -- we will be deluding the millions of impoverished and frustrating the expectations of the nation and of the world.

On the other hand, the victory that will result from a genuine crusade will not only benefit those now in want. It will increase the self-respect and well-being of every American and it will give added meaning to the reality of the American way of life.

-more-

The Nature of the Problem

From early New Deal days until the mid-1950's, substantial progress was made in lifting the incomes of our neediest families, and this progress was not accidental. New Deal social and economic programs, like minimum wages and fair labor standards, social insurance and welfare aids for the aged, survivors, unemployed and indigent were purposely designed to help the neediest. Simultaneously, encouragement of the rapid growth of unions helped lift the earnings of millions of the underpaid. Then, the impact of the war in generating full employment -- within the framework of wartime price-control and tax policies which effectively prevented a regressive income shift -- further speeded inroads on poverty.

Rising postwar production and employment until the mid-1950's helped continue this trend. Despite the adverse effect of price inflation and profiteering, families with cash incomes of less than $3,000, in 1962 dollars, dropped from 32 percent of the total to 23 percent, from 1947 to 1956.

Since the mid-1950's, however, the portion of our families still impoverished has remained practically stationary. This misfortune is rooted in the spread of unemployment and under-employment and in government policies excessively concerned with the welfare of corporations and the already well-off, rather than the needs of our fellow citizens most in want. Despite the continuing rise in the well-being of most Americans, families with incomes below $3,000 dropped only to 20 percent of the total by 1962. In fact, between 1956 and 1962 the share of total personal income going to the neediest fifth of our families actually went down.

If we are indeed determined to wage war against poverty, this wrong-way income distribution trend must be reversed. In 1961, the poorest 20 percent of our families received only five percent of total after-tax personal income. The top five percent of our families with the highest incomes, on the other hand, received 17.7 percent of the total, which is considerably more than what was received by the 40 percent of our families at the bottom.

A renewed effort to quickly raise the income share of the lowest 20 percent need not jeopardize the affluence of those at the top. As personal income continues to go up, we must simply direct a greater portion of this growth to the families who need it most. Surely, as President Franklin Roosevelt said thirty years ago, "the test of our progress is not whether we add to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

-more-

Studies of poverty in the United States reveal that over half of the families affected have members who are employed or seeking work. Often, their breadwinners are unemployed because of displacement due to automation, discrimination, lack of adequate skills or simply because jobs are not available in this period of persistant and rising unemployment. Many others are compelled to work part-time or for relief-level wages.

Persons 65 years of age or older head the families or almost one-third of our neediest. One-quarter of the most impoverished are families without any breadwinner at all, because of disability, death, desertion or old age. Non-white Americans comprise over 20 percent of those most in want, although they account for only about 10 percent of all families. Most of the poorest can be found in metropolitan-area slums and in our large number of distressed industrial and rural areas across the country. Generally, the educational opportunities of those most in need have been low.

In now launching all-out war on poverty, adequate measures to immediately alleviate human suffering are imperative. The food-stamp plan and other measures to provide an adequate diet for all needy families should be improved and extended. But at the same time that such humanitarian efforts are being pursued, fundamental measures must deal with the basic causes of poverty at their roots. In planning these actions, four major areas of responsibility in which the federal government must lead -- but in which state and local government and private groups must cooperate -- are evident.

Measures to Create Jobs and Aid the Unemployed

First, it is clearly self-evident that the long and persistent trend of rising unemployment and under-employment must be reversed, if any significant progress is to be made in eradicating poverty. Achievement of the national goal of jobs at decent pay for all Americans who are able and willing to work must underlie any realistic anti-poverty program.

The stubborn persistence of poverty since the mid-1950's -- during a period in which the majority of Americans have continued to improve their living standards -- is substantially rooted in the rising trend of unemployment and part-time work. What is more, if this deplorable situation is allowed to continue -- as a consequence of labor displacement at a time when new jobseekers are increasing faster than ever before -- we will experience spreading poverty rather than its reduction. If national economic policy continues to enthrone greater productive efficiency and higher profits as the top-priority goals, rather than fulfillment of the promises of the Employment Act of 1946, a crusade against poverty -- no matter how well intended -- will show only scant results.

-more-

National policies to sharply increase employment -- for the jobless and under-employed, for the victims of discrimination, for the young people flocking into the labor force and for those who will be displaced by automation -- are the essential foundation of an anti-poverty program. Through the rest of this decade at least, the American economy must create over four million job opportunities a year -- more than 80,000 a week -- in order to keep Americans at work. To the extent that we fail, want will grow.

On the basis of the record, this objective will not be reached without bold, far-reaching leadership by the federal government.

One of the major needs at this time -- in addition to other long-range job-expanding actions -- is a vast increase in federal outlays for job-creating public works. This will quickly create jobs -- including substantial employment opportunities for unskilled and semi-skilled workers -- and at the same time provide vitally needed public improvements of permanent worth. Towards this end, the now expiring Public Works Acceleration program should be extended, with a $2 billion appropriation, and similar measures should be enacted which would create jobs, producing schools, hospitals, housing, urban redevelopment and other improvements that all communities urgently need.

Special programs should be enacted to provide young people with useful employment opportunities, including part-time job opportunities in schools and community services for high school and college students to encourage young people to continue their education. Such youth employment measures, however, should be civilian programs, with civilian management and supervision.

These and other job-creating measures can succeed in sustaining full employment only if they are accompanied by effective adjustment procedures to the labor-displacement and community disruption of automation, defense cutbacks, and frequently, foreign imports.

In addition, special measures to assist the jobless, and the under-employed are essential parts of the campaign to eliminate poverty. These include improvement of the federal-state unemployment compensation system through the application of federal standards, implementation of the national manpower program in a manner that upgrades skills while safeguarding worker standards, a more effective nationwide public employment service, relocation allowances to aid the jobless to move to areas where work is available, enactment of effective fair employment practices legislation and strengthening the area redevelopment effort. Such measures are vitally important to aid jobless and under-employed workers to improve their incomes and opportunities.

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Programs to Lift Wages of Low-Paid Workers

Second, programs to lift the incomes of low-paid workers must be an integral part of the campaign to eradicate the sources of poverty.

Extension of minimum-wage coverage and an increase in the minimum hourly rate are essential, as well as special aids for our tragically exploited farm workers including termination of the bracero importation program. These programs are essential to raise the income standards of the millions of impoverished employed workers and their families.

The federal government also must vigorously support the right of all wage and salary earners to organize and sustain effective unions and engage in collective bargaining -- in agriculture as well as in industry and commerce. It is no accident that poverty is usually most prevalent among groups in which union organization is weak or nonexistent and in areas where trade unionism is compelled to function against the handicap of hostile state legislation. The experience of the 1930's clearly indicates that effective labor organization and collective bargaining are vital parts of an effort to help low-paid workers improve their economic status.

Aid Against Hazards of Old Age, Desertion, Illness and Death

Third, a meaningful attack on the causes of want must deal effectively with the need for adequate income maintenance when unavoidable hardships destroy a family's ability to be self-supporting. This is particularly true in the case of most of the aged, broken families generally headed by a woman with children in her care, and families in which the breadwinner has died or is incapacitated.

No war against poverty can be meaningful unless adequate family income protection is provided for those who cannot be self-sustaining even in a full-employment economy, because of such hazards. To meet the problems of these families, a whole series of special aids are vitally necessary.

A hospital insurance program for the aged, under Social Security, should be immediately adopted. Social Security benefits for retirees, survivors and the disabled should be substantially increased.

The benefit and coverage levels of all state social insurance and welfare programs must be brought up to date. Moreover, public assistance payments must be increased to meet the family needs of the 1960's and improvements of community welfare programs are required.

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To provide decent safeguards for the families of those who are injured or killed at work, federal standards are needed to upgrade the archaic workmen's compensation systems of the states.

Income maintenance when ill and the means to meet the rising costs of adequate medical care are problems confronting most families, but particularly those with the lower incomes. Insurance for the families of breadwinners separated from payrolls by illness -- now limited to four states and the railroads -- must be improved and extended nationally.

Education, Housing and Personal Adjustment

Fourth, in the effort to conquer poverty, a substantially increased effort must be launched to meet special problems of the poor in the areas of health, education, housing and personal adjustment. Particularly, increased and improved opportunities for education must be made available for the children of the poor, if the cycle of poverty is to be broken.

The war on poverty requires a vast increase in the quantity and improvement in the quality of education, health care, low-cost public housing, consumer counselling and personal guidance services for the members of low-income families. Without such efforts, their avenues towards higher living standards will also be blocked.

Improvement in the educational opportunities available to the children of low-income families, including federal aid for school construction and extension of free public education to the college level, must be viewed as basic public investments in the nation's future. Through supplemental federal aid for school districts where the need is greatest, the spread of junior colleges, substantial increases in the availability and amount of college scholarships and revival of the National Youth Administration idea of the 1930's, greater educational opportunities for these children can be achieved, the cycle of poverty can be broken, and the entire nation can be enriched.

Successful war against poverty will automatically do more for American Negroes than for the population as a whole because they are such a disproportionately large part of our families still in want. But more than that, by taking the measures necessary to end poverty, we will create the conditions and climate that will enable us to end more quickly the ugly fact of discrimination in American life.

-more-

President Johnson's pledge to lead the nation in unconditional war on poverty lays down a long overdue challenge to the conscience of the American people. Already substantial public interest has been aroused but, if we really mean to wage this war, victory will not come easily. Offensives must be mounted on many fronts. Long-entrenched attitudes must change. A vast amount of effort and money will have to be expended.

Action to achieve employment opportunities at decent wages for all Americans able and willing to work must be viewed as the primary underpinning of the anti-poverty program. This is true not only because so many impoverished families have a member who is, or could be, employed, and the possession of a decent job is the best way to raise their income status and personal dignity. In addition, the restoration of a full-employment-maximum-production economy is also of paramount importance because, as we rapidly raise our national income by effectively utilizing now-wasted resources, America will be even more able to meet the social costs of its anti-poverty crusade on every front.

Moreover, achievement of sustained full employment depends on success in rapidly reducing the prevalence of poverty. The expansion of jobs requires raising the buying power of the millions of low-income families, since they are a vast potential market for the goods and services the economy can produce.

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

March 10, 1964

Dear Sir:

"The AFL-CIO is for civil rights—without reservation and without delay."

These are the opening words in a new AFL-CIO pamphlet on civil rights entitled "Equal Rights for All—the AFL-CIO Position", a copy of which is enclosed.

The introduction by Federation President George Meany to the 22-page pamphlet flows from the sentence quoted above and continues:

"Mere acknowledgement, mere lip-service to equal rights is not enough. The labor movement is committed to a positive program for translating principle into reality on every front. This means on the job, in the schools, at the polls, in housing and in all places of public accommodation—restaurants, hotels, everywhere."

This pamphlet, AFL-CIO Publication No. 133, is being issued at a critical point in the legislative battle to secure equal rights for all. The House-passed civil rights bill is now before the Senate for action and the nation's attention is fully focused on the civil rights fight. The enclosed pamphlet, stating in short question and answer form the AFL-CIO's legislative program and its internal machinery for handling civil rights problems, is extremely timely.

Copies of the pamphlet are available without cost in reasonable quantities from the Pamphlet Division, AFL-CIO Department of Publications, 815 - 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

Sincerely yours,

Don Slaiman

Don Slaiman
Director
Department of Civil Rights

Enclosure

Sent out April 6

~~March 25, 1964~~

Mr. Paul Dullzell
President
Actors and Artists of America
226 W. 47th Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Dullzell:

We are writing to you about the Southern Regional Council, and to ask your support for its programs.

As board members of the Council, we have joined in this appeal because of our conviction that labor should have a larger share in the work of the Council. We have, as we think you know, long believed that labor and Negroes and white liberals of the South must stand together. Labor and the Southern Regional Council have had a long and friendly association. We would like to see them grow closer together, you benefitting the Council and the Council benefitting you through cooperative programs.

Accordingly, we encourage you to call on the Council staff, its field services, and its publications for the strengthening of your own work in the South. We believe that you will find, if you have not already, that the Council can provide signal help to you.

The Southern Regional Council, leagued with the state and local Councils on Human Relations throughout the South, is, we believe, supplying leadership and direction to the region in a growing measure. You, and organized labor generally, have

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45
65

generously assisted the civil rights campaign through the direct action movement; the Council whole heartedly is grateful for what you have done, and many of our colleagues in the Council are active in the groups and in the fights you have joined.

We ask now that you give something, or increase your grant if you are already giving, to that organization which brings white and Negro Southerners into a partnership for progress which strengthens the foundations of all the activists groups, and which does more, we believe, than any other organization to foster a climate in the South favorable to labor.

The attachments show the importance of the Council. Included among them are the 1963 financial statement and the 1964 budget. We believe you will agree that few organizations, if any, get so much mileage from a modest budget. We ask you also to note what a large share of its total budget goes to support other organizations, through the Voter Education Project and other projects.

We are sending this letter not only to you, but to a number of your brothers in the AFL-CIO union movement. We hope that you will give generously to the support of the Council, and we are confident that you will. We hope also that you will use the Council's services to advance labor's cause in the South. Please mail your contribution in care of both of us, to the above address.

Sincerely yours,

Frank P. Graham, Former
Former President
University of North Carolina

Benjamin E. Mays
President
Morehouse College

FPG/BEM:mg
Enclosures

Files
Labor - Fund raising
1964!

May 19, 1964

Mr. Gordon M. Freeman
President
International Brotherhood of
Electric Workers
1200-15th Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Freeman:

I want to thank you, on behalf of the Council, for your contribution to our general program in the amount of $300. Having this expression of confidence and support from the International Brotherhood of Electric Workers means a great deal to us. It is our sincere hope that in years to come we will merit your support as we strive to make the South a better place for all.

I hope you will call upon us at any time we may be of service to you.

Our official receipt is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Encl: One (1) receipt

June 2, 1964

Mr. Don Slaiman
Department of Civil Rights
A. F. L. -- C. I. O.
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Don:

Enclosed for your information is a copy of the letter sent to Messrs C. J. Haggerty, and Peter M. McGavin.

We are most appreciative for this real service that you are rendering to us.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

GEORGIA STATE AFL-CIO

June 6, 1965

TO THE GEORGIA FRIENDS OF ORGANIZED LABOR

GREETINGS:

The Labor Movement in Georgia, as most of you will agree, has been a very responsible segment of our Georgia Society, long before the enactment of punitive legislation by the State and Federal Governments, against the labor leaders, and the millions of Trade Union Members.

The passage of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 provided for the states the right to regulate matters pertaining to management and labor. Principally the states were permitted to enact legislation that would preclude management and labor from negotiating for a full collective bargaining contract. The right of contracting for full employee participation under the union contract in all matters concerning the working collective bargaining agreement through membership in the Union throughout the term of such collective agreement is being denied to both management and labor in 19 states, the state of Georgia being one of these 19 states.

The union members, with rare exception in the state of Georgia, have long resented this intrusion by our state in their right to negotiate and contract with their Georgia employers all phases of a collective bargaining agreement. The so called right to work legislation enacted in the state of Georgia limiting the type of membership participation under a collective bargaining agreement has had in the most part an adverse effect upon the economy of our state.

The labor leaders and the Union members in Georgia who through the many years past have demonstrated exemplary citizenship in our state, now look in your direction for whatever assistance you may give in the direction of repealing Section 14(b) of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 as amended.

A good word from you to our congressmen uuging them to support House Resolution 77, will be most appreciated by this writer and the many thousands of good Americans who make up our Georgia Labor Movement.

To assist you in consideration of the Georgia organized workers point of view I have taken liberty of enclosing a copy of a resolution unanimously adopted by the delegates at the 9th Annual Convention of the Georgia State AFL-CIO Convention held in Augusta on May 21, 1965.

I have also prepared in brief capsule form my thoughts on the so-called Right To Work Law.

Thanking you in advance for any considerations you may give in the direction of assisting the Union Movement in its fight to repeal Section 14(b).

I remain sincerely yours,

Wiley Montague

WILEY MONTAGUE
President

'RIGHT-TO-WORK' LAWS

WHAT THEY DO

So-called "right-to-work" laws curb free collective bargaining by prohibiting unions and employers from agreeing to union security clauses in their contracts. These laws outlaw the union shop and other forms of union security in the 19 states where they are in force.

WHAT THEY DON'T DO

"Right-to-work" laws *do not* guarantee anyone a job. They *do not* create any new jobs. They hold out no hope for the unemployed. They *do not* protect any worker facing lay-off from his job. They promote no positive right, and have nothing to do with work. The phrase "right-to-work" is a hoax.

THEIR UNIQUE STATUS

"Right-to-work" laws are unique in American experience. Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law authorizes states to enact "right-to-work" laws and is the *only* law that permits — indeed, encourages — states to go beyond federal law and enact legislation harsher than the federal statute calls for.

Section 14(a) of Taft-Hartley permits union security clauses. Section 14(b) turns right around and invites states to outlaw them. It is the only case of legal double-standards on record in the field of federal law.

WHY SECTION 14(b) AND "RIGHT-TO-WORK" LAW SHOULD BE REPEALED

1. It is *bad* law. It prohibits the employer and the union from signing an agreement for union security — even when both recognize it as essential to improving labor-management relations. It interferes with orderly, free collective bargaining. Section 14(b) permits state laws to go beyond federal labor law, and permits union shop agreement in 31 states, prohibits it in 19 states and destroys uniformity in labor-management relations.

2. It is *phony* law. The mere phrase makes promises that cannot possibly be kept. It protects neither rights nor jobs. It is simply a smokescreen for union-busting.

3. It is *harsh* law. It penalizes employers by creating instability and uncertainty in the work-force. It penalizes employees by weakening the unions that represents them.

It penalizes unions by reducing the effectiveness of collective bargaining.

Further, it forces on unions the obligation to carry "free-loaders." By law, unions must represent all workers in a bargaining unit. Thus, in "right-to-work" states, a union must represent equally its own members and those workers in the unit who refuse to join the union and thereby refuse to pay their just share for union representation.

A comparable situation would exist if certain persons in your community refused to pay any taxes, yet received the same national, state and community services you receive. They would be "free-loaders."

4. It is *bad* economics. States with so-called "right-to-work" laws lag behind free collective bargaining states in economic growth, in per capita income, have weaker workmen's compensation and unemployment compensation laws.

5. It is *union-busting* law. Since passage of the Wagner Act, the cornerstone of federal labor law has been encouragement of labor organizing and of free collective bargaining. Under this federal encouragement, trade unions have grown and have helped build a strong economy and an unparalleled standard of living.

"Right-to-work" laws stand as a constant threat to the continued growth and welfare of trade unions, and to the continued expansion of our economy.

WHO IS FOR "RIGHT-TO-WORK" LAW?

National Association of Manufacturers, Chamber of Commerce, John Birch Society, Christian Freedom Foundation, Committee for Constitutional Government, National Right-to-Work Committee.

WHO IS AGAINST "RIGHT-TO-WORK" LAW?

President Lyndon B. Johnson, President John Kennedy, Alfred Landon, Republican Presidential Candidate; Willard Wirtz, Labor Secretary; James P. Mitchell, Labor Secretary in Eisenhower's Cabinet, and former Department Store Executive; California Governor Edmund Brown; Michigan Governor George Romney; Pennsylvania Governor William Scranton; Senators Thruston Morton, Margaret Smith, Frank Moss and Robert Kennedy.

WILEY H. MONTAGUE, SR., *President*
GEORGIA STATE AFL-CIO

RESOLUTION

REPEAL SECTION 14 (b) TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

GIVE UNIONS THE RIGHT TO CONTRACT

WHEREAS, since 1947 the state of Georgia has been afflicted with a so-called "right-to-work" law, forbidding unions and employers to negotiate union shop agreements; and

WHEREAS, this law restricts free collective bargaining and freedom of contract; weakens trade unions, thus slowing the economic progress of workers, and promotes distrust and disharmony between labor and management; and

WHEREAS, the inevitable result of these handicaps has been to retard the progress of our state and to curtail the prosperity of the people as a whole; and

WHEREAS, state "right-to-work" laws are made possible by Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, a federal statute; and

WHEREAS, Section 14(b) is the only provision in federal law which cedes authority to the states in a field otherwise preempted by Congress for the federal government, and therefore singles out the labor movement for unique and unfavorable treatment,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Georgia State AFL-CIO hereby calls upon the members of both houses of Congress to join wholeheartedly in an effort to repeal Section 14(b), in order to restore free collective bargaining, and the right to contract, improve the lot of wage-earners and enhance the prosperity of all the people in the State of Georgia.

Submitted by:

The Executive Board,
Georgia State AFL-CIO

W. H. Montague, Sr.
President

J. O. Moore
Secretary

√ I — work out all right?

August 12, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: LWD
From: VEJ

Paul Christopher called today to ask your help on the matter of his going to Washington for the meeting of the Citizen's Committee appointed by President Johnson relative to the civil rights bill and its implementation.

Paul called his boss, a Mr. Livingston, at the AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington to say that he had been appointed, that the meeting was to take place Tuesday, the 18th, and that he planned to attend. Livingston told Paul that he would have to check with George Meany; Meany was out, so Livingston talked with Meany's assistant, a Mr. Gilday. Gilday indicated to Livingston that AFL-CIO would have to pick up the tab and for that reason Paul should not go. Implied in this refusal were some other reasons.

Paul thinks somebody was playing politics in the AFL-CIO headquarters. Therefore, he called you to ask you to call Don Slaiman and ask him to find out what was going on. At Paul's request, I made the call to Don Slaiman. He informed me that he would take care of the situation and call Paul himself. I called Paul back and relayed to him what I had done, and he was very grateful. He asked that I keep all this confidential.

SA

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

August 16, 1965

From: Don Slaiman, Director, Civil Rights Department DS

Enclosed for your information is a copy of a recent speech which Clarence Mitchell, Director of the Washington Bureau, NAACP, gave at the Maryland State and District of Columbia AFL-CIO Convention.

Also enclosed is an article from the New York Herald Tribune that I would like to bring to your attention, entitled "Labor-Negro Alliance". This rather current editorial reflects the thinking in another article I have enclosed, from the February '65 edition of COMMENTARY, by Bayard Rustin.

Mr. Rustin, in "From Protest to Politics" discusses the future of the civil rights movement in the United States. "At issue", according to Mr. Rustin, " is not civil rights, strictly speaking, but social and economic conditions."

The article speaks of needs in the total American society as well as those relating chiefly to Negroes. No agency or group can achieve social progress alone according to Rustin. "We all need allies."

I think you will find these articles of considerable interest. If you have any further inquiries, please do not hesitate to contact us.

DS/DG/cr
Enclosures: 3

New York Herald Tribune

Labor-Negro Alliance

A POWERFUL political alliance is being forged between organized labor and the Negro community. It is much in evidence on Capitol Hill this summer. The AFL-CIO is fighting shoulder to shoulder with key Negro groups to win Congressional adoption of the voting rights bill, while the Negro groups in turn are pressing for enactment of the minimum wage bill and for repeal of the labor-despised Sec. 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The labor-Negro alliance has been warming ever since the late President Kennedy entered the White House. Labor and Negro legislative representatives now meet daily—and some times throughout the night—when important bills reach the action stage.

It isn't as cosy on the production lines or even at the union officer level in all locals and internationals. There still is bitter anti-Negro feeling in many unions.

But labor and the Negro have come a long way.

International Association of Machinist members, for example, were implacable foes of Negroes in the huge aircraft industry after World War II. But the machinists union now is a prime mover in the Negro-labor alliance here.

The United Automobile Workers are key members. So are the Steel Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, International Ladies Garment Workers, Amalgamated Meat Cutters, Textile Workers and the State, County and Municipal Employees.

The AFL-CIO helps support Bayard Rustin's tiny A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York's Harlem and the brainy Mr. Rustin wrote the testimony that widely respected NAACP Washington director Clarence Mitchell gave as the Negro spokesman on minimum wages.

The close alliance was dramatically signaled when Mr. Mitchell appeared before the House Labor subcommittee to support repealing Sec. 14B—the provision that allows states to ban the union shop. Repeal of 14B is labor's No. 1 goal. Significantly, it is a straight labor issue—not a broad economic question like the minimum wage or Social Security.

Mr. Mitchell presented the agreed view of a group of leading Negroes—as he did again when he supported a more generous minimum wage law. He spoke for Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive director; A. Philip Randolph, American Negro labor council president; Martin Luther King jr., Southern Christian leadership conference president, and CORE national director James Farmer.

It is as certain as anything can be that Congress will be seeing more labor-Negro cooperation on major economic issues in the future.

JOSEPH R. SLEVIN.

Excerpts from Statement of Clarence Mitchell, Director, Washington Bureau, NAACP, at the Maryland State and District of Columbia, AFL-CIO Convention, Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C., August 4, 1965

Aroused and determined people have given our country one of the most effective Congresses in our entire history. This is because the men and women of good will are united in their determination to gain a better life for all Americans. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 are the fruits of a democracy that rises to meet the challenges of our time.

We must never forget that these victories do not come easily. They are the product of the hours, the days, and the weeks that many of you and thousands of other persons like you spent during the summer and fall of 1964 working for the election of Congressmen and Senators. They are the results of careful planning, constructive discussion and almost endless efforts to make certain that after the election those holding office would keep faith with the people. No vote for either of the civil rights bills came as a surprise. We knew the results before the votes were cast because we were dealing with honorable officials who had pledged that they would pass this legislation and they kept their promise.

It is a duty and a pleasure to tell you that throughout the effort made in the 88th and 89th Congresses for passage of civil rights bills, organized labor gave unfailing, consistent and massive support where it counted most. Your legislative representative, and former Congressman, Andrew Biemiller, was the leader of a hard working, determined and highly effective team of AFL-CIO men and women in the civil rights campaign. It is frequently necessary to work nights, Sundays and holidays to achieve our goals. The members of organized labor were always present at the right time and in the right places.

I am happy to say that the members of the organization that I represent welcome the support of organized labor and we are equally pleased to extend our support to the important legislative objectives of the AFL-CIO. It has always been our policy to support the right of working people to organize and to seek better working conditions through collective bargaining. From the beginning of our existence, through the years that we have worked on the American scene and down to the present we have supported the principle of the union shop. On behalf of civil rights leaders, this year I presented to the Congress our unequivocal support for labor's drive to repeal section 14 (b) of the Taft Hartley Act.

You will be interested to know that during the 1964 legislative drive someone circulated a vicious letter in Congress charging that the fair employment title of the Civil Rights Bill was a scheme to undermine labor and to take jobs away from white people. To the everlasting credit of President George Meany and other leaders of labor neither that letter nor other insidious propaganda prevented them from giving full support to the fair employment title.

This year when I called for the repeal of 14 (b) the same forces that sought to drive us on FEPC were trying to show that repeal of 14 (b) would somehow or other adversely affect colored working people. Just as the spokesmen for labor remain firm in their commitment to the purpose of fair employment we also remain firm in our commitment to protect the union shop and the right to bargain collectively for fair wages and decent hours of employment.

In conclusion, I predict that the passage of the 1965 voting rights act will enable us to increase the number of Congressmen and Senators who support human rights in all fields. All of the southern members of the 88th Congress who voted for the 1964 Civil Rights Act were re-elected including one Representative who was subsequently elected to the United States Senate.

On the 1965 Voting Rights Bill, two of the clearest and most forceful speeches for the bill were made by southern Congressmen. One does not need to have a crystal ball to predict that if the number of colored voters increase in the south, the number of southern legislators willing to speak out for justice will also increase.

I hope that you who come from the State of Maryland and the District of Columbia will be mindful of your responsibility to see that there is home rule in the District of Columbia. I hope also that when home rule is achieved, we will be able to work together for the election of responsible and progressive officials.

The same must be said for the State of Maryland. Maryland now has a fair employment law. We must work for fair housing legislation in that State and the passage of all other kinds of constructive legislation which will benefit the people. My presence here today at your invitation is symbolic of our determination to work together and I hope that this will always be so.

Looking Forward

No. 1 IN A SERIES OF OCCASIONAL PAPERS

From Protest to Politics:

The Future of the Civil Rights Movement

By Bayard Rustin

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LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

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FROM PROTEST TO POLITICS: THE FUTURE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

BAYARD RUSTIN

I

THE DECADE spanned by the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will undoubtedly be recorded as the period in which the legal foundations of racism in America were destroyed. To be sure, pockets of resistance remain; but it would be hard to quarrel with the assertion that the elaborate legal structure of segregation and discrimination, particularly in relation to public accommodations, has virtually collapsed. On the other hand, without making light of the human sacrifices involved in the direct-action tactics (sit-ins, freedom rides, and the rest) that were so instrumental to this achievement, we must recognize that in desegregating public accommodations, we affected institutions which are relatively peripheral both to the American socio-economic order and to the fundamental conditions of life of the Negro people. In a highly industrialized, 20th-century civilization, we hit Jim Crow precisely where it was most anachronistic, dispensable, and vulnerable—in hotels, lunch counters, terminals, libraries, swimming pools, and the like. For in these forms, Jim Crow does impede the flow of commerce in the broadest sense: it is a nuisance in a society on the move (and on the make). Not surprisingly, therefore, it was the most mobility-conscious and relatively liberated groups in the Negro community—lower-middle-class college students—who launched the attack that brought down this imposing but hollow structure.

The term "classical" appears especially apt for this phase of the civil rights movement. But in the few years that have passed since the first flush of sit-ins, several developments have taken place that have complicated matters enormously. One is the shifting focus of the movement in the South, symbolized by Birmingham; another is the spread of the revolution to the North; and the third, common to the other two, is the expansion of the movement's base in the Negro community.

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To attempt to disentangle these three strands is to do violence to reality. David Danzig's perceptive article, "The Meaning of Negro Strategy,"* correctly saw in the Birmingham events the victory of the concept of collective struggle over individual achievement as the road to Negro freedom. And Birmingham remains the unmatched symbol of grass-roots protest involving all strata of the black community. It was also in this most industrialized of Southern cities that the single-issue demands of the movement's classical stage gave way to the "package deal." No longer were Negroes satisfied with integrating lunch counters. They now sought advances in employment, housing, school integration, police protection, and so forth.

Thus, the movement in the South began to attack areas of discrimination which were not so remote from the Northern experience as were Jim Crow lunch counters. At the same time, the interrelationship of these apparently distinct areas became increasingly evident. What is the value of winning access to public accommodations for those who lack money to use them? The minute the movement faced this question, it was compelled to expand its vision beyond race relations to economic relations, including the role of education in modern society. And what also became clear is that all these interrelated problems, by their very nature, are not soluble by private, voluntary efforts but require government action—or politics. Already Southern demonstrators had recognized that the most effective way to strike at the police brutality they suffered from was by getting rid of the local sheriff—and that meant political action, which in turn meant, and still means, political action within the Democratic party where the only meaningful primary contests in the South are fought.

And so, in Mississippi, thanks largely to the leadership of Bob Moses, a turn toward political action has been taken. More than voter registration is involved here. A conscious bid for *political power* is being made, and in the course of that effort a tactical shift is being effected: direct-action techniques are being subordinated to a strategy calling for the building of community

*COMMENTARY, February 1964.

institutions or power bases. Clearly, the implications of this shift reach far beyond Mississippi. What began as a protest movement is being challenged to translate itself into a political movement. Is this the right course? And if it is, can the transformation be accomplished?

II

THE VERY decade which has witnessed the decline of legal Jim Crow has also seen the rise of *de facto* segregation in our most fundamental socio-economic institutions. More Negroes are unemployed today than in 1954, and the unemployment gap between the races is wider. The median income of Negroes has dropped from 57 per cent to 54 per cent of that of whites. A higher percentage of Negro workers is now concentrated in jobs vulnerable to automation than was the case ten years ago. More Negroes attend *de facto* segregated schools today than when the Supreme Court handed down its famous decision; while school integration proceeds at a snail's pace in the South, the number of Northern schools with an excessive proportion of minority youth proliferates. And behind this is the continuing growth of racial slums, spreading over our central cities and trapping Negro youth in a milieu which, whatever its legal definition, sows an unimaginable demoralization. Again, legal niceties aside, a resident of a racial ghetto lives in segregated housing, and more Negroes fall into this category than ever before.

These are the facts of life which generate frustration in the Negro community and challenge the civil rights movement. At issue, after all, is not *civil rights,* strictly speaking, but social and economic conditions. Last summer's riots were not race riots; they were outbursts of class aggression in a society where class and color definitions are converging disastrously. How can the (perhaps misnamed) civil rights movement deal with this problem?

Before trying to answer, let me first insist that the task of the movement is vastly complicated by the failure of many whites of good will to understand the nature of our problem. There is a widespread assumption that the removal of artificial racial barriers should result in the automatic integration of the Negro into all aspects of American life. This myth is fostered by facile analogies with the experience of various ethnic immigrant groups, particularly the Jews. But the analogies with the Jews do not hold for three simple but profound reasons. First, Jews have a long history as a literate people, a resource which has afforded them opportunities to advance in the academic and professional worlds, to achieve intellectual status even in the midst of economic hardship, and to evolve sustaining value systems in the context of ghetto life. Negroes, for the greater part of their presence in this country, were forbidden by law to read or write. Second, Jews have a long history of family stability, the importance of which in terms of aspiration and self-image is obvious. The Negro family structure was totally destroyed by slavery and with it the possibility of cultural transmission (the right of Negroes to marry and rear children is barely a century old). Third, Jews are white and have the *option* of relinquishing their cultural-religious identity, intermarrying, passing, etc. Negroes, or at least the overwhelming majority of them, do not have this option. There is also a fourth, vulgar reason. If the Jewish and Negro communities are not comparable in terms of education, family structure, and color, it is also true that their respective economic roles bear little resemblance.

This matter of economic role brings us to the greater problem—the fact that we are moving into an era in which the natural functioning of the market does not by itself ensure every man with will and ambition a place in the productive process. The immigrant who came to this country during the late 19th and early 20th centuries entered a society which was expanding territorially and/or economically. It was then possible to start at the bottom, as an unskilled or semi-skilled worker, and move up the ladder, acquiring new skills along the way. Especially was this true when industrial unionism was burgeoning, giving new dignity and higher wages to organized workers. Today the situation has changed. We are not expanding territorially, the western frontier is settled, labor organizing has leveled off, our rate of economic growth has been stagnant for a decade. And we are in the midst of a technological revolution which is altering the fundamental structure of the labor force, destroying unskilled and semi-skilled jobs—jobs in which Negroes are disproportionately concentrated.

Whatever the pace of this technological revolution may be, the *direction* is clear: the lower rungs of the economic ladder are being lopped off. This means that an individual will no longer be able to start at the bottom and work his way up; he will have to start in the middle or on top, and hold on tight. It will not even be enough to have certain specific skills, for many skilled jobs are also vulnerable to automation. A broad educational background, permitting vocational adaptability and flexibility, seems more imperative than ever. We live in a society where, as Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz puts it, machines have the equivalent of a high school diploma. Yet the average educational attainment of American Negroes is 8.2 years.

Negroes, of course, are not the only people being affected by these developments. It is reported that there are now 50 per cent fewer unskilled and semi-skilled jobs than there are

high school dropouts. Almost one-third of the 26 million young people entering the labor market in the 1960's will be dropouts. But the percentage of Negro dropouts nationally is 57 per cent, and in New York City, among Negroes 25 years of age or over, it is 68 per cent. They are without a future.

To what extent can the kind of self-help campaign recently prescribed by Eric Hoffer in the *New York Times Magazine* cope with such a situation? I would advise those who think that self-help is the answer to familiarize themselves with the long history of such efforts in the Negro community, and to consider why so many foundered on the shoals of ghetto life. It goes without saying that any effort to combat demoralization and apathy is desirable, but we must understand that demoralization in the Negro community is largely a common-sense response to an objective reality. Negro youths have no need of statistics to perceive, fairly accurately, what their odds are in American society. Indeed, from the point of view of motivation, some of the healthiest Negro youngsters I know are juvenile delinquents: vigorously pursuing the American Dream of material acquisition and status, yet finding the conventional means of attaining it blocked off, they do not yield to defeatism but resort to illegal (and often ingenious) methods. They are not alien to American culture. They are, in Gunnar Myrdal's phrase, "exaggerated Americans." To want a Cadillac is not un-American; to push a cart in the garment center is. If Negroes are to be persuaded that the conventional path (school, work, etc.) is superior, we had better provide evidence which is now sorely lacking. It is a double cruelty to harangue Negro youth about education and training when we do not know what jobs will be available for them. When a Negro youth can reasonably foresee a future free of slums, when the prospect of gainful employment is realistic, we will see motivation and self-help in abundant enough quantities.

Meanwhile, there is an ironic similarity between the self-help advocated by many liberals and the doctrines of the Black Muslims. Professional sociologists, psychiatrists, and social workers have expressed amazement at the Muslims' success in transforming prostitutes and dope addicts into respectable citizens. But every prostitute the Muslims convert to a model of Calvinist virtue is replaced by the ghetto with two more. Dedicated as they are to maintenance of the ghetto, the Muslims are powerless to affect substantial moral reform. So too with every other group or program which is not aimed at the destruction of slums, their causes and effects. Self-help efforts, directly or indirectly, must be geared to mobilizing people into power units capable of effecting social change. That is, their goal must be genuine self-help, not merely self-improvement. Obviously, where self-improvement activities succeed in imparting to their participants a feeling of some control over their environment, those involved may find their appetites for change whetted; they may move into the political arena.

III

Let me sum up what I have thus far been trying to say: the civil rights movement is evolving from a protest movement into a full-fledged *social movement*—an evolution calling its very name into question. It is now concerned not merely with removing the barriers to full *opportunity* but with achieving the fact of *equality*. From sit-ins and freedom rides we have gone into rent strikes, boycotts, community organization, and political action. As a consequence of this natural evolution, the Negro today finds himself stymied by obstacles of far greater magnitude than the legal barriers he was attacking before: automation, urban decay, *de facto* school segregation. These are problems which, while conditioned by Jim Crow, do not vanish upon its demise. They are more deeply rooted in our socio-economic order; they are the result of the total society's failure to meet not only the Negro's needs, but human needs generally.

These propositions have won increasing recognition and acceptance, but with a curious twist. They have formed the common premise of two apparently contradictory lines of thought which simultaneously nourish and antagonize each other. On the one hand, there is the reasoning of the New York *Times* moderate who says that the problems are so enormous and complicated that Negro militancy is a futile irritation, and that the need is for "intelligent moderation." Thus, during the first New York school boycott, the *Times* editorialized that Negro demands, while abstractly just, would necessitate massive reforms, the funds for which could not realistically be anticipated; therefore the just demands were also foolish demands and would only antagonize white people. Moderates of this stripe are often correct in perceiving the difficulty or impossibility of racial progress in the context of present social and economic policies. But they accept the context as fixed. They ignore (or perhaps see all too well) the potentialities inherent in linking Negro demands to broader pressures for radical revision of existing policies. They apparently see nothing strange in the fact that in the last twenty-five years we have spent nearly a trillion dollars fighting or preparing for wars, yet throw up our hands before the need for overhauling our schools, clearing the slums, and really abolishing poverty. My quarrel with these moderates is that they do not even envision radical changes; their admonitions of moderation are, for all practical purposes, admonitions to the

Negro to adjust to the status quo, and are therefore immoral.

The more effectively the moderates argue their case, the more they convince Negroes that American society will not or cannot be reorganized for full racial equality. Michael Harrington has said that a successful war on poverty might well require the expenditure of a $100 billion. Where, the Negro wonders, are the forces now in motion to compel such a commitment? If the voices of the moderates were raised in an insistence upon a reallocation of national resources at levels that could not be confused with tokenism (that is, if the moderates stopped being moderates), Negroes would have greater grounds for hope. Meanwhile, the Negro movement cannot escape a sense of isolation.

It is precisely this sense of isolation that gives rise to the second line of thought I want to examine—the tendency within the civil rights movement which, despite its militancy, pursues what I call a "no-win" policy. Sharing with many moderates a recognition of the magnitude of the obstacles to freedom, spokesmen for this tendency survey the American scene and find no forces prepared to move toward radical solutions. From this they conclude that the only viable strategy is shock; above all, the hypocrisy of white liberals must be exposed. These spokesmen are often described as the radicals of the movement, but they are really its moralists. They seek to change white hearts—by traumatizing them. Frequently abetted by white self-flagellants, they may gleefully applaud (though not really agreeing with) Malcolm X because, while they admit he has no program, they think he can frighten white people into doing the right thing. To believe this, of course, you must be convinced, even if unconsciously, that at the core of the white man's heart lies a buried affection for Negroes—a proposition one may be permitted to doubt. But in any case, hearts are not relevant to the issue; neither racial affinities nor racial hostilities are rooted there. It is institutions—social, political, and economic institutions—which are the ultimate molders of collective sentiments. Let these institutions be reconstructed *today,* and let the ineluctable gradualism of history govern the formation of a new psychology.

My quarrel with the "no-win" tendency in the civil rights movement (and the reason I have so designated it) parallels my quarrel with the moderates outside the movement. As the latter lack the vision or will for fundamental change, the former lack a realistic strategy for achieving it. For such a strategy they substitute militancy. But militancy is a matter of posture and volume and not of effect.

I BELIEVE that the Negro's struggle for equality in America is essentially revolutionary. While most Negroes—in their hearts—unquestionably seek only to enjoy the fruits of American society as it now exists, their quest cannot *objectively* be satisfied within the framework of existing political and economic relations. The young Negro who would demonstrate his way into the labor market may be motivated by a thoroughly bourgeois ambition and thoroughly "capitalist" considerations, but he will end up having to favor a great expansion of the public sector of the economy. At any rate, that is the position the movement will be forced to take as it looks at the number of jobs being generated by the private economy, and if it is to remain true to the masses of Negroes.

The revolutionary character of the Negro's struggle is manifest in the fact that this struggle may have done more to democratize life for whites than for Negroes. Clearly, it was the sit-in movement of young Southern Negroes which, as it galvanized white students, banished the ugliest features of McCarthyism from the American campus and resurrected political debate. It was not until Negroes assaulted *de facto* school segregation in the urban centers that the issue of quality education for *all* children stirred into motion. Finally, it seems reasonably clear that the civil rights movement, directly and through the resurgence of social conscience it kindled, did more to initiate the war on poverty than any other single force.

It will be—it has been—argued that these by-products of the Negro struggle are not revolutionary. But the term revolutionary, as I am using it, does not connote violence; it refers to the qualitative transformation of fundamental institutions, more or less rapidly, to the point where the social and economic structure which they comprised can no longer be said to be the same. The Negro struggle has hardly run its course; and it will not stop moving until it has been utterly defeated or won substantial equality. But I fail to see how the movement can be victorious in the absence of radical programs for full employment, abolition of slums, the reconstruction of our educational system, new definitions of work and leisure. Adding up the cost of such programs, we can only conclude that we are talking about a refashioning of our political economy. It has been estimated, for example, that the price of replacing New York City's slums with public housing would be $17 billion. Again, a multi-billion dollar federal public-works program, dwarfing the currently proposed $2 billion program, is required to reabsorb unskilled and semi-skilled workers into the labor market—and this must be done if Negro workers in these categories are to be employed. "Preferential treatment" cannot help them.

I am not trying here to delineate a total program, only to suggest the scope of economic reforms which are most immediately related to the plight of the Negro community. One could

speculate on their political implications—whether, for example, they do not indicate the obsolescence of state government and the superiority of regional structures as viable units of planning. Such speculations aside, it is clear that Negro needs cannot be satisfied unless we go beyond what has so far been placed on the agenda. How are these radical objectives to be achieved? The answer is simple, deceptively so: *through political power.*

There is a strong moralistic strain in the civil rights movement which would remind us that power corrupts, forgetting that the absence of power also corrupts. But this is not the view I want to debate here, for it is waning. Our problem is posed by those who accept the need for political power but do not understand the nature of the object and therefore lack sound strategies for achieving it; they tend to confuse political institutions with lunch counters.

A handful of Negroes, acting alone, could integrate a lunch counter by strategically locating their bodies so as *directly* to interrupt the operation of the proprietor's will; their numbers were relatively unimportant. In politics, however, such a confrontation is difficult because the interests involved are merely *represented.* In the execution of a political decision a direct confrontation may ensue (as when federal marshals escorted James Meredith into the University of Mississippi—to turn from an example of non-violent coercion to one of force backed up with the threat of violence). But in arriving at a political decision, numbers and organizations are crucial, especially for the economically disenfranchised. (Needless to say, I am assuming that the forms of political democracy exist in America, however imperfectly, that they are valued, and that elitist or putschist conceptions of exercising power are beyond the pale of discussion for the civil rights movement.)

Neither that movement nor the country's twenty million black people can win political power alone. We need allies. The future of the Negro struggle depends on whether the contradictions of this society can be resolved by a coalition of progressive forces which becomes the *effective* political majority in the United States. I speak of the coalition which staged the March on Washington, passed the Civil Rights Act, and laid the basis for the Johnson landslide—Negroes, trade unionists, liberals, and religious groups.

THERE ARE those who argue that a coalition strategy would force the Negro to surrender his political independence to white liberals, that he would be neutralized, deprived of his cutting edge, absorbed into the Establishment. Some who take this position urged last year that votes be withheld from the Johnson-Humphrey ticket as a demonstration of the Negro's political power. Curiously enough, these people who sought to demonstrate power through the non-exercise of it, also point to the Negro "swing vote" in crucial urban areas as the source of the Negro's independent political power. But here they are closer to being right: the urban Negro vote will grow in importance in the coming years. If there is anything positive in the spread of the ghetto, it is the potential political power base thus created, and to realize this potential is one of the most challenging and urgent tasks before the civil rights movement. If the movement can wrest leadership of the ghetto vote from the machines, it will have acquired an organized constituency such as other major groups in our society now have.

But we must also remember that the effectiveness of a swing vote depends solely on "other" votes. It derives its power from them. In that sense, it can never be "independent," but must opt for one candidate or the other, even if by default. Thus coalitions are inescapable, however tentative they may be. And this is the case in all but those few situations in which Negroes running on an independent ticket might conceivably win. "Independence," in other words, is not a value in itself. The issue is which coalition to join and how to make it responsive to your program. Necessarily there will be compromise. But the difference between expediency and morality in politics is the difference between selling out a principle and making smaller concessions to win larger ones. The leader who shrinks from this task reveals not his purity but his lack of political sense.

The task of molding a political movement out of the March on Washington coalition is not simple, but no alternatives have been advanced. We need to choose our allies on the basis of common political objectives. It has become fashionable in some no-win Negro circles to decry the white liberal as the main enemy (his hypocrisy is what sustains racism); by virtue of this reverse recitation of the reactionary's litany (liberalism leads to socialism, which leads to Communism) the Negro is left in majestic isolation, except for a tiny band of fervent white initiates. But the objective fact is that *Eastland and Goldwater* are the main enemies—they and the opponents of civil rights, of the war on poverty, of medicare, of social security, of federal aid to education, of unions, and so forth. The labor movement, despite its obvious faults, has been the largest single organized force in this country pushing for progressive social legislation. And where the Negro-labor-liberal axis is weak, as in the farm belt, it was the religious groups that were most influential in rallying support for the Civil Rights Bill.

The durability of the coalition was interestingly tested during the election. I do not believe that the Johnson landslide proved the "white backlash" to be a myth. It proved, rather, that

economic interests are more fundamental than prejudice: the backlashers decided that loss of social security was, after all, too high a price to pay for a slap at the Negro. This lesson was a valuable first step in re-educating such people, and it must be kept alive, for the civil rights movement will be advanced only to the degree that social and economic welfare gets to be inextricably entangled with civil rights.

The 1964 elections marked a turning point in American politics. The Democratic landslide was not merely the result of a negative reaction to Goldwaterism; it was also the expression of a majority liberal consensus. The near unanimity with which Negro voters joined in that expression was, I am convinced, a vindication of the July 25th statement by Negro leaders calling for a strategic turn toward political action and a temporary curtailment of mass demonstrations. Despite the controversy surrounding the statement, the instinctive response it met with in the community is suggested by the fact that demonstrations were down 75 per cent as compared with the same period in 1963. But should so high a percentage of Negro voters have gone to Johnson, or should they have held back to narrow his margin of victory and thus give greater visibility to our swing vote? How has our loyalty changed things? Certainly the Negro vote had higher visibility in 1960, when a switch of only 7 per cent from the Republican column of 1956 elected President Kennedy. But the slimness of Kennedy's victory—of his "mandate"—dictated a go-slow approach on civil rights, at least until the Birmingham upheaval.

Although Johnson's popular majority was so large that he could have won without such overwhelming Negro support, that support was important from several angles. Beyond adding to Johnson's total national margin, it was specifically responsible for his victories in Virginia, Florida, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Goldwater took only those states where fewer than 45 per cent of eligible Negroes were registered. That Johnson would have won those states had Negro voting rights been enforced is a lesson not likely to be lost on a man who would have been happy with a unanimous electoral college. In any case, the 1.6 million Southern Negroes who voted have had a shattering impact on the Southern political party structure, as illustrated in the changed composition of the Southern congressional delegation. The "backlash" gave the Republicans five House seats in Alabama, one in Georgia, and one in Mississippi. But on the Democratic side, seven segregationists were defeated while all nine Southerners who voted for the Civil Rights Act were re-elected. It may be premature to predict a Southern Democratic party of Negroes and white moderates and a Republican Party of refugee racists and economic conservatives, but there certainly is a strong tendency toward such a realignment; and an additional 3.6 million Negroes of voting age in the eleven Southern states are still to be heard from. Even the *tendency* toward disintegration of the Democratic party's racist wing defines a new context for Presidential and liberal strategy in the congressional battles ahead. Thus the Negro vote (North as well as South), while not *decisive* in the Presidential race, was enormously effective. It was a dramatic element of a historic mandate which contains vast possibilities and dangers that will fundamentally affect the future course of the civil rights movement.

The liberal congressional sweep raises hope for an assault on the seniority system, Rule Twenty-two, and other citadels of Dixiecrat-Republican power. The overwhelming of this conservative coalition should also mean progress on much bottlenecked legislation of profound interest to the movement (e.g., bills by Senators Clark and Nelson on planning, manpower, and employment). Moreover, the irrelevance of the South to Johnson's victory gives the President more freedom to act than his predecessor had and more leverage to the movement to pressure for executive action in Mississippi and other racist strongholds.

NONE OF this *guarantees* vigorous executive or legislative action, for the other side of the Johnson landslide is that it has a Gaullist quality. Goldwater's capture of the Republican party forced into the Democratic camp many disparate elements which do not belong there, Big Business being the major example. Johnson, who wants to be President "of all people," may try to keep his new coalition together by sticking close to the political center. But if he decides to do this, it is unlikely that even his political genius will be able to hold together a coalition so inherently unstable and rife with contradictions. It must come apart. Should it do so while Johnson is pursuing a centrist course, then the mandate will have been wastefully dissipated. However, if the mandate is seized upon to set fundamental changes in motion, then the basis can be laid for a new mandate, a new coalition including hitherto inert and dispossessed strata of the population.

Here is where the cutting edge of the civil rights movement can be applied. We must see to it that the reorganization of the "consensus party" proceeds along lines which will make it an effective vehicle for social reconstruction, a role it cannot play so long as it furnishes Southern racism with its national political power. (One of Barry Goldwater's few attractive ideas was that the Dixiecrats belong with him in the same party.) And nowhere has the civil rights movement's political cutting edge been more magnificently demonstrated than at Atlantic City, where the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party not

only secured recognition as a bona fide component of the national party, but in the process routed the representatives of the most rabid racists—the white Mississippi and Alabama delegations. While I still believe that the FDP made a tactical error in spurning the compromise, there is no question that they launched a political revolution whose logic is the displacement of Dixiecrat power. They launched that revolution within a major political institution and as part of a coalitional effort.

The role of the civil rights movement in the reorganization of American political life is programmatic as well as strategic. We are challenged now to broaden our social vision, to develop functional programs with concrete objectives. We need to propose alternatives to technological unemployment, urban decay, and the rest. We need to be calling for public works and training, for national economic planning, for federal aid to education, for attractive public housing—all this on a sufficiently massive scale to make a difference. We need to protest the notion that our integration into American life, so long delayed, must now proceed in an atmosphere of competitive scarcity instead of in the security of abundance which technology makes possible. We cannot claim to have answers to all the complex problems of modern society. That is too much to ask of a movement still battling barbarism in Mississippi. But we can agitate the right questions by probing at the contradictions which still stand in the way of the "Great Society." The questions having been asked, motion must begin in the larger society, for there is a limit to what Negroes can do alone.

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Leslie Orear, Director
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The RUSSELL H. BULL $1,000 Scholarship

AN ANNUAL AWARD

by the United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO

THE Russell Bull $1,000 Scholarship is awarded by the United Packinghouse Food and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO in honor of Russell H. Bull, a pioneer leader of the union.

The resolution which created the scholarship in 1960 specified that it be granted "each year to the student in college, or in high school preparing for college, who makes an outstanding contribution by his (her) character and his (her) performance in the area of civil rights", and who establishes "financial need for the Award

"RUSSELL H. BULL, Director of District Three until his untimely death, symbolized all that was fine in the labor movement. A dauntless advocate of the workers' cause, an inspired partisan in the fight for justice, and an ardent defender of civil rights, Russell Bull will never be forgotten by those privileged to know him and to work with him.

"It is fitting that Russell Bull's character and deeds should be memorialized so that those who follow him may draw inspiration, hope and courage from his example.

"It is appropriate that any testimonial to Russell Bull should be a living and continuing thing, for this is entirely in keeping with the man as we knew him and admired him.

"Now Therefore Be It Resolved: That this Convention establish through the International Union a Russell Bull Annual $1,000 Scholarship Award."

—from a resolution adopted May 26, 1960 at the Twelfth Constitutional Convention, United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers.

in order to continue his (her) studies".

The Award is administered by the union's Public Review Advisory Commission which makes the selection from the applications and supporting data before it. The members of the Commission are Professor Nathan P. Feinsinger, University of Wisconsin Law School, Madison, Wisc., chairman; Professor Ronald W. Haughton, Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich.; Professor Harry Kalven, Jr., University of Chicago Law School, Chicago, Ill.; Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, Ga.; and Rt. Rev. Msgr. John J. Egan, Chicago, Ill.

The Commission has established the following rules and regulations:

An applicant must be a candidate for a degree in a recognized college or university, or a senior in high school who will enroll in a recognized college or university as a candidate for a degree in the summer or fall term following the award of the scholarship. There is no restriction as to choice of college or course of study.

An applicant for the Russell Bull Scholarship must have demonstrated by previous academic achievement the scholastic aptitude and ability to justify a belief that he will successfully complete studies leading to a degree.

Applications for consideration for the Russell Bull Scholarship may be made as follows:

- File an application in letter form as directed below. Each application must be accompanied by transcripts of school or college records.
- Each application should include detailed information about interest, participation, and leadership in activities furthering and promoting civil rights and civil liberties. Each applicant should state what he considers his outstanding achievements in these fields and in his com-

munity in general. Applicants should also describe their educational and career plans, and include any other information which they consider relevant.

- Each application should be endorsed by letters of recommendation from at least two persons or organizations actively concerned with and engaged in promoting and furthering civil rights and civil liberties, or from members of school or college faculties. The letters should describe and evaluate the applicant's interest and activities in these fields and his potentialities for leadership therein, and may provide any other information considered relevant by the writer. The letters of recommendation may be sent separately or accompany the application.

- Each applicant should submit evidence of financial need which should include information as to family and personal income, resources and obligations, and estimated cost of tuition and living expenses at the college or university chosen by the applicant.

A recipient of a Russell Bull Scholarship will be expected to make normal progress and maintain good standing in college and do scholarship level college work.

Applications for renewal of Scholarships will be considered on the same basis of merit and need as defined above.

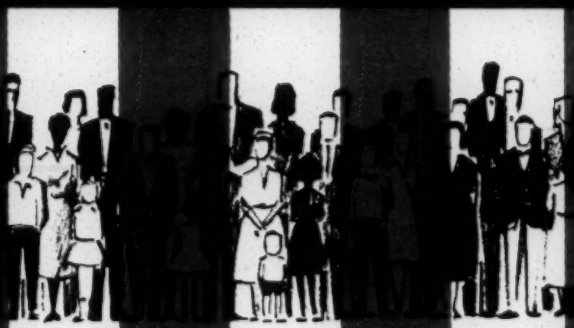
Applications must reach the Commission not later than March 1. It is expected that the Award will be made not later than March 30.

Applications should be mailed to:

Ralph Helstein, President
United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers,
AFL-CIO
Room 1800 - 608 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois 60605

638

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL



... the AFL-CIO position

Introduction:

The AFL-CIO is for civil rights —without reservation and without delay.

The labor movement is dedicated to those truths that were self-evident to the authors of the Declaration of Independence. The rights so eloquently affirmed in 1776 are a sacred birthright of all in America, not subject to modification or denial because of race, creed or national origin.

Unfortunately, to the shame of the nation, discrimination still exists. It must be wiped out if the United States is to be truly the champion of freedom in a world where non-whites are an overwhelming majority.

Mere acknowledgement, mere lip-service to equal rights is not enough. The labor movement is committed to a positive program for translating principle into reality on every front. This means on the job, in the schools, at the polls, in housing and in all places of public accommodation—restaurants, hotels, everywhere.

Success will not come easily. The record of the last century proves that man's rights do not become established by declaring them to be valid; logic and reason do not automatically prevail over bigotry.

Unions know this well, out of their own experience. Unions were created to fight against injustice. They were instruments of protest, deplored by public officials and much of the citizenry. They were often accused of flagrant civil disobedience.

For example, many trade unionists no older than middle age can well remember when local ordinances or court injunctions forbade the holding of a union meeting, even on private property owned or rented by the union. The "right of the people peaceably to assemble" often had no local standing, despite the Constitution. Workers had no alternative; they followed the Constitution.

In the end the law was on their side. Local restrictions on the right of assembly were struck down by the Supreme Court. Civil disobedience has all but vanished as a trade union tactic because the rights of labor are now backed by the force of law. Surely the rights of man deserve no less.

It would be futile to pretend that the 13½ million members of AFL-CIO unions are without exception devoted to the cause of civil rights. They are a cross-section of America, and they reflect the diversity of the nation. But just as truly they reflect the American consensus. That consensus, expressed by AFL-CIO

conventions and by conventions of the affiliated national and international unions, is the basis for the AFL-CIO's determination to abolish all forms of discrimination.

The AFL-CIO constitution invites "all workers, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin to share in the full benefits of union organization." We are pledged in equal measure to see that all workers share fully in every other aspect of American life; for our cause is the brotherhood of workers and the brotherhood of man.

George Meany

What rights does labor seek?

The AFL-CIO seeks to guarantee to every American every one of his basic American rights.

This means breaking the vicious circle which condemns a baby born in a segregated neighborhood to a childhood of segregated and sub-standard schools; to an adolescence of mounting discouragement and inadequate training; to an adulthood of joblessness or menial employment. All because of segregation.

The circle has a wider radius. The Negro who breaks through the economic barrier may still find no decent public place to eat, to sleep, to watch a play or film —no place, indeed, to vote.

The denial of rights must be ended, whether the victim suffers all the injustices in the vicious circle, which is the rule, or even only one.

"These wrongs cry for correction," the AFL-CIO said in its convention policy statement on civil rights, "and it is the responsibility of all of us, individually and collectively, to work diligently for that correction." No sudden redemption will overnight dissolve the hate and fear within a racist's heart or give new faith to a householder whose veneer of tolerance cracks at the cry, "The colored are moving in." Laws cannot wipe out prejudice of the spirit; but laws, vigorously enforced, can abolish prejudice in practice.

The AFL-CIO seeks the total elimination of racial and religious discrimination from American society —the smashing of the vicious circle—by every possible democratic means.

Can labor achieve these rights?

Yes—but not alone. Labor can play a vital role, but cannot do the job single handed.

Since its formative years the labor movement has sought, with considerable success, to broaden and extend all rights—economic, social and political. Among the first union goals, almost a century and a half ago, was a free, universal public school system. Unions proclaimed the objective. Unions lobbied for it in state legislatures. Union parents took the lead in community movements, organized to promote the cause. But the achievement was possible only because, as a result of labor's efforts, a majority of all the people came to support it.

The same has been true of every other "labor" victory, and so it must be with civil rights. The AFL-CIO can, should and does provide leadership, exert pressure, serve as a rallying-point for the forces of justice. But the ultimate victory requires the full and united efforts of all people of good will.

What has been accomplished?

In the perspective of history the progress over the last two decades has been tremendous. Some triumphs have been dramatic; the unforgettable day of the Supreme Court decision on school segregation is perhaps the outstanding example. But too often the headlines have told of filibuster and defeat.

Yet during all this time, labor-supported (and often labor-initiated) measures have been enacted by states and municipalities, with painful and painstaking effort, so that today there are 24 states and scores of cities with fair employment practices laws, and dozens that outlaw discrimination in housing and public accommodations. Meanwhile, beyond the statute books, innumerable communities have quietly obliterated the influence of anti-catholicism, anti-semitism and Jim Crow.

Yes, in the last 20 years—against the background of the previous 80—the gains have been spectacular. But quite properly we of the AFL-CIO look, not to history, but to the here and now. It is beyond question that the next dramatic and definitive breakthrough on civil rights must be in the form of comprehensive federal legislation, accompanied at each step by specific guarantees and unequivocal enforcement provisions.

What federal legislation does the AFL-CIO propose?

As a minimum, the AFL-CIO endorses the omnibus civil rights bill passed by the House of Representatives. We favor every provision in this bill; our complaint is that in some respects it does not go far enough. Here, in summary is where we stand:

☆ EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Employers, employment agencies and unions must be forbidden to discriminate on grounds of race, color, religion or national origin. A federal fair employment practices commission, with effective enforcement powers, is necessary to implement this basic principle.

The AFL-CIO has repeatedly pointed out that full employment is indispensable to equal employment opportunity. Because of long-established discrimination, the jobless rate among Negroes is vastly higher than among whites. A law giving Negroes an equal chance to get a job is an empty gesture if there are no jobs to be had.

☆ DESEGREGATION OF SCHOOLS

After 10 years, the Supreme Court school desegregation order is still being openly flouted. Barely 1% of the nearly three million Negro children in the south attend integrated schools. Substandard educa-

tion puts into the labor market millions of young persons unable to cope with the needs of modern society. The Attorney-General must be empowered to institute civil action in behalf of school segregation victims. He must also have the right, not only to intervene in suits involving the denial of civil rights in other respects, but also to initiate such suits. In short, the Attorney-General must be able to act on his own initiative, when he is satisfied of the need, to enforce the letter and spirit of the law, even when there are no individual complainants. This somewhat unusual power is justifiable because the atmosphere in some communities is such that the filing of an individual suit is a feat of heroism, likely to lead to economic and even physical retaliation.

There is a further need—proposed by the then AFL Executive Council in 1954 and embraced by the pending bill—for a system of financial rewards for school systems willing to desegregate. And federal aid should properly be withheld from recalcitrant school districts.

☆ HOUSING

All Americans must be free to buy or rent any home they can afford. The AFL-CIO supported ban on discrimination in federally-financed and federally-insured housing will have long-range effect toward this end. Meanwhile, a program of federally-supported middle income housing—essential in itself—would make substantial inroads in segregated neighborhoods and help to do away with de facto segregated schools.

☆PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

The AFL-CIO believes that every place of public accommodation should be exactly what the name implies. Among other things, it involves the surrender of "freedom of association" with respect to the race or religion of patrons. A man who sets up a place of public accommodation has, by that action, voluntarily surrendered one segment of his right of "freedom of association." During business hours, within the framework of whatever uniform and equally-applied rules he may devise, he must "associate" with whatever members of the public choose to patronize his establishment. If he cannot accept this requirement he should stop pretending to run a public place, and go into some other occupation.

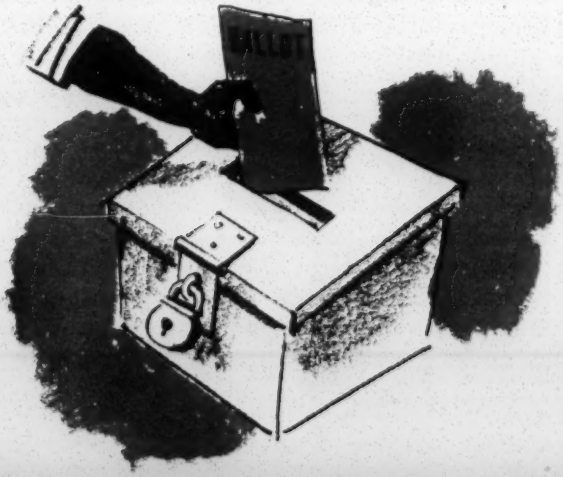
A man who does not want to "associate" with certain parts of the public should not cater to the public.

Subject to reasonable, uniform standards, he has to take the public as it comes. If he discriminates on the basis of race alone, he is in conflict with the public policy of the United States. He has a simple choice—to comply with that policy or go out of business.

Experience in the 30 states where laws forbid discrimination in public places has proved that compliance leads to greater prosperity, not to the bankruptcy so often feared.

☆ VOTING RIGHTS

There is no justification for literacy tests for voters. But if such tests are applied the AFL-CIO believes a sixth grade education should be prima facie evidence



of literacy and that any other test should be applied equally to all. Where these conditions do not prevail, a system of permanent and emergency registration under federal law would end the gimmicks and subterfuges used to discourage or disqualify Negroes from voting.

States which deny their citizens voting rights should also suffer a proportionate decrease in their representation in Congress.

☆ COMMUNITY RELATIONS

From extensive experience in the value of mediation and conciliation, the AFL-CIO strongly supports creation of a permanent Civil Rights Community Relations Service and a Civil Rights Commission to serve as a clearing house on civil rights information. The service would provide means for the community to solve issues at the local level, utilizing both public and non-public assistance.

☆ WITHHOLDING FEDERAL FUNDS

Any state, or any subdivision of a state, which persists in discriminatory practices should certainly not be subsidized by federal tax money collected, without discrimination, from all the people. To cite only one example, the use of federal funds under the Hill-Burton Act to build hospitals with segregated facilities is an affront against democracy.

Are AFL-CIO efforts confined to legislation?

Not at all. There must also be a complementary effort to bring about community action, through bi-racial committees, to eradicate all discrimination, whether in the bus depot or the classroom. As noted earlier, the drive for civil rights will succeed only when it has enlisted a consensus of the American people—as we believe it now has.

Throughout America the AFL-CIO, with its 130 national and international unions, its nearly 900 state and local central bodies and the 60,000 local unions which are the basic units in the labor movement's structure, is helping to mobilize this kind of consensus. What is said in Washington has little meaning unless it is given direct application in the community.

It is the responsibility of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department to coordinate with civil rights representatives in central labor bodies and in international unions on specific projects and long-range programs. In each community, unions are urged to carry out vigorous civil rights programs of their own and expand on these through their central labor bodies and civil rights-minded organizations.

To make sure this is done, special AFL-CIO task forces have been created to stimulate action in major metropolitan centers. The task forces confer with local labor leadership and non-labor civil rights organizations, and help them to plan closer coordination with local church, fraternal and public leaders.

What is being done inside unions?

In all AFL-CIO unions, every member is equal, and enjoys all the rights enjoyed by any other member.

This alone is not enough, of course, and unions have long been aware of it. To be a union member a worker must first be hired; and therefore discrimination in hiring must be forbidden by law. Unions have fought for years to negotiate non-discrimination clauses covering hiring, wage rates and upgrading; such agreements are operative in every geographical area, and their numbers increase yearly. But these efforts must be reinforced by federal statute.

In scores of plants throughout the south, once-separate Negro and white locals have been merged and seniority lists consolidated. There is no color line in the benefits provided by union contracts. Union meetings and the facilities in union halls are generally unsegregated, often in defiance of local custom and even local law.

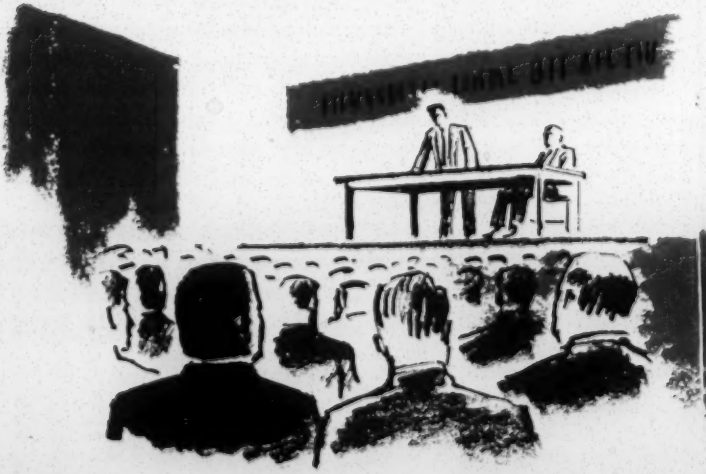
Major unions that have apprenticeship programs forbid discrimination both by constitution and contracts. Some now offer schooling to help Negroes and others with sub-standard educations to catch up and be better able to meet apprenticeship requirements.

The AFL-CIO has forbidden its own subsidiary organizations and departments to hold meetings, conventions or conferences in segregated facilities. This ruling is binding on state and local central bodies, COPE area

conferences, educational institutes and all other functions directly under AFL-CIO control.

All this is not meant to suggest that unions are blameless. There was even a time when discrimination was "respectable" in some national unions as it was in most of America. But today, as George Meany has expressed it, discrimination in the trade union movement is a "bootleg product," sneaked in by the back door and nowhere condoned.

In the labor movement even a little discrimination is too much. To the AFL-CIO the important consideration is not how much has been accomplished but what remains to be done.



Is there AFL-CIO machinery for handling civil rights grievances?

Yes, and not just on paper. The AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, headed by the federation's second ranking officer, is charged with the obligation of carrying out the uncompromising declarations of the AFL-CIO conventions.

A special subcommittee on compliance hears, investigates and acts upon all complaints. It utilizes the staff of the AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights to explore the issues and make initial referrals to the unions involved. Final action, if necessary, is determined by the full Civil Rights Committee; and ultimately by the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

The Civil Rights Committee also works closely with appropriate federal agencies concerned with civil rights.

Is the civil rights issue turned against unions?

Yes indeed; it has for nearly a generation been the chief weapon of union foes in the south, and more recently has become the favorite bludgeon of right-wing extremists everywhere.

The very fact that unions believe that "all men are created equal" was an anti-labor weapon long before the Supreme Court took the same view. Race-baiting of the most virulent kind is standard practice in any southern organizing campaign, and has been widely employed in attempts to disrupt established unions. Labor's stand on civil rights has even been injected into wholly unrelated legislative issues.

AFL-CIO President George Meany gave labor's answer in an address several years ago—an answer that still stands. He said:

"If we have to practice discrimination to organize workers, then organizing will have to wait until we educate the unorganized.

"If we have to lose a vote in Congress . . . because we take a stand on civil rights, that is a price we are prepared to pay."

Currently the radical right has taken up the segregationist outcry, charging that an FEPC would mean the discharge of senior white workers to make room for Negroes. This, of course, is absurd.

It is true that a seniority system which systematically discriminated against Negroes could be overthrown under the proposed bill. The AFL-CIO is in full accord with that.

But the seniority system itself, where fairly administered, would be left untouched. The AFL-CIO is in full accord with that, too. The job safeguards built up by the labor movement over the years—including the seniority system—are important to all workers. They are color-blind.

These safeguards have special importance to members of minority groups, who might otherwise be subject to discrimination by an unthinking majority in times of stress. To destroy these safeguards would be an interracial disaster.

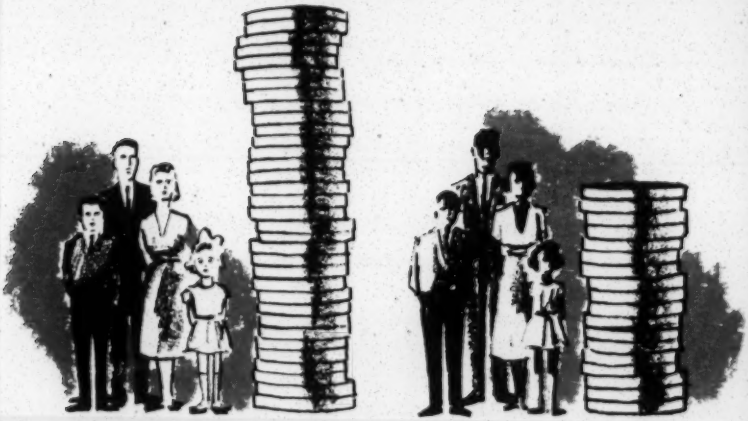
What is the AFL-CIO's relationship with civil rights groups?

The AFL-CIO works with all men and organizations of good faith, of proven adherence to the spirit and substance of democracy, whether they be special local committees, permanent civil rights organizations, church groups or government agencies. This has been the policy of the AFL-CIO on all issues.

What are the employers doing?

The answer to this question is a sad and shameful reflection on the leaders of American business and industry. There are, to be sure, a number of employers who for many years have followed a fully non-discriminatory policy. But all the major organizations, which purport to speak for employers, such as the National Association of Manufacturers, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Retail Federation —are openly and actively opposed to fair employment practices legislation.

Newspaper stories early in 1964 told of a growing alliance between employers and right-wing extremist organizations, with opposition to FEP as the chief goal. Some employers try to justify their position on



the grounds that an FEP law would be "excessive government interference;" yet they make no move to eliminate discrimination themselves.

In some cases, at least, the disgraceful attitude of some employers may have an economic motive. According to a Department of Commerce survey, the average income of a white family in 1961 was $5,570; the average for a Negro family was $2,908. This spells low Negro wages; this is what some employers want. Where equal employment opportunities have been won by Negroes, the record shows that unions have in almost every instance led or actively participated in the fight—almost always against last-ditch resistance by employer spokesmen. And unless protected by union contract or by law, the Negro generally continues to be the lowest paid, the last hired and the first fired.

Can legislation alone win the rights struggle?

No. While comprehensive civil rights legislation will be a major step forward, laws are meaningless if they can be ignored or violated with impunity. In enacting the civil rights bill, Congress must provide adequate enforcement machinery supported by fully adequate funds—something it has failed to do for the civil rights operations which already exist. And enforcement of the law must be backed up by full community effort. Even this will not end the struggle. The quest for equality and brotherhood in the hearts of all men is endless; but to this quest the AFL-CIO is irrevocably dedicated.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

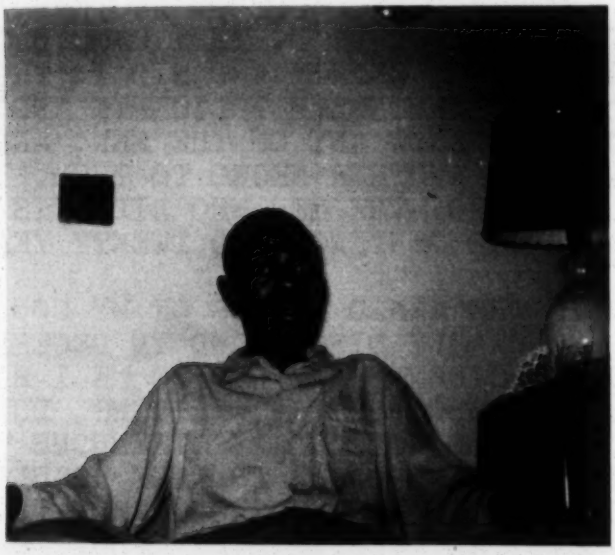
GEORGE MEANY, President
WM. F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer

Publication No. 133

Pat Watters

NOVEMBER, 1962

DOCUMENT NO. 27 ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN ALABAMA. AN APPEAL FOR HELP BY JUDGE AARON



SPONSORED BY THE
INTER-CITIZENS COMMITTEE, INC.
BOX 1443
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

J. L. WARE CHAIRMAN
C. H. OLIVER SECRETARY

MY NAME IS JUDGE AARON. I HAVE LIVED IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, SINCE I WAS FIVE YEARS OLD. ONE

NIGHT IN 1957 AS I WAS GOING TO THE STORE, I WAS ABDUCTED BY SIX WHITE MEN, BLINDFOLDED, AND TAKEN TO A LONELY SPOT SOMEWHERE IN TARRANT CITY. THEY MADE ME CRAWL LIKE A DOG INTO A SMALL CINDER-BLOCK BUILDING WHICH THEY CALLED "THE SLAUGHTER PEN". THEY STRUCK ME ON THE HEAD WITH AN IRON BAR, AND THEN THEY STRETCHED ME OUT ON MY BACK AND CASTRATED ME WHILE SOME OF THEM STOOD ON MY ARMS AND LEGS. THEY THREW SALT INTO THE WOUND, THEN TOSSED ME INTO THE TRUNK OF A CAR AND DROVE ME TO ANOTHER PLACE AND DUMPED ME OUT OF THE CAR FOR DEAD. THEY CAME BACK, BUT I CRAWLED UNDER A BRIDGE NEARBY AND HID IN THE WATER. LATER I WAS PICKED UP BY BIRMINGHAM POLICEMEN AND TAKEN TO THE HOSPITAL. I DID NOT KNOW ANY OF THE MEN, AND THEY DID NOT KNOW ME. I WAS JUST ANOTHER NEGRO TO THEM. IT COULD HAVE HAPPENED TO ANY NEGRO. THE MEN WHO DID THIS TO ME WERE BROUGHT TO TRIAL AND SENTENCED TO TWENTY YEARS IN PRISON.

I SERVED IN THE ARMED FORCES OF MY COUNTRY FOR THREE YEARS AND WAS HONORABLY DISCHARGED IN DECEMBER, 1946. SINCE THE ABOVE INCIDENT HAPPENED TO ME I HAVE TRIED TO WORK AT DIFFERENT JOBS TO EARN A LIVING, BUT MY CONDITION WAS SUCH THAT I COULD NOT DO ANY STRENUOUS WORK. FOR THE REST OF MY LIFE I AM SUPPOSED TO TAKE REGULAR MONTHLY SHOTS. I USED TO RECEIVE FREE SHOTS FROM THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL IN BIRMINGHAM, BUT FOR MORE THAN TWO YEARS I HAVE HAD TO PAY FOR THEM. I HAVE BEEN EARNING SMALL CHANGE BY CUTTING GRASS, BUT NOW THE SEASON IS OVER AND I AM WITHOUT WORK. BEING WITHOUT MONEY, I HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO GET A SHOT FOR THE LAST TWO MONTHS.

I HAVE APPLIED SEVERAL TIMES TO THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION FOR A PENSION, BUT I HAVE BEEN DENIED EACH TIME. SINCE I AM NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR WHAT HAPPENED TO ME, I DO WISH I COULD GET SOME HELP FROM MY FELLOW CITIZENS. I DO NOT HAVE A WIFE OR FAMILY; MY RESPONSIBILITY IS ONLY FOR MYSELF. BUT NOTHING WORSE COULD HAVE HAPPENED TO ME, AND I NEED THE HELP OF OTHERS. I DO NOT LIKE TO TALK ABOUT WHAT THIS EXPERIENCE HAS DONE TO ME. NO ONE ELSE CAN REALLY KNOW. CAN YOU HELP ME?

Judge Aaron

JUDGE AARON

STATE OF ALABAMA

COUNTY OF JEFFERSON

Personally appeared before me, an officer duly authorized to take acknowledgements and to administer oaths, Judge Aaron personally known by me to be the person who executed the foregoing statement and who first after being duly sworn deposes and says that he entered into said statement voluntarily and without coercion on the part of any person connected therewith.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 3rd day of Nov. A.D., 1962.

Geneva R. Lee
NOTARY PUBLIC

PLEASE SEND A DONATION TO HELP JUDGE AARON. MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO JUDGE AARON, AND MAIL TO THE INTER-CITIZENS COMMITTEE, BOX 1443, BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA.

CAMPUS ADA BULLETIN

CAMPUS DIVISION
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

April - May, '63

156 FIFTH AVE.
NEW YORK 10, N.Y. OR 5-7027

CADA - SNCC FIELD WORKER TO BE SUPPORTED. CHAPTERS BEGIN FUND DRIVE

by Ann Cook

Campus ADA has voted to support a field worker on the staff of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Charles Sherrod, director of SNCC's voter registration drive in Southwest Georgia, has been chosen to have his salary paid by funds raised by campus chapters. The fund raising drive starts after Easter.

Over the past two years, it has become quite clear that SNCC is one of the most dynamic and effective civil rights organizations. Organized in the Spring of 1960 SNCC has been active in almost every meaningful civil rights activity in the South from sit-ins to the vital voter registration projects. The all-student staff, headed by Charles McDew, has made impressive inroads into the white supremicist society of the South. They have brought the struggle for racial dignity and justice before the American publi. The students working for SNCC have given up schooling, spent their private savings, and literally risked their lives to bring honor to the student movement. CADA has now assumed part of its responsibility to assist and work with this organization.

The Chapters of Campus ADA will conduct fund raising drives at their schools for the

(Continued on Page eight)

SEE
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cada feature:

CARE&FEEDING OF POVERTY

by John McDermott

Why is there poverty in America? That there are vast numbers of people suffering poverty in this country we can no longer doubt. Robert J. Lampman for the Congressional Joint Economic Committee, Leon Keyserling for the Conference on Economic Progress, and Michael Harrington in his book, The Other America, among many others, have given ample documentation of this. What remains to be given, however, is an adequate answer to the question, Why is there such extensive poverty amidst the general affluence?

The answer is clear, I believe. In this country the creation and maintenance of poverty are the clearly predictable by-products of conscious social policies. Being predictable, the cultivation of poverty is itself, in a sense, a conscious social policy. By this I do not, of course mean to charge a conspiracy against the poor nor do I imply that there is anything intentional in the creation of theirplight. On the other hand it is equally clear that poverty in America is not an accident, not a product of stupidity, not the work of fate, not the fault of the poor and not unforseen. Rather it is that our society and its policy-makers choose certain priorities and policies and these predictably imply the cultivation of poverty. That these priorities and policies are direc-

continued on next page

CAMPUS A.D.A.

CAMPUS DIVISION - AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
"An independent,liberal,political student organization"

New York Office
156 5th Ave.
New York 10,N.Y
OR 5-7027

Washington Office
1341 Connecticut Ave.
Washington 6,D.C.
DE 2-7754

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The Campus ADA Bulletin is published every two months and is distributed free to members of CADA. Subscription for non-members $1.50 per year. Articles may be submitted to the editors for consideration and publication. The views of authors writing for the Bulletin are not necessarily those of Campus ADA though some should be.

CARE & FEEDING of POVERTY

(continued from page 1)

ted at other supposed goods in no way voids the conclusion for, whatever else they create, they also create poverty.

A brief survey of American poverty forms an instructive prelude to an analysis of the factors which originate it and maintain it. It was a full generation ago that President Roosevelt cried out in protest at the "one-third of a nation" which were "ill-housed, ill-clothed, ill-fed". How far have we come since then? How many Americans today are ill-housed ill-clothed, ill-fed? The figures are truly shocking. According to figures derived from the 1960 census, over 38 million Americans live in poverty. These people represent 21% of our population; they are the fifth of a nation which have been utterly left out of the affluent society.

These 38 million persons represent only the bottom of the poverty scale. There are, according to Keyserling, more than 39 million other Americans who are in the grey area between outright poverty and the prosperous condition an incredibly rich America expects. Many of the people in this second group - economists speak of them as the "deprived" rather than as the "poor" - are in fact suffering poverty but it is difficult to establish just how many. Suffice it to say that Franklin Roosevelt's words might not be far off the mark today - if at all.

The poor - 38 million Americans! How do we identify them? A simple-and accurate-way

COMMITMENT TO WHAT ?

BY ARTHUR GORSON

In signing the membership application for Campus ADA we should be making a commitment to a way of thinking, to political and social action. How many of us have thought of the meaning of this commitment? To what extent are we willing to commit ourselves to an organization which stands for a cause and carry out the responsibility of membership? Do we join an organization for the sake of joining?

To draw a parallel, when one becomes a member of a direct action civil rights group he is making a deep commitment, with full knowledge that he may be risking jail and the infliction of violence upon him for his actions. He takes part in the groups activities because of his feeling that the cause is a just one and that what evil that may come to him is a bearable price to pay. Thus, this is one of the greatest of commitments to a cause and a movement - giving fully of oneself - and the decision to join is indeed a weighty one. Should we join other types of organizations with less thought and sence of commitment? Could it be that we join because they are "safe." Is there room for casual membership in an organization that is dedicated to social change and a betterment of society? I would think not.

Are we to become casual members of an organization which then itself becomes "respectable," and easy to belong to? (This may be what has already happened to parts of the liberal community and the labor movement.) It is worthwhile , at this point, to look at some of Campus ADA's principles and see what meaning they must take today. To what should one be subscribing when he joins Campus ADA?

We are an organization of progressives!

We support no less then full civil liberties for all.This means that we must vindicate the right of all groups to be heard, even if we differ politically with them. That is why we must continue to attack freedom limiting act of government such as the McCarran Act. We must defend the rights of a Gus Hall or a Malcolm X to speak lest the exception to free speech become the accepted. Can we afford to be casually committed to free speech?

We are quite sure that we are for full civil rights,but,how can we ever hope to have equality until the socio-economic inequalities in our society are changed. How can there be a "new South" until the feudalistic power structure undergoes change. We cannot sit back and watch the couragious voter registration drive in the deep South without assuming part of the financial burden if not the physical one. One cannot be casually committed to human dignity.

We have chosen to do much of our work through the legislative processes through Congressional pressure. We find that we must now ask how progressive legislation can hope to get through a Congressional structure which T.R.B.,writing in the New Republic, calls "obsolete." Through a Congress which ,as Senator Joseph Clark stated from the Senate floor, "is controlled by an establishment ... which is almost the antithesis of democracy." Can we work within a party structure in which the party of our so-called liberal

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POVERTY C&F

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four is a conservative standard which can be pro-rated for other family situations. Below this we reach another America, an America which cannot afford decent housing, adequate food and clothing, 20th Century medicine, a minimal education for its children.

We know some things about the poor. We know that about 60% of those with less than an elementary school education, 43% of the families whose heads are unemployed and 66% of those over 65 years old are poor. We know that more than one-sixth of the poor are rural farm people, that one-third are in families with a woman at the head. We know that 16 million working Americans not covered by the Minimum Wage Law are among them. (One might note in passing that there are more Americans not covered by minimum wage legislation than there are trade union members.)

We know too that the poor are getting poorer. Since 1953 the poorest 20% of America have been receiving a declining percentage of our national income - and since 1958 the wealthiest 20% have been increasing their percentage. In 1960 the lowest fifth received 4.5% of our national income while the highest fifth received 45.7% - over ten times as much!

We know the poor tend to pay more - for less value - in housing, food, interest charges. They even pay higher taxes than many Americans. In 1960, for example, families earning under $2000 paid 28.3% of their total income in federal, state and local taxes while families earning between $10,000 and $14,000 paid only 24%.

We know that the poor get sick more often, have more serious illnesses and stay sick longer than the rest of us. We know too that they have far more mental illness, higher death rates among their children and shorter life-spans. Comparing Newburgh's savagery with the leniency shown the multi-million dollar electrical company price-fixers by the federal courts, we know too that very often the poor get a harsher justice than the rest of America.

But what most of us don't know is what it is like to be poor in a society like ours. We live in a society which publicly worships Prosperity, Success and Security. Since the poor partake of none of this trinity they are outcasts. And like most outcasts their very existence is soon forgotten. When they are mentioned in the press or television, as occasionaly they are, the poor are treated as a sort of rare oddity - some picturesque migrant workers in the west or some quaint miners in the legendary West Virginia hills. What is odd is that one-fifth of a nation can be so little in our national consciousness; that there are 38 million surplus Americans in a nation with surplus crops, surplus goods and services, surplus productive capacity and surplus inventories.

This is not the whole problem however. Poverty in American has been getting worse for a decade now and the prospect is that it will continue to get worse. Even supposing the economy suffers an upturn, it will little help the poor. Already they have been left behind in the revolution in skills which accompanies the revolution in technology. Almost two-thirds of the poor have had less than 8 years of schooling and because of their poverty most of their children will be undereducated too.

Normal programs of government services do not work to alleviate poverty though some - such as the Food Stamp Program - subsidize it. As many writers have pointed out, the New Deal and the accomplishments and programs it bequeathed to us helped primarily the organized workers and less so the lowest skill levels; helped the middling farmer and less the migrant, the share-cropper, the marginal farmer; helped the white citizens and less the Negro. This holds true up to the present. For example, the Medical Care Program as put forward by the Kennedy Administration would have had a deductible of $90, i.e., the recipient was to pay the first $90 of hospital costs, the Social Secuirty System paying the rest. Had the bill covered the entire population, over 25% of the poor would not have had su fficient savings and assets to pay the $90 and thereby make use of the legislation. As Michael Harrington has so well and

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FBI LEFT

An ex-F. B. I. agent, Jack Levine has created a furor by coming out with some well-kept secrets about our well-kept secret service. It seems that our cleaners of vacuous conspiracies and muddled souls in limbo are the largest dues-paying members of what must be in this age of equality the most exclusive club in America -- the Communist Party of the United States of America.

According to Levine, J. Edgar Hoover's employees are moonlighting. There are approximately 7,000 to 10,000 members of the C. P. and of these 1,500 are F. B. I. men.

The fact that the United States is a large shareholder in this vicarious public trust is not terribly frightful in itself. But there are some rather cataclysmic ramifications. Hoover's counter-spies, for reasons of security, of course, cannot tell themselves apart from the regular members of the C. P. While this leads to honest reports, it indubitably must bred confusion in the home office.

More important than all the "red tape," however, is where all this cloak-and-dagger play is leading. To some prognosticators, indeed, the road ahead is strewn with incongruities. With Hoover's men paying a very great percentage of the C. P.'s revenue, new members will be attracted. The day is not far off when the C. P.'s stock will be listed on the exhhanges. Also, as new members are indoctrinated, more and more of Hoover's men will be called into action to acombat the growth of the C. P. Where will it all end?

It is not that a swarming multitude of Communist Party members is necessarily bad, but that there is a good possibility that some of our most "patriotic" men will be maligned.

--Bulkington

Correction:
The Last issue of the Bulletin ran a wrong address for the Academic Freedom Project. The correct one is: Bonnie Kilstein 270 Bay State Road, Boston, Mass.

CADA FEATURE:

APARTHEID '63

BY REGINALD GREEN

"Only the intervention of the outside world can save us from...chaos and death" writes Alan Paton and in these words he speaks for all South Africans- black, white, yellow and brown - who hope and struggle for a non-racial, democratic future. For many the hope of such a future is dead or dying - the number who once sought change through parliament, then through extra-parlimentary political channels, next through passive resistance, and now in desperation turned to bombing rises month to month. If effective external concern and action do not come this trend will become a tide and pass the point of no return.

Apartheid is not dying in South Africa, it is growing stronger. The Afrikaaner Nationalists are not splintering but uniting and consolidating. The opposition is growing neither in size, in organization, nor in effectiveness. The flow of Afrikaaner leadership and policy toward even more extreme men and courses is typified by the Minister of Justice (and probable next Prime Minister) Vorster - leader of the sabatoge section of the Nazi-supported Broederbund during World War II - and his legislation making any attempt to change the basic governmental and social structure in South Africa by whatever means

punishable by death or lesser penalties.

It is simply not enough to protest. Words alone will no longre satisfy the increasingly desperate men who suffer under apartheid and the increasingly totalitarian police state. Neither will they turn from their course men

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***** REGINALD GREEN is Chairman of the Subcommittee on Southern Africa of the U.S. National Young Adult Council and has traveled extensively throughout Africa.

APARTHEID '63

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who have not been seriously checked since they came to power in 1948. The elements which actively or passively provide the base for apartheid will not splinter nor turn away from this road of no return except in the face of disaster of external action or of an internal revolution on the verge of success.

Protests have had and continue to have - nonetheless - a measure of importance. They provide some sense of common cause and concern for the isolated opponents of Afrikaaner Nationalism within the Republic and they refute its claims to exemplify western, democratic, Christian Civilization - a claim which must be denounced as regularly as it is made lest it gain credence by lack of response. (That this is no idle fear is supported by a statement of the Church of the Province of South Africa - Anglican - "The greatest danger to the Church in the policy of apartheid is that Africans come to associate it with Christianity, since it is promulgated by a Government which declares itself Christian and it is practiced by Christian people..." The same could be said of parliamentary democracy and of almost any other institution of western origin.)

Beyond the protest must lie concern with policy, not simply voluntary organizational policy but the influencing of national policy. The efforts of many volunteer bodies - e.g. those of U.S.N.S.A and W.U.S. in behalf of the South African Committee for Higher Education - have demonstrated that the most which can be accomplished by this route is to light a candle of good faith, to give witness of the possibility of joint action by men of good will of whatever nation or race, and to fight a rear-guard action against the advance and consolidation of apartheid. No turning of the tide can any longer be hoped from this avenue.

The alterhatives before South Africa are - the opinion of the majority of democratic leaders within the Republic and of academic observers both inside and abroad - a splintering and change of direction. (continued bottom of Page 8)

POVERTY

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accurately put it, "The poor get less out of the welfare state than any group in America."

Merely to describe the extent and quality of American poverty is not sufficient. The factors that create and maintain poverty must be isolated and an effort made to see how they work to the detriment of the poor. For example, our national tax structure has been a major contributor. I mentioned above that since 1953 the poor have been getting poorer. This is, in part, directly traceable to the federal tax legislation of 1953 which cut tax rates regressively, eliminated the excess profits tax and added a new host of loop-holes. Federal tax policy has gotten steadily worse - witness the 1962 bill - and it is not at all clear that the

President's new tax program will make for improvement. At the state and local levels the problem is scandalous. For example, in the State of Ohio in 1962 persons with incomes under $2,000 paid state and local taxes at a rate three times higher than those whose income exceeded $10,000. Increased depreciation allowances, capital gains taxes, depletion allowances, real estate taxes, license fees, sales taxes, excise taxes - all of these are, to coin a phrase "soak the poor" devices. They are among the foundation stones of our present maldistribution of wealth.

Technological change is by itself neutral. But if combined with falling expenditures for education and retraining the effect is far from neutral. Sophisticated machinery and automation require

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SNCC/ADA

Continued from P.1)

use of the SNCC salary fund. And maintain an on going fund raising campaign so that a constant amount may be kept in the fund.

The Field worker , Charles Sherrod, has been one of the driving forces behind the voter registration efforts of SNCC in Southwest Georgia and was one of the leaders of the Albany movement, It was felt that voter registration was well in line with Campus ADA's program and because of his work in this project charles Sherrod is one of the best possible choices,

Campus ADA has always lent active moral support to organizations such as the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and the Northern Student Movement (NSM). It is time, now, that we do more for such groups; we can no longer watch as the civilly righteous. Our chapters must now show that they are ready to enter the struggle.

Note:

Those individuals who wish to contribute to the CADA/ SNCC staff fund can send their checks to the Fund, suite 624, 156 5th Ave., New York 10. For more information please write to the same address.

APARTHEID '63

tion by the ruling minority in the face of effective international action (presumably economic although not necessarily in the simple form of bans on South African products) or a gradual sinking into a long drawn, bloody, guerilla warfare which will surpass Algeria in intensity, length, and horror. To do nothing is, in practice, to accept the latter alternative by default or to expect the Afrikaaner leadership to reverse policies dating back to the Great Trek to Transvaal and the underlying principle from the Transvaal Repulbic's constituion to the latest legislation - there shall be no equality of black and white, in Church or State, between men or before the law, now or forever.

POVERTY

(continued from page 6)

higher and higher skill levels and these latter can be provided only through investments in education. The present administration policy of tax write-offs to modernize machinery when combined with a refusal to invest in education and worker retraining simply manufactures poverty unemployment and therefore poverty. The worst offender in this regard has been the Defense Budget. Defense spending encourages very rapid technological change throughout the entire economy and increasingly buys the products of its most technologically advanced segments. On the other hand the size of the defense budget is used as an excuse to hold down non-defense spending on such non-essentials as education and retraining. Thus the poor are at least twice victimized by the arms race.

Still another major factor is the administered price structure which increasingly pervades our economy. Administered prices are high prices, prices which could not be maintained under competitive conditions. Being high they inhibit demand and thus contribute to our economic sluggishness. In addition, as Bernard Nossiter has pointed out, they accumulate capital in industries such as steel, oil, autos, etc. which suffer excess capacity and thus deny it to industries which could use it to grow. Finally, administered prices contribute to our growing maldistribution of wealth. Already 1% of our population holds over 76% of our income-producing wealth and their share is rapid-

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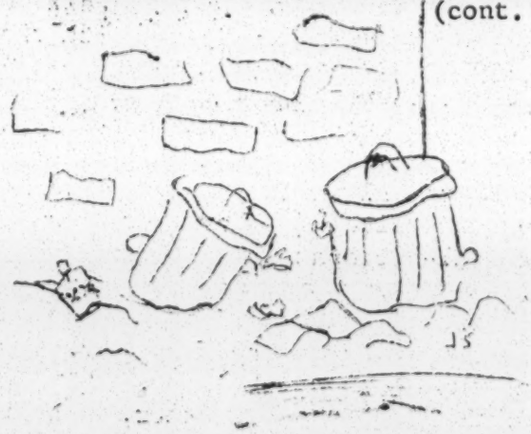

COMMITMENT

(continued from P.3)

President is also the political home of some of our country's greatest reactionaries? It is clearly time that Congress was made to function for the '60s. There must be a dedicated group willing to work to see Congressional reform reach fruition.

Leon H.Keyserling, writing for the Conference on Economic Progress, has stated that there are in this"affluent" nation 77 million individuals living in conditions

that amount to either deprivation or old fasioned poverty. Campus ADA's statement of principles says that we are for economic security for all people. Is it not time that we looked at the direction in which our economy is going. It becomes quite clear that the problems of poverty cannot be solved by "new deal" legislation - the poor do not earn enough to pay much in the way of taxes(except such regressive taxes as the ones on food); a better minimum wage bill cannot help those who are out of work because their jobs have been automated or the young person who may never find a job. These grave problems call for new and radicle ways of dealing with them. Elimination of poverty and changes in our economic structure cannot come from a group which is only minimally committed.

These are only a few of the questions that must be raised (I have not touched upon the all-encompassing problems of peace). As students we must raise questions and feel free to seek new and revolutionary answers. Through our chapters we must work to bring our ideas to the community. Where we are few we must ban together,organize chapters,and work to see the realization of our proposals. It is in this atmosphere that CADA must function and the commitment of membership cannot be a light one.

NSA UNDER ATTACK

BY SID WEINHEIMER.

The National Student Association seems to to having a rather hard time this year. Opposition, especially from conservatives, is getting the organization dearly - for example, both Ohio State and U of Texas have withdrawn this past year,and the National officers spend a great portion of their time defending the Association from further disaffiliations. This drop in membership need not take place if liberal support, on member campuses and at school who are thinking of joining,is ready to meet the challenge of right wing attack. For example in December the All-Square Congress of New York University voted to reaffiliate with NSA- in spite of the fact that the school newspaper being conservative was strongly against and many representatives were under strong pressure to vote against N.S.A.

A key to saving NSA on a given campus is active liberal support. In NYU's case,many of the members of the ADA chapter were instrumental in preparing and presenting the case for NSA. By maintaining a steady flow of letters to the editor and information bulletins to student leaders,NSA was able to survive in a hostile atmosphere.

Opposition to NSA is usually based on either ideological problems or outdated "factual" information. Typical of the first type of opposition are the arguments: can one organization,even as large as NSA claim to speak for all the students in the U.S.; should NSA claim to speak for its members,especially on "political" questions, without a clear mandate to do so? USNSA Report - 1963 answers these criticisms in the following manner: "Because in a democracy it is the right of the majority to express the will of the body,it would be an infringement of the rights of the majority to imply that the resolutions speak only for a small fraction of the organization. The statement that the Association has adopted this or that policy simply implies that the majority of the voting delegates at the Congress have adopted it. A substantial minority may be vote to include a majority report in the Congress minutes.

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ORGANIZATIONAL NOTES

CADA CONVETION SET

At its last Board Meeting Campus ADA began planning for its annual National Convention. This years Convention is to be held during the weekend of September 7,8,& 9. The probable location is Washington ,D.C. (This is the weekend following Labor Day.)

The Convention is the body which sets CADA national policy for the coming school year, as well as elects national officers. Since the Convention follows the Summer vacation, chapters will begin the selection of delegates towards the close of the present term.

NEW ADA LOBBYIST

David Cohen, a past National Chairman of Students for Democratic Action (CADA's former name) has been named National ADA's Legislative Representative. David,who led S.D.A. in 1957-58, will be doing the important job of lobbying for ADA on Capital Hill. He was graduated from Temple University and did post-graduate work in political science at the University of Pénn.

YAC TO BE US NYC

At its last Council meeting (March 22& 23)the U.S.National Young Adult Council (YAC),of which CADA is a member,voted to accept the report of its Organizational Evaluation & Study Commision (OESC) and change the organizations name to U.S.Nat'l Youth Council (USNYC).. Thus by following OESC,YAC becomes USNYC!!!

CHAPTER NEWS

Bert Rockman,Chairman of the University of Pittsburgh Chapter,informs us that his chapter has been working with the University's Human Relations Council to speed up the program to end de-facto discrimination in university related associations. This progra has proven quite successful. The Pitt.Chapte has also been active in recent Student Government elections and has reported that most of the chapters candidates have seen victory. The Chapter plans to work with the Northern Student Movement(NSM) in tutorials for school drop-outs. As in the past,the chapter will be an active force in coming primary elections in their community.

The newly elected President of the New York University Chapter, Louis Braun, tells us that his chapter has been busy issuing statements in support of free tuition at the New York State University as well as the N.Y. City Colleges. Recent speaker meetings have included Melvin Wulf of A.C.L.U. speaking on the wrongs of the McCarran Act and CADA Chairman Arthur Gorson speaking on the national program of the organization. The chapter has invited Eric Fromm to speak at the N.Y.U. campus and plans a forum on the democratic left. Plans are underway to raise funds for the CADA-SNCC field worker.

The Drew University chapter's Arthur Valenzuela tells us that he is running for the post of N.S.A. Coordinator for his school. The chapter has been a leading supporter of N.S.A. at Drew. A study of the Aid to Education legislation is being prepared as well as plans for a forum on the McCarran Act. The Drew chapter hopes to raise a large sum for the CADA-SNCC field worker.

Joseph Corbett,Co-chairman of the Boston College chapterwrites that his chapter is undertaking a massive membership drive. They have plans to have H.Stuart Hughes,Edward McCormack and Sumner Kaplan speak in the

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CHAPTER NEWS (from P.9)

near future. The chatper has planned a week of fund raising on the campus for the ADA-SNCC field worker.

Irwin Gubman, Chairman of the University of Minnesota Chapter informs the Bulletin that his chapter has been holding a series of bi-weekly meetings with faculty members on the liberal democratic approach to various foreign affairs problems. There Civil Liberties Commission has been actively working to revise the speaker policy of the university. This is a reaction to the Dean of Students banning of two speakers from the campus during the last quater, one from the Communist Party and the other from the Young Peoples Socialist League (YPSL). The chapters activities have been approved by the Minn. Civil Liberties Union and they are to have a hearing before the Faculty Committee.

Norman Walbeck, Assistant Exec. Director of New Jersey ADA (as part of his work plan at Antioch College) informs us that he has planted the seeds of chapters at Rutgers and Fairleigh Dickenson University where a new chapter is underway. Norman has begun the formation of a chapter at Antioch which plans to apply for a charter when he returns late next month.

Note: We regret that we were not able to print news from more chapters but all reports were not recieved by press time. The National CADA office informs us that chapter organization is underway at over 10 campuses.

POVERTY (from P. 8)

increasing. (In Chile 9.7% of the rural population holds 86% of the imcome producing land. For this reason Chile is regarded as a backward nation)

Deflationary monetary policies, such as have been common since 1953, also create poverty. If we want growth then we muct accept some inflation. Economic stagnation is of advantage only to the rentier and when combined with rapid technological change creates the 9% of real unemployment which we now suffer or- to put it more honestly- which the poor now suffer.

Unfair tax systems, the encouragement of technological change, heavy defence spending, reductions in non-defence spending, administered prices and deflationary monetary policies are but a few of the major factors which make for poverty. There are others obviously : they include discrimination and segregation and the gaping holes in our minimum wage legislation. All of these things not only make for poverty, they do clearly and predictably. Each of the factors has its constituency in the national government, the state capital, the business hierarchy, the military elite and, in some cases (such as segregation) the public. It is that part of our social policy that cultivates poverty for over one-fifth of our nation.

One could argue that poverty is more than an unintended, though predictable, by product of other deliberate social policies and goals. Policy makers can be blind to some of the results of their policies. But there are limits which a responsible society must assign to such blindness.

It is not difficult to see why poverty prospers. Its existence, oviously, is of advantage to some. The laundry industry needs underpaid workers; progressive tax policies would hurt the wealthy ; generals and cold warriors want a huge military budget; without the protection of the administered price over-production would soon destroy the institutional autonomy of the free enterprise system.

Poverty in the United States could be eliminated, given one condition - that its continued existence shamed us and so angered us that we would be willing to support measures which, to be meaningful, would hurt the rich and powerful to the benefit of those who are neither. Given this sole condition poverty in America can be totally eliminated and the promise of a free society extended to all-within our lifetime.

-End-

Note: John McDermott's article is first in a series of Bulletin full length features, dealing with pressing problems of our times. We would welcome open discussion of the points that he has raised. (Ed.)

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William E. Miller, *Chairman*

Joint Senate-House Republican leadership concludes political climate is shifting away from Democrats and toward Republicans at rate making GOP victory in 1964 likely ... Kennedy Administration seen slipping in public esteem because so much was promised, so little accomplished ... leaders find growing distrust of JFK's outmoded spending theories, genuine disappointment in his handling of foreign relations.

Former President Eisenhower on Kennedy's big federal spending: "If we keep headed in this direction, we may soon have to find a new term, perhaps 'dollarette' to describe accurately the buying power of our monetary unit ... were I a younger man, planning for the best possible future for my family and looking forward to eventual retirement, I would bitterly resent the effrontery of the politicians who so blithely plan to experiment with the future value of my savings, my insurance and my pension."

Sharply differing with JFK Administration estimates, Senate Preparedness Subcommittee reports 17,500 Russians still in Cuba, including 5,000 combat troops ... panel warns it is quite possible Soviet missiles are hidden in caves

State Department openly attempts to line up Congress support to reopen full diplomatic relations with Communist Hungary ... attempted sellout of Hungarian people seen as State memo views Janos Kadar's regime as program of de-Stalinization—Kadar is man who directed 1956 brutal slaughter of Hungarian freedom fighters ... State official follows up memo with personal visits to House members, seeking reactions.

Gallup Poll shows Democrats losing ground on question of which party is best to keep America prosperous ... June 1961 rating of 54% slides to 44% in new tally.

On surprise visit to Chicago, former Vice President Nixon says he is not committed to any candidate for 1964 presidential nomination ... declares he will support whoever is nominated ... Nixon blasts Kennedy's do nothing policy on Cuba.

GOP National Chairman Miller hails election of former Governor McKeldin as Mayor of Baltimore as another important step to make inroads in big cities ... favored to win, Democratic incumbent was toppled despite Kennedy's taped references to him in saturation broadcast schedule as "my old friend" ... McKeldin also had to overcome 4 to 1 Democratic registration edge to become first Republican to capture city hall in the 16 years since he last held it.

In High Point, N. C., Republicans crack 20-year Democratic rule, electing Floyd D. Mehan as mayor and sweeping 5 council seats ... smashing victory is another example of GOP spreading successes in South ... in Corpus Christi, Texas, Charles Scoggins became first GOP state legislator there in century ... in North Augusta, S. C., 2 GOP councilmen seated for first time in history.

GOP fortunes also on upswing in Connecticut ... Republicans score election victories in 8 of 10 communities ... in Naugatuck, where registered Democrats outnumber Republicans 3 to 1, Mayor Tatywich re-elected as party gains 2 of 3 Selectman seats.

Don't-offend-Russia policy faithfully followed by State Department's Secretary Rusk as he opposes Republican Rep. Derwinski's proposal to set up bi-partisan Congressional Committee on Captive Nations ... Rusk concludes move would be source of contention with Soviet Union.

Columnist Ruth Montgomery says she uncovered White House news gag barring Kennedy aides from newspaper publicity JFK cherishes ... attempting to get story from high-ranking staffer, Miss Montgomery was told "I'm not allowed to tell you about it ... the President gets furious if we get any personal publicity" ... checking with News Secretary Salinger, Miss M. got flat denial of gag ... but White House aide, she says, responded that Salinger was lying through his teeth because he issued the orders.

Authoritative military analyst John G. Norris writes dropping of Adm. George W. Anderson as Chief of Naval Operations, reappointment of Gen. Curtis LeMay for only single year as Air Force Staff Chief, is interpreted at Pentagon as warning to military leaders to conform - or else ... says both have disagreed frequently with civilian superiors ... cites Anderson's opposition to McNamara decision on TFX plane contract.

Wisconsin Republicans warn of disastrous effect on state's economic growth as Democratic Governor Reynolds insists on new tax increases...meanwhile Reynold's spending boosts alone would cost $234 for average family of 5 in next 2 years ... this is equal to 7 shopping carts of food, 2 house or rent payments, 4 car payments.

JFK Administration promises to shrink surplus stock of farm goods but at close of January, last month checked, government holdings were record $8,500,000,000 or $600,000,000 over same time last year.

Treasury Department under heavy pressure drops plan to move New York regional tax office from N.Y.C. to Boston ... proposed shift strongly criticized by GOP Senators Javits, Keating ... Republican Representative Lindsay suggests the transfer plan involved pressure by JFK's brother Ted, Massachusetts senator.

THE ADA - THREAT FROM WITHIN

The left-wing Americans for Democratic Action, which exerts a powerful influence on top New Frontier policy decisions has won warm praise from President Kennedy. Thus, with several dozen of its members already in high government posts, the ADA's hand is strengthened as it steps up its efforts to swing the United States toward the extreme left in both domestic and foreign policy matters.

The gratuitous boost for the ADA came in the form of Presidential greetings to the organization's recent 16th annual convention held in Washington, D. C.

Kennedy told the delegates ... "you have striven valiantly for social progress and civil freedom at home and for liberty and peace in the world. You have done this in the face of clamor and criticism, and you have seen the causes for which you have fought move steadily toward fulfillment. You have contributed an indispensable ferment to American politics, and looking back you can take satisfaction that on the whole time has confirmed the rightness of your judgments."

But in 1953, Kennedy was quoted in a national magazine as saying: "I never joined the ADA. I'm not comfortable with these people." Nevertheless, seven years later when he was nominated Kennedy immediately surrounded himself with ADA advisers and today has them in the White House, State Department and elsewhere.

National Chairman John P. Roche set the ADA's goal in no uncertain terms when he opened the convention.

"Our main job," Roche said, "will be to lay the groundwork for action to make left-of-center influence strong and effective in Washington and throughout the nation ... action is needed to counteract the mounting pressure on the Administration by conservative forces."

Ordinarily this would deserve scant attention because the ADA is a small outfit numbers-wise, not a political party. However, the piecemeal surrender ideology these people follow is being spoon-fed to the Federal Government by firmly entrenched ADA members.

ADA "action", among other things, means more and more government controls, unbalanced budgets, regimentation; recognition of Red China and East Germany; withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam; total disarmament; a U.S. policy of non-harassment of the Castro regime in Cuba; eventual renegotiation with regard to the Guantanamo naval base, and an all-powerful U.N. with authority to handle U.S. foreign aid to some nations. And the ADA never refers to Russia as an enemy.

There can be no doubt that ADA policies have played an important part in the Cuban situation. The ADA has always opposed stringent measures or actions by the U.S. on a unilateral basis. In fact, in 1962 when Cuba was being made a military base by the Soviets the ADA warned against U.S. military action or U.S. support of an invasion by Cuban exiles. It also resolved that this is no time for unilateral economic sanctions.

On the record is the fact that Kennedy, since the Russian missile crisis, has adopted a "wait and see" attitude, abandoned on-site inspection and cracked down on raids on Cuba by exiles. And the ADA advisers also had access to the President's ear when he withheld air cover from the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion.

Again in Laos, the troika government "solution" was advanced by the ADA before it was pursued by the Administration. A Red takeover in Laos seems inevitable.

On the domestic front, to cite one example of ADA influence and pressure, Candidate Kennedy promised balanced budgets. But in 1962 the ADA accused the Administration of being in error by placing undue emphasis on this concept. What happened? Kennedy came out for unbalanced budgets as good for the country and furthermore he adopted a policy of planned deficits.

We would conclude that a vote for the Democrats in the next election is a vote for the ADA which is determined to run the country into the wild blue yonder of leftism.

N

GOP National Chairman Miller urges Kennedy revive discussions for on-site inspection of Soviet military strength in Cuba ... wants President to tell people if Russia is building naval base on Castro's island ... also seeks "yes" or "no" answer to reports U. S. may abandon Guantanamo.

At Denver meeting, GOP officials charged with recommending 1964 Convention site see mid-July, 1964, as best time for conclave ... Site Committee to re-check with cities seeking the Convention, to determine if necessary facilities will be available weeks of July 13 or July 20.... Republican National Committee meets June 21-22 in Denver for selection of site to be chosen from among 7 cities which have entered bids: Atlantic City, Chicago, Dallas, Detroit, Miami Beach, Philadelphia, San Francisco.

More Kennedy news management ... House subcommittee uncovers memo sent by Secretary of State Rusk to American Embassy in Saigon ... it sets guidelines for news coverage of Viet Nam war ... American reporters should be kept away from areas where U. S. troops are doing all or most of fighting ... also kept away from any area which would show Viet Nam's president has failed to win countrymen's support ... asked about it, White House aide says "there was such a memo."

How Chicago Tribune sizes up Adlai Stevenson's recent Chicago speech: "It is a blueprint...for world government and for everlasting foreign aid; for the extinction of the sovereignty of the United States, its independence, and its constitutional structure and guarantees of individual liberty. All that we know and cherish is to be dumped in the dustbin of history, and we are to be subordinated to a new world order in which the United Nations will reign supreme."

Insiders report New York's Mayor Wagner losing favor with White House as opposition to Senator Keating next year ... Representative Stratton receiving favorable consideration.

Missile and Rockets Magazine reports it is no secret in Washington that White House is playing increasingly active role in selection of NASA, Defense Department contractors. Officials evaluating one program got four White House phone calls in one week, urging selection of a particular firm.

Rep. Arends of Illinois, ranking GOP member of House Armed Services Committee, sharply critical of Defense Secretary McNamara, also his stable of non-military "whiz-kids," for downgrading experienced judgment of Joint Chiefs of Staff ... Arends warns unless we wake up before it is too late, we may find ourselves second-rate military power, with neither military plans nor equipment necessary to deal with determined enemy who is daily planning and preparing for our destruction.

Rep. Frances Bolton (R.-Ohio) finds 75% of those polled in her 22d Congressional District favor reduction of federal spending, 72% against increasing national debt.

U.S. balance of payments deficit worsens ... increases to seasonally adjusted annual rate of $3,300,000,000 in '63 first quarter as against last year's $2,200,000,000.

CORRESPONDENCE

The following are two letters recieved by Campus ADA's National Chairman during the past few weeks. They are printed for your information and action.

DEP'T. OF JUSTICE

The following telegram was sent to the Attorney General of the United States early in March:

JAMES TRAVIS 20 YEAR OLD FIELD SECRETARY FOR THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE IS IN A MISSISSIPPI HOSPITAL WITH A BULLET LODGED IN HIS SPINE. HE WAS SHOT BECAUSE OF HIS VOTER REGISTRATION ACTIVITIES. CAMPUS DIVISION OF THE AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION DEMANDS AN INVESTIGATION OF THIS SHOOTING AND FEDERAL PROTECTION FOR THOSE WHO ARE WORKING TO SECURE VOTING RIGHTS FOR ALL CITIZENS IN THE SOUTH.

This answer was recieved:

March 25,1963

Dear Mr.Gorson:

This will acknowledge your telegram to the Attorney General of Mar.4,1963. We wish to assure you that the Dep't.of Justice is conducting a thorough investigation into the two recent shootings which have occurred in LeFlore Co.Miss. The three persons believed responsible for the first such shooting have been apprehended and charged with felonious assault under Miss. law. Investigation of the second shooting commenced immediately after its occurrence.

The Dept.of Justice is also taking steps to insure that all citizens will be accorded the right to register to vote without distinction of race in LeFlore Co. The registrar of voters of that county is one of six local defendants in the case of U.S.v.Mississippi, which was filed on Aug. 28,1962.In that action the Dept. seeks to have various Miss. voting laws declared unconstitutional as discriminatory to Negroes.

The Dept.of Justice will continue to take prompt and vigorous action wherever voting rights of citizens are threatened.

Sincerely,

BURKE MARSHALL,Ass.Attorney Gen.

Note: What about protection for those working to have Negroes register??(Ed.)

NORTHERN RHODESIAN

Regional Headquarters,U.N.I.P.
P.O.Box 264
Choma
Northern Rhodesia
March 29,1963

Dear Arthur:

Following the verbal conversation I had with you,when I ahd the pleasure of visiting your country, I wish to honestly appeal to you for help.

I have found that one of the major factors that has hindered the ra pid developement of my people has been the lack of availability of books. Because of this need I am trying to get our own public library started. I am hoping that my friends and organisations will help me get the needed books for my project. We have no funds and there are too few books in my country and less in my region.

I know you as personal friend, and I am trustful that you and many other friends who are interested in what we are trying to do will be of some great help to us.

My best wishes to you,Campus ADA, and your friends.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon Mwaanga,
Regional Secretary,
United National Independence Party

Note: It seems to us that members of Campus ADA are in a good position to help Vernon and U.N.I.P. This may become a "pet" project for a chapter. We have found that it may cost more to ship actual books to Africa then they may be worth. For this reason is is best to raise money with which they can buybooks, though you can send books if you like. If money is sent to CADA's office we will foward it. (Ed.)

ON N.S.A.

(continued from P 7.)

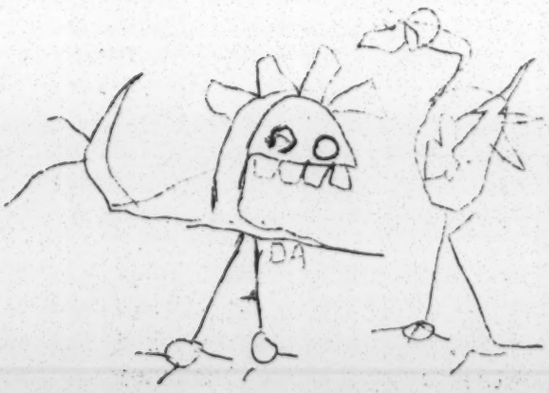
"While the policies of the National Student Congress do not represent 'the student viewpoint' (which does not exist), they do represent the 'a student point of view' which is the most representative that can be obtained by the democratic process."

To the question of NSA's "politics" these replies can be made: The NSA Constitution as of the 15th Congress states that "Membership in USNSA should not necessarily be interpreted to imply agreement with policies of the National Student Congress, The National Executive Committee or actions of its elected officers." Does the student body- and do the critics attacking NSA - really know what NSA does in the relm of politics? NSA's "politics" are the most misrepresented and misunderstood areas of its concern.

It should be incumbent upon all members of Campus ADA, and the liberal student community, to know the facts about NSA. There is a wealth of information in defence of NSA that is availabe from the Association. As stated above most of the "factual" arguments against NSA are based on outmoded information or misinformation. A clear up to date factual argument in favor of NSA is the best answer to the wild cries of the right. It is important that we keep channels of information open and let the pro- NSA voice be heard.

Note: If you plan to write to NSA for information the address is:

National Student Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Pa.



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CADA NAT'L BOARD

The next meeting of the Campus ADA National Board will be held in conjunction with the National ADA Convention. The Convention, which is to be held in Washington D.C. May 3,4,5, at the Shorham Hotel, is open to all members of CADA with each chapter having voting delegates. The exact time of the Board meeting has not yet been set so that it may best be worked in with the programing of the Convention.

AND FOR THOSE WHO HAVE NOT YET JOINED CAMPUS ADA

Please send me more information on CADA.
I am interested in:

Joining ($1.50 dues) ( )
Forming a chapter ( )
Being placed on mail list ( )

name _____ school _____

address _____ state _____

Mail to: Campus ADA
156 5th Ave.
New York 10, N.Y.

a gn

RURAL AREAS DEVELOPMENT

newsletter

May 1963 No. 53

RAD PROGRAM GAINS MOMENTUM AS NEW LEGISLATION GOES INTO OPERATION

We must show the world what a free economy can do . . . to put unused capacity to work, spur new productivity and foster higher economic growth.

President Kennedy.

The Rural Areas Development (RAD) program which Secretary Freeman expanded under new legislation seven months ago scored a series of firsts last month, and moved ahead on all fronts.

In formally putting the expanded RAD program into motion last November, Secretary Freeman established policy and assigned agency responsibility for the new activities voted by Congress in 1962, including development of income-producing recreation, resource conservation and development projects, rural renewal projects and the cropland conversion program.

Since the last Newsletter:

1. The first loans have been made for recreation, for a shift in land use and for rental housing for elderly people.

2. The Arkansas Legislature has passed enabling legislation for rural renewal and resource conservation and development projects.

3. Fourteen proposed public recreation areas have been tentatively approved for watersheds in 10 States.

4. USDA reports it is now open for applications for resource conservation and development projects.

5. Final figures show 4,131 farmers filed applications to convert more than 205,000 acres of cropland to other uses in the 41 test counties under the cropland conversion program.

6. ARA indicates its industrial and commercial loans and public facility projects of the last 18 months will create more than 16,000 direct jobs in rural America.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF INFORMATION, WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

7. USDA task force reports on resources and recreation potential in the Northern Great Lakes region.

Now for the details:

FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION CHALKS UP SERIES OF "FIRSTS"

The Rural Areas Development program took a big step forward with the announcement by Secretary Freeman that the Farmers Home Administration had made its first loans for (1) development of farmland recreation, (2) a shift in land use, and (3) rental housing for elderly rural people.

The first business ventures financed by FHA recreation loans included on-the-farm accommodations for vacationers, a small community golf course and the production of quail for controlled hunting.

Fourteen recreation loans totaling $128,000 were approved from January 1 to March 31, 1963. State FHA officials said they received about 390 applications for recreation loans through March 31.

The Department's first loan to finance a shift in land use was made April 22 to 40 Colorado farmers. The $375,000 loan will enable the Prowers County Grazing Association to buy or lease 14,940 acres and shift it into a well-developed grazing area. Approximately 13,500 acres are now overgrazed range land and 1,440 acres are in wheat and other crops.

The first insured loan for construction of rental housing for elderly rural people also was approved. The loan will be for $100,000, and it will finance 20 apartments in Jackson Township, Ocean County, New Jersey. The funds will be advanced to Clarence Sprinkle, Jackson, New Jersey businessman, by a private investor with repayment insured by FHA.

ARKANSAS LEGISLATURE CREATES RURAL DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITIES

The Arkansas Legislature has authorized counties to create the legal bodies local people need to receive aid from the U. S. Department of Agriculture in the development of rural renewal and resource conservation and development projects.

The act gives counties the authority to organize Rural Development Authorities, which would have broad powers to buy and sell land, issue bonds, develop recreational facilities and construct roads, parks, dams and sanitation facilities.

"It is in the public interest that such Rural Development Projects be commenced as soon as possible in order to alleviate these conditions of chronic unemployment, underemployment, and economic underdevelopment of rural areas which now constitute an emergency," the State Legislature said.

Congress has empowered the Secretary of Agriculture to make loans to public bodies to carry out Federal legislation designed to assist in the renewal of depressed rural areas. The Arkansas act is specifically designed to authorize the type of public body that may cooperate with the Federal government on the new rural renewal and resource conservation and development projects.

PUBLIC RECREATIONAL AREAS TENTATIVELY APPROVED IN 14 WATERSHED PROJECTS

The Soil Conservation Service reported it has tentatively approved applications to develop public recreational areas in 14 watershed projects under cost-sharing legislation enacted by Congress last September.

These projects are located in Arkansas, Louisiana, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

Sponsors of five other watershed projects also have submitted recreation proposals.

Preliminary estimates indicate $6.5 million would be spent to develop recreational areas in the 19 projects. The Federal government and local sponsors would split this additional cost on about a 50-50 basis.

APPLICATIONS OPEN ON RESOURCE CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Resource conservation and development projects moved a step nearer actual operation with the Department formally opening the way for applications from local sponsors. However, it was emphasized that no funds are available for planning within the current fiscal year.

Policy guides, instructions, outlines, and forms for use by local groups in preparing and submitting applications have been sent to Soil Conservation Service field offices. Local leaders in about 12 areas in 10 States are known to be seriously considering resource conservation and development projects.

CROPLAND CONVERSION SIGNUP COMPLETE

Final figures show 4,131 farmers filed applications to convert more than 205,000 acres of cropland to other uses in the 41 counties in 13 States where the Department of Agriculture will test its cropland conversion program.

Congress authorized $10 million to initiate the cropland conversion program on a limited basis during the current fiscal year. The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service is in charge of this program. Farmers will sign long-range agreements with the Department to convert land now producing surplus crops to other income-producing uses, such as timber, grass, recreation, water storage, or wildlife habitat.

ARA PROJECTS TO CREATE MORE THAN 16,000 RURAL JOBS

The Area Redevelopment Administration of the Commerce Department has approved 121 projects which will create more than 16,000 direct jobs in rural America.

ARA said that during the past 18 months, 76 industrial and commercial loans totaling $20.3 million have been approved in rural areas, and 161 active applications are under consideration. Forty-five public facility projects totaling $21.8 million in ARA funds are underway, and 65 additional applications from rural areas are under consideration.

Responsibility for the development and certification of ARA industrial and commercial projects for USDA has been delegated to the Rural Electrification Administration, while FHA has similar responsibility for rural public facility projects.

ARA said 387 designated rural areas have completed and obtained official approval of overall economic development programs to become eligible for ARA loans and other assistance, and 129 others have been submitted for final action. Extension Service reports about 500 non-designated counties have also completed initial economic development programs.

RESOURCES AND RECREATION POTENTIAL OF NORTHERN GREAT LAKES SPOTLIGHTED

A new USDA task force report sets forth the opportunities for making the most of land, forest and water resources of the Northern Great Lakes region.

The report places special emphasis on the outdoor recreation resources to be found in the Northern Lake States. It notes that the region has the basis for a strong recreational and tourist economy, and that it has a vast storehouse of timber and mineral resources. However, task force members found that the true potential of these resources for serving the public and for expanding the local economy is far from realized.

WISCONSIN LEGISLATURE URGES EXPANSION OF FHA RECREATION LOANS

The Wisconsin Legislature has petitioned Congress to expand the Farmers Home Administration recreation loan program.

The resolution presented to the U. S. Senate urged that Congress "extend the coverage of the recreational loan program of the Farmers Home Administration to include resort owners." The resolution said such a move would help further develop Wisconsin's natural resources and "improve the State's economy and thereby make the northern part of Wisconsin more self-sufficient."

MORE FUNDS SOUGHT FOR ACCELERATED PUBLIC WORKS

Washington--The Senate has received a House-approved supplemental Accelerated Public Works appropriation of $450 million, $50 million less than the Administration requested.

USDA received $35 million of the original $400 million APW allocation. The Forest Service and Soil Conservation Service have used $20.3 of this money to create 29,251 man-months of employment, and the remainder of the USDA funds will be allocated before June 30.

August 13, 1964

Mr. Peter Zimroth
NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund
Room 2030
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Zimroth:

Hurriedly, here are a few things which may be of some help to you.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Montez Albright of our research staff is doing a thorough check of our publications and our files of other publications. You will receive from her as soon as possible other materials and probably a bibliography.

I hope you were able to reach Dr. Henderson. Another economist who has written in this area is Dr. Donald Dewey who the last we knew was with the Department of Economics at Columbia.

Don't hesitate to call again if we can help out locating materials or people, or in any other way.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:mp

Enclosures

November 11, 1964

Mr. Robert Lee Sigmon
Voluntary International
Service Assignments
2038 Randolph Road
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Sigmon:

I have placed the five VISA volunteers on our mailing list for the next two years.

As to contacts in the St. George area, Paul Anthony, our field director, suggests the following--who may in turn be able to suggest others:

Mrs. Alice Spearman, Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

I am sure you have also checked with the AFSC Regional Office in High Point, North Carolina.

Again, best wishes for success of this fine and interesting program. I would be interested from time to time in hearing how things are going with the volunteers. And I hope they will keep in touch with us.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

cc: Mr. & Mrs. Richard Dehr
P. O. Box 13
St. George, South Carolina

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

Voluntary International Service Assignments
2038 Randolph Road
Charlotte, North Carolina
October 30, 1964

Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Pat Watters:

When the US VISA Unit of the American Friends Service Committee was in Atlanta back in August some of us wondered out loud if various information sheets and/or mailings would be available to our VISA volunteers from the Southern Regional Council.

The volunteers are in their assignments now and are beginning to need all the support they can receive from the right kind of sources. They are at the following locations:

Richard and Roma Dehr
P.O. Box 13, St. George , S.C.

Alice Haines
741 Carter St.,Apt. 13, Atlanta , Ga. (NW)

Ted Posselt
P.O. Box 141, Sheldon, South Carolina

Carol Irons
c/o Mitchell Messer, P.O. Bright Shade, Mill Creek, Kentucky

Jeanette Zimek
P.O. Box 151, Evarts, Kentucky

We would appreciate any information that could be supplied to these volunteers over the next two years.

Also, in the St. George, South Carolina area, it would be most helpful to discover any members of the SRC who are liberal in their outlook. The Dehrs are finding little support there from any source. Could you let them or me know who would be a solid contact there in the white community?

With warm regards,

Robert Lee Sigmon

Robert Lee Sigmon

Mrs A S
1330 Laurel St.
Columbia

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community ~~Schools~~ Center
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, SC

File - AFL-CIO

LABOR OFFICE SET UP TO COUNTER RACISTS

Labor 1-3-65

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 2 — Organized labor is setting up a Southern regional office in Atlanta to help its affiliates deal with the pressure of segregationists.

Elmer T. Kehrer has been appointed to head the office, effective Monday. He will report to Donald Slaiman, director of the Civil Rights Department, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Mr. Kehrer has been Southern director for the International Ladies' Garment Workers. He is an executive board member of the Southern Reginal Council, an interracial body. He did educational and civil rights work for the old A. F. L. years ago.

Some labor unions in the Deep South have been beleaguered by the Ku Klux Klan, labor sources here said. State federations of labor have lost some of their local union affiliates because, it is charged, the Klan persuaded the locals to adopt this form of rebellion against the civil rights policies of the state federations.

Mr. Kehrer's job is to do educational work and provide aid and guidance to union leaders and members in realizing compliance with civil rights laws.

7 Civil Rights Groups Choose Coordinator to Bolster Activity

Branton, Negro Lawyer, Will Seek to Overcome Friction as Struggle Widens

The nation's seven leading civil rights organizations have designated Wiley A. Branton, Negro lawyer, to coordinate their activities.

The need for a coordinator has become more pressing as the scope of the civil rights struggle continues to grow. Local action groups sometimes have worked at cross purposes with the national organizations, causing friction.

Mr. Branton's appointment is for six months. Meanwhile, he will continue to direct the Negro voter registration drive in the South from headquarters in Atlanta. His office as coordinator will be in New York.

Known for Directness

A burly man of medium height in his middle 40's, Mr. Branton is known for his directness, energy and ability to convince people to accept compromises.

His powers of persuasion and oratorical prowess are known to civil rights groups throughout the country.

He was born in Pine Bluff, Ark., attended local schools and served three and a half years in the Army in the Far East in World War II. He is married to the former Lucille McKee of Memphis and has six children.

In Little Rock Dispute

Mr. Branton graduated from the University of Arkansas Law School. He has represented nearly all the national civil rights organizations.

He served as counsel in the Little Rock school cases, and in many others where constitutional questions, "freedom riders" and equal opportunities were involved.

The seven organizations that chose him are:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Congress of Racial Equality, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Educational Fund of the National Council of Negro Women, N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund and National Urban League.

Associated Press

Wiley A. Branton

The last three make up a group known as the Committee for Welfare, Educational and Legal Defense. Its co-chairmen are Stephen R. Currier of the Taconic Foundation and Whitney M. Young Jr. of the Urban League. Officially, this committee announced Mr. Branton's appointment.

The organizations are seeking to raise $1,500,000 jointly in emergency funds to meet the costs of the struggle. A ruling by the Internal Revenue Department provides tax exemptions for contributions.

The joint funds operation is regarded as important in the drive for coordination. The seven groups now favor such a procedure to avoid rivalry and duplication, which have caused friction.

The receipt of a $50,000 grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund to assist the civil rights movement was announced.

previous governors, Mr. Cole-

JERSEY BOND ISSUE

Picket Admits Ties to Braden

By BILL SHIPP

A 24-year-old New York woman who participated in Thursday's demonstration here against the U.S. blockade of Cuba said she is a paid associate of Carl Braden.

Braden, field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., was imprisoned for a year on a contempt of Congress conviction after he refused to tell the House Un-American Activities Committee whether he was a Communist.

In House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in Atlanta in June 1958, Richard Arens, the committee's staff director, said the committee had received sworn testimony that Braden was a Communist.

Arens also said in the hearing that the Southern Conference Education Fund has been labeled as an offspring of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, an alleged Communist front organization.

Miss Dorothy Rochelle (Dottie) Miller, who works for the Braden organization, said she helped organize the picketing opposing President John F. Kennedy's stand against the arms buildup in Cuba.

Miss Miller told newsmen she is paid $75 a week by the Southern Conference Education Fund to handle "staff work" for a proposed Civil Liberties Conference which is expected to be held in Atlanta next spring.

Miss Miller said she informed newsmen the demonstration would be held. She said she also called other persons about participating in the demonstration, and she said she received calls from persons asking about participating.

Miss Miller, a native of New York and a 1960 graduate of Queens College, came to Atlanta in June of 1960. She said she formerly was employed by the Southern Regional Council, and had worked with the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE).

She presently has an office with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and works on civil rights drives with SNCC, she said.

She traveled to Albany during the demonstrations organized by the desegregationist Albany movement.

Miss Miller, a pretty brunette with a pony-tail hair-do, said the proposed civil rights meeting is being organized by the Southern Conference Education Fund, SNCC, and other desegregation organizations including the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which is headed by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

A reporter who walked along the picket line with Miss Miller Thursday asked her if she is, or had ever been, a member of the American Communist party.

She replied:

"Whether a person is a Communist or not is secondary to whether he believes in and acts for integration and peace."

She said she would not answer the question because "I believe a person's political views are inviolate. . . ."

Miss Miller said she sympathized with Braden in his refusal to answer the questions of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Reds Quote Pope

MOSCOW (UPI) — The official Soviet news agency Tass carried a 300-word dispatch on the pope's pleas for world peace Thursday. The dispatch carried no editorial comment on the Pontiff's speech.

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RIVALRIES BESET INTEGRATION CAMPAIGNS

Differences in the Protest Movement Tend to Stir Confusion but Center on Methods, Not Goals

By CLAUDE SITTON

Special to The New York Times.

ATLANTA, Ga., Dec. 23 — For almost two years, inter-organizational rivalry has smoldered beneath the surface of the Negro protest movement. Last week, at the height of a racial controversy in Albany, Ga., it burst into the open.

The competition is generally confined to four groups: the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. With the exception of the Congress of Racial Equality, their Southern membership is comprised almost wholly of Negroes.

Members of the Student Coordinating Committee went to Albany some weeks before a dispute began over transportation terminal segregation and other issues. They supported the formation of a coalition group, the "Albany Movement," which supplanted the N. A. A. C. P. as spokesman for the Negro community.

As relations between local whites and Negroes reached a crisis, officials of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, led by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., arrived in the city. Both Dr. King and the Albany Movement leader, who invited him, were arrested subsequently during a demonstration.

Same Goals

Other Leadership Conference officials then took steps that seemed to indicate they were assuming control. But the student group moved immediately to recapture its dominant position on the scene. With representatives of the latter organization sitting at his elbow last Sunday, the acting chairman of the Albany Movement read a statement to newsmen rejecting, in effect, the leadership of the conference.

A similar pattern of rivalry, sometimes involving the Congress of Racial Equality, has emerged in other racial crises. But Albany marks the first time that the conflict has been aired in public.

Civil rights experts consider some competition inevitable, even as political parties, civic groups and fraternities vie for members and funds. Moreover, they emphasize that there is more unity than division and that differences arise over methods, not goals.

On some occasions the rivalry has led to duplication of efforts and waste of time and money. Less frequently, organizations have withheld needed human and financial resources or found them rejected by competing groups. Less sophisticated Negroes sometimes have become confused and demoralized. And the effectiveness of the campaign against segregation has been watered down.

In the opinion of observers, one of the greatest dangers in uncontrolled competition is that it seems to encourage dramatic displays of militant action in cases where wisdom dictates negotiation. This can result in the needless risk of inter-racial violence.

The rivalry did not become significant until Feb. 1, 1960, when the first in a series of student sit-in demonstrations against lunch counter segregation took place at Greensboro, N. C.

The four Negro college students who staged the Greensboro sit-in turned for aid to a local N. A. A. C. P. official. For reasons that have yet to be clearly defined, he asked the Congress of Racial Equality to step in.

CORE as it is popularly known, was attempting at the time to establish beachheads in the South. Formed by white and Negro students at the University of Chicago in 1942, this New York-based organization had largely confined its activities to the East and middle-West.

Other Groups

Shortly before the birth of the sit-in movement, Dr. King moved to Atlanta from Montgomery, Ala., where he had served as chief spokesman for Negroes pressing the 1955-56 bus boycott. Atlanta became headquarters for his Southern Christian Leadership Conference. It is made up largely of anti-segregation groups with a church orientation.

Through its affiliates, the Leadership Conference and Dr. King have advocated "non-violent, direct action" against segregation. The conference also has recently established a project to train lay teachers for prospective Negro voter registrants.

Surprisingly enough, in view of the Albany incident, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is a child of the conference. It was founded at a meeting in Raleigh, N. C., in April, 1960, which was sponsored by the Leadership Conference. The participants included representatives from colleges and universities involved in the sit-in demonstrations.

The Student Committee was at first envisioned as a medium for exchanging information on protest techniques. With the decline of sit-in activity, its roots gradually withered away. Today, it is a student organization in name only. And its membership for all practical purposes consists of about twenty young Negroes who freelance in the civil rights field.

While they play no part in the overall regional picture, there are hundreds of local Negro protest groups, which sometimes find themselves in disagreement with the national organizations over methods and priorities.

These organizations all share a common goal: the elimination of segregation in all its forms as rapidly as possible. Their disagreements arise in part over the question of how best to achieve this objective.

They agree now that the vote can be a major weapon. Although no announcement has been made, it is widely known that they will soon make public a major project in the voter registration field to be financed by foundation grants. With the exception of the N. A. A. C. P., however, none had shown any special interest in this problem until about a year ago.

Three of the organizations—CORE, the Leadership Conference and the Student Committee—have concentrated on direct action against segregation with sit-in demonstrations, freedom rides and mass protest marches. It has been suggested that the prime reason is the dramatic appeal that such activity has for the youth who make up the bulk of their supporters.

The N. A. A. C. P. Youth Councils have led the sit-in movement in a number of Southern cities. But the association generally has been wary of emphasizing direct action at the expense of its other activities. It has particularly avoided mass demonstrations with no specific objective of the type seen in Albany last week.

The mass demonstrations provide the second and most important cause of friction among the four organizations. The tactic attracts considerable publicity and therefore tends to stimulate contributions and other forms of support. But it also can be highly expensive.

Some Costly

Where a large number of arrests are involved, as in the freedom rides at Jackson, Miss., bonds and legal costs reached astronomical proportions. On numerous occasions the organizations behind the demonstration have been forced to turn for help to another group, frequently the N. A. A. C. P.

Officials of the association say these requests have sometimes strained their budget. One reason cited is the contention that funds normally contributed to the N. A. A. C. P. are being siphoned off by the dramatic appeals of the other groups.

The rivalry is now greatest at the fund-raising level. However, observers predict that it soon will intensify in the field. The danger is that in the heat of competition some second-ranking leaders may subordinate a community's welfare to their organization's interest. Conflicting advice from two or more groups causes confusion and impotence at best. Carried to the extreme, it could have tragic consequences.

RACE RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH

Mauldin in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"He's dead, but he won't lie down."

Alexander in The Philadelphia Bulletin

"The seven-year itch."

File

LD
PA
ML
LE
Return PW

They need Negro students —

THE UPLAND INSTITUTE
of the
Crozer Foundation

a program for
social conflict
management

Chester, Pennsylvania

April, 1965

THE UPLAND INSTITUTE

HISTORY AND PURPOSE

The Upland Institute has been organized to help meet the urgent need for trained leadership required by social welfare, government agencies, social action, peace and civil rights groups.

The program of the Institute rests upon three concepts: (1) social change is inevitable in our complex society, (2) such change can be achieved without reliance upon violence, (3) the intellectual capacities and resources rooted in man's secular and religious heritage can be utilized in training men and women for leadership in nonviolent social change.

The objective of the Institute is to prepare its students to meet the challenge of change in their own communities and in the world community. Its educational plan offers an experimental approach to training directed to these ends.

The Upland Institute is co-educational and open to students without regard to race or creed. It welcomes men and women willing to work hard and deeply interested in exploring the field of social change and social conflict, with serious intention of giving some time to professional or volunteer service in some area of social change. Since all courses will be presented on a graduate level, an A.B. degree is desirable but not a requirement for admission. The Institute is prepared to evaluate the education and experience of any applicant to determine his readiness to undertake the Institute's intensive course of study and training. Significant experience in some area of social conflict is desirable.

Early experiments in curriculum and field work by the staff of the New York Friends Group have been reviewed and tested with representatives of religious, educational, civil rights, community and peace agencies. Experimental seminars have been held over a two-year period in New York, Boston, Chicago and San Francisco.

As a result of this consultation and experimentation, decisions were made to seek a permanent graduate educational setting for the further development of this program. In December 1964, agreements were reached with the Crozer Foundation at Chester, Pennsylvania, to establish the Upland Institute and open classes in September 1965, using the campus and facilities of the Crozer Theological Seminary, one of a number of constituent institutions operating under the Crozer Foundation.

The Institute takes its name from historic Upland, one of the earliest settlements on the Delaware River, later named Chester, 13 miles south of Philadelphia. It is located on the 67-acre campus of the Crozer Foundation in the center of a heavily industrialized metropolitan area of five million people.

The Institute is one of three schools and a medical center, operating as constituent parts of the Crozer Foundation, a charitable, religious, scientific, and educational corporation organized for professional training and community service.

The Institute is under the immediate direction of a Council of Fellows selected for their experience and competence in areas of social change, academic achievement, and interest in the problems of training for conflict management. The Council, in consultation with the staff of the Institute, determines program, implements policy, sets standards, and nominates candidates for the faculty.

THE UPLAND INSTITUTE PROGRAM

The academic year from September to June will require full-time student participation. Upon satisfactory completion of the program, each student will be granted a Certificate of Accomplishment. As the program develops, an M.A. degree may be offered for further work.

An intensive study of the history and process of social change will be presented through seminars, individual projects, and reading programs. Extensive field work experience in areas of social conflict will permit each student to develop skills in his areas of special interest. Enrollment will be limited to fifteen students to provide full opportunity for individual instruction.

AREAS OF STUDY

Seminars and courses will be given on such topics as:

Structure and Change in Modern Society, a study of the characteristics of contemporary society, the problems inherent to this type of culture and the basic social processes, institutions and mechanisms of social change.

Movements of Social Protest, including the Freedom Movement, peace education and action, trade unionizing, etc. This will include a critical evaluation of the problems faced in these areas and the techniques used in attempting to solve these problems.

Organizing and Building Programs for Social Change in the local community with emphasis on the use of both voluntary and governmental organizations (political parties, labor unions, human relations commissions, health and welfare councils, etc.), as well as methods of organizing and conducting nonviolent protest movements. This would include emphasis on practical work skills.

The Individual and the Changing Community, an exploration of the importance of personal attitudes, motivations, ethical and religious insights, and how these affect the individual's ability to work for constructive social change. Extensive use will be made of case histories.

Methods of Action Research, an attempt will be made to develop skills in surveying communities and observing agents of social change. It will emphasize the techniques of reducing biased and distorted understanding.

Concept and Practice of Nonviolence, a consideration of the theory and techniques of nonviolent action as a means of effecting constructive social change.

FIELD WORK PROGRAM

Each student will undertake a field work assignment with some social agency or action group actively involved in effecting social change. The student will spend an average of three days a week in field work. There will be opportunities to work with civil rights groups, peace organizations, and other social agencies in Chester, and in the nearby cities of Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and Washington. The student is expected to participate fully in the work and program of the group to which he is assigned. Field work assignments will be guided by the Director of Field Work, who will confer regularly with each student. Participation in regularly scheduled field work seminars and written reports on their field experience will be required.

The objectives of the field work program are to provide first hand experience in social action and in organizational work; to develop particular skills and abilities in organizational work; and to experience the tension inevitably existing between the vision and the reality of any social action movement.

EXTENSION PROGRAM

In addition to the one-year program, provision will be made for short-term special training projects. In response to requests from local communities or organizations, the Institute will make provision for groups of selected leaders to come to the Campus for short periods of intensive training in techniques of nonviolent social change.

The Upland Institute also plans to offer special short-term training courses to meet particular needs as they become evident. The Institute's teaching staff and facilities will be available to plan, develop, and conduct special training courses on or off campus, to help meet the needs for trained leadership of any social action group or of a particular community. Institute faculty members will be available to advise organizations on development of in-service training programs.

ACCOMMODATIONS

The Institute is located on the Crozer Foundation Campus and will use existing classrooms and dormitory and dining facilities of Crozer Theological Seminary. The concentrated nature of the program requires that students live on campus or nearby.

The Seminary is making available East Gate House to serve as center for the Institute. Classrooms and a dormitory for single students will be provided in thie building. The Institute will share library and dining facilities with the Seminary. A limited amount of housing for married students will be available on campus, until new facilities can be built.

COSTS

The fixed fees per academic year for an unmarried student are: tuition, $400; dormitory room, $150; board, $320. The student should expect to meet additional expenses for books, clothing, laundry, meals on Sundays, and personal incidentals, totaling approximately $500.

Married students living in housekeeping apartments pay, per academic year: tuition, $400; rent, $300 or $400, depending on size and location of apartment; plus food and personal expenses.

FACULTY

John W. Thomas, Director of Studies

Dr. Thomas has had a long history of concern for and involvement in social change. This dates back to the evacuation of Japanese-Americans from the west coast during World War II, when he represented the American Baptist Convention in the relocation of evacuees and was chairman of the National Student Relocation Council. For five years he served as Executive Secretary of the Council on Christian Social Progress of the American Baptist Convention and for six years was chairman of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches. He is now a member of the Council's Commission on Religion and Race and is active in the Civil Rights Movement.

George Willoughby, Director of Field Training

Dr. Willoughby has been actively involved in problems of social change since graduation from the University of Iowa. He was associated for 10 years with the American Friends Service Committee in developing community service and peace education programs on the community level. He directed a national counseling service for conscientious objectors for six years. In recent years, he has been involved in the study of nonviolent action, organization of and participation in nonviolent direct action projects.

Kenneth Lee Smith

Dr. Smith is Professor of Christian Ethics at the Crozer Theological Seminary. He has a long record of activity in community action programs. For six years he served as a commissioner of the Delaware County Housing Authority and has been active in civil rights movements in Chester and participated, in the spring of 1964, in the demonstrations protesting school segregation in Chester. He also serves as chairman of the Inter-faith Committee of the Greater Chester Movement.

George R. Lakey

Mr. Lakey served for two years as Executive Secretary of the Friends Peace Committee. He has participated in a work camp in France; led a travel seminar in East and West Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia; and directed a week-end Institutional Service Unit at the Embreeville (Pa.) State Hospital, for the American Friends Service Committee. Mr. Lakey is the author of several articles, of a Pendle Hill pamphlet, Nonviolent Action: How it Works, and is co-author of a book published by Quadrangle Books, A Manual for Direct Action.

VISITING LECTURERS

The Institute faculty will be enriched and strengthened each year by visiting lecturers selected from outstanding leaders in the civil rights movement, the peace effort, labor, urban development, and other areas of social change. Visiting lecturers will be invited to spend a few days on campus to share their ideas and rich experience with the students. This opportunity to share with those actively engaged in conflict situations and students of social change, can contribute greatly to the student's understanding and knowledge of social change.

Among those who will serve in this capacity are:

Kenneth E. Boulding

Dr. Boulding is Professor of Economics, University of Michigan, and Director of the Center for Conflict Resolution, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Robert W. Gilmore

Dr. Gilmore is the Executive Director of Turn Toward Peace; Chairman of Projects, New York Friends Group; Treasurer, A. Philip Randolph Institute; Member of National Committee, Citizens Crusade Against Poverty; Trustee, Friends Seminary of the New York Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. Formerly, he taught and researched at Kenyon College, the University of Pittsburgh, and Yale University; and was a Post-Doctoral Fellow at the National Institute of Mental Health and the Institute for Research in Human Relations. He was a founder of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, the Committee for Nonviolent Action, and the Council for Correspondence. He was New York City Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee for eight years, an organizer for CORE; and in the U.S. Army Air Corps from 1942-1946.

Joseph Gitler

Dr. Gitler is Dean of Faculty at Queensboro Community College and Professor of Sociology at the Graduate School of Education of Yeshiva University (NYC).

George DeWitt Heaton

Dr. Heaton, whose home is in Charlotte, N.C., is widely known as a consultant in personnel problems. He is at present related to 24 different companies for whom he conducts training sessions in human relations with their supervisors and counseling with higher management personnel as well as talking to employee groups and working with attitude surveys.

Norman Hill

Mr. Hill is Staff Representative, Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C. He was formerly a staff member of CORE.

Bayard Rustin

Mr. Rustin is Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and advisor to Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. He has long been active in peace and civil rights movements.

Harold Taylor

Dr. Taylor, a noted author and lecturer, was president of Sarah Lawrence College from 1945 to 1959. He is chairman of the National Research Council on Peace Strategy.

(cont.)

Ronald V. Wells

Dr. Wells is at present President and Professor of Pastoral Theology, Crozer Theological Seminary. He has served as Chairman of the Department of Religious Education, Iowa State University; Executive Director of the Division of Christian Education of the American Baptist Convention. He has been active in various community action programs and is at present a member of the Steering Committee of the Greater Chester Movement, and Chairman of the Citizen's Council for Urban Renewal.

****

For admission, write:

John W. Thomas, Director of Studies
The Upland Institute of the Crozer Foundation
Chester, Pennsylvania

Include the following information in your initial letter:

Name	Telephone number
Address	Male or Female
Date of Birth	Marital Status
Number of years of college	Number and ages of children
Degree	

No qualified student should hesitate to apply for admission because of fear that ordinary expenses cannot be met. The Institute's Director of Studies will be glad to discuss financial problems with applicants.

CALENDAR

1965-66

First Semester

September 20-24	Orientation and Registration
September 27	Classes begin
November 25-26	Thanksgiving recess
December 17	Christmas recess begins 4 p.m.
January 3	Classes resume
January 28	Classes end

Second Semester

February 7	Classes begin
April 1	Spring recess begins 4 p.m.
April 11	Classes resume
June 3	Classes end
June 6	Commencement

QUAKER Service

Bulletin of AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SUMMER 1965

AFSC FAMILIES VALUE LIFE ABROAD

Serving AFSC: (from top) Crooks children with friends (Algeria); the Reumans (Germany); the Connors (Zambia).

CURRENTLY 17 American families with a total of 48 children represent the American Friends Service Committee abroad. Their experience, together with that of the many AFSC families who have gone before them, should encourage couples contemplating such an adventure to volunteer.

Service Committee families are realistic about the problems involved in overseas service, but most of them seem to feel that the values of the experience—shared service, increased family closeness, and a world-stretching adventure—by far outweigh the disadvantages.

Ages of children now abroad with their parents range from two to twenty. Most college-age students and many at boarding school—perhaps after a year at some foreign school or university—elect to continue their education at home, because they feel a need for the companionship of contemporaries they know well.

Younger Children Benefit Most

It is the elementary-age children, most AFSC parents seem to feel, who have most to gain from a period abroad. Several of the families now representing the Service Committee abroad report that they waited until their children were the "right ages" before volunteering. The best ages, these parents say, are 6 to 12, with 4 and 14 the outer limits. Elementary-age children are quick to make friends in a new situation. The language barrier is not to be discounted, and often makes the first year in a French, German, or Spanish-speaking school a rather difficult experience. On the other hand, in play the youngsters quickly find ways to communicate. And language skill, when it does come,

continued on page 4

NEW CHINA BOOK FOCUSES ON FRIENDS CONCERNS

A MORE FLEXIBLE POLICY toward Mainland China is advocated in a newly published report prepared for the Committee by a group of Quaker scholars, businessmen, and professors, all with considerable background in Far Eastern affairs. The authors include Hugh Borton, of Haverford College; Eugene P. Boardman, of the University of Wisconsin; Kenneth Boulding, of the University of Michigan; and Jackson Bailey and Lewis Hoskins, of Earlham College.

Among other suggestions, the authors recommend U.S. initiative toward diplomatic recognition of the Mainland Chinese government; negotiation of the problem posed by Taiwan; the ending of American restrictions on communication, exchange, and trade; and a declaration of U.S. readiness to join China in projects of common advantage and concern.

A New China Policy: Some Quaker Proposals (cloth: $3.00; paper: 95¢) may be obtained through AFSC offices, bookstores, or from the publisher, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.

MISSION TO VIETNAM: AN EXPLORATORY VISIT

STEPHEN CARY, associate executive secretary, and Woodruff Emlen, financial advisor with a Philadelphia firm, left in May to represent the Committee in South Vietnam, by appointment of AFSC's Board of Directors. These two Friends will spend several months gathering facts and looking for possible AFSC program involvement.

In recent years, Vietnamese students have participated in AFSC seminars, work camps, and conferences for young leaders. Our representatives will visit them and also seek new participants for such programs. They will be consulting with Buddhist groups, as well as with these young people, in a combined effort to find an effective starting point for possible new programs. Even if the military and political impasse there were resolved immediately, the area—torn by war for 20 years—will continue to face serious economic and social problems.

Past Service A Vital Factor

Planning of this Quaker mission to Vietnam was begun early in March upon the return of Gilbert White, chairman of AFSC's Board, from a short visit to Saigon. Three years ago, Gilbert White had served as consultant for the U.N. to the Lower Mekong Coordinating Committee for Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and Vietnam.

Stephen Cary, whose particular responsibility is coordination of regional office activities, has served with the Committee since his release from Civilian Public Service in 1946. His initial assignment was directing European relief operations from the Paris headquarters. He has held his present position since 1959. Woodruff Emlen served with the AFSC from 1945 to 1947 as overseas delegate in French Morocco and Southern France in refugee relief and rehabilitation. He is currently a member of AFSC's International Service and Affairs and Finance committees.

U.S.-CHINA CONFERENCE

Eight hundred people, representing 40 states and several foreign countries—as well as many viewpoints—met at the International Inn, Washington, D.C., April 29-30, at the first nation-wide conference on American-Chinese relations held since the Communists came to power in China.

The conference was sponsored by Georgetown University and the American University's School of International Service in cooperation with AFSC. Much of the organizational work was done by Cecil Thomas, associate peace secretary in our Northern California Regional Office.

The 37 cooperating organizations included 15 religious organizations and church groups representing the three major faiths, three labor organizations, and a number of political action and special interest groups. They included proponents of both vigilant and conciliatory policies towards the People's Republic of China.

"...channels of universal love"

Philadelphia, Pa.
June, 1965

Dear Friends,

It is customary to make some general comment about the life of the AFSC in this part of the *Bulletin*. Today I want to speak of death, and indeed to name certain Service Committee friends and workers whose passing in recent months has left us with a deep sense of loss and also of great thankfulness. Many of the readers of this letter will know some or all of these names.

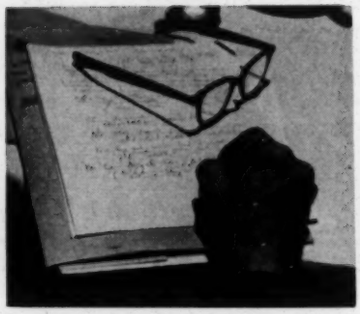
GRACE LOWRY shared with AFSC most of her adult life, a life which shone with warmth and love of people. PATRICK MALIN served with the Committee as vice-chairman of the Board and in many other ways, and later led the American Civil Liberties Union in its courageous witness for justice and civil liberties for all. EMMA CADBURY's many pieces of service were crowned by fourteen years of work at the Quaker Center in Vienna, and her small, indomitable figure became a symbol in many parts of Europe of friendship for the suffering and dispossessed. JAMES REEB, a staff member of the Service Committee, went from the slums of Boston, where he lived and worked, to Selma, Alabama, where he died and witnessed. His life and death were of a spiritual piece. JOSEPH CONARD, as staff member in California and committee chairman in Philadelphia, undertook only those tasks into which he felt he could put his absolute best—a compound of competence, dedication, and gracious personality which will long be remembered. CLARENCE PICKETT for nearly a quarter-century shaped the AFSC into an instrument whereby imperfect man might try to practice the gospel of love. He knew well that the Kingdom of God was not yet here, but he lived all his years as if it were.

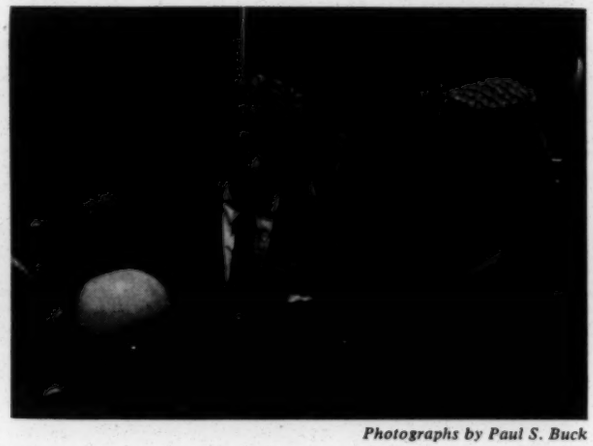
These lives conjure up in the eye of memory a diversity of gifts and of personalities and a multiplicity of services, but a oneness of spiritual purpose. Each gave in his own way, selflessly and of his best, to the cause of human betterment. Some died at high noon and others in the evening of their days. All lived with that quality of life which makes of death not a passing but a consummation and an example. "To turn all they possessed into the channels of universal love became the business of their lives." That business is unfinished.

Yours sincerely,

Colin W. Bell

Executive Secretary





Photographs by Paul S. Buck

SUMMER PROGRAMS REFLECT BROAD INTERESTS

AMERICANS of all ages take part in AFSC summer programs annually. This year, more than 500 young people will participate, many in various civil rights projects, community and institutional service programs, world affairs discussion groups, and peace caravans in the U.S. Over 200 of them will join programs in Europe, Africa, Japan, Korea, Mexico, or Guatemala. New this year will be a caravan theater sponsored by our New England Office's college program. This will tour towns and cities in New England presenting short plays on race, peace, and social concerns. In a program of individual service assignments in Southern communities, graduate students will tutor children who expect to attend newly desegregated schools in September.

In England, a tripartite work and study program will provide for the fourth successive year an opportunity for young people—five Americans, five Britons, and five Russians—to work together on a community project with time provided for discussion and special trips. This program continues under the joint sponsorship of AFSC, Friends Service Council (England), and the Committee of Youth Organizations of the Soviet Union.

Topics Are Timely And Varied

Four adult institutes and eleven family camps throughout the U.S. will present diversified programs. Avon Institute, Geneva Point Camp, N.H., continues its unstructured approach to seeking nonviolent solutions to today's conflicts. The Midwest Summer Institute at Williams Bay, Wis., sponsored by the Chicago, Dayton, and Des Moines offices, will cover subjects of current interest from poverty and cybernetics to Communism and the problems of emerging nations. Two institutes—at Pocono Lake, Pa., and Camp Sierra, Calif.—will concentrate on the problems of U.S.-China relations.

In four peace caravans, sixteen college-age men and women will tour four areas of the United States, speaking with civic, religious, youth, and other community groups and sharing views and hopes on present-day problems. They will live with families in each community they visit. The caravans will travel in the Southwest; in Northern California; in Oregon and Washington; and in the Midwest.

AFSC Families Abroad

continued from page 1

toward the end of the first year, provides the children with a priceless asset that will last a lifetime.

Very young children, of course, do not suffer from homesickness. The "middle-age" children of elementary grades are occasionally homesick for their aunts and cousins and grandparents but thoroughly enjoy their new friends.

Through the years, health has not been a major problem to AFSC families overseas. A carefully planned program of preventive medicine, plus a sensible health routine, have permitted most youngsters to thrive in their transplanted environments.

Schooling in the field, particularly in a new language, is not always easy, but most parents have found that by giving Calvert lessons at home, when indicated, they have been able to keep their youngsters up to grade level.

"And look what else they are getting meanwhile," says Sylvia Crooks, who has been in Algeria with her three children for the past two years, while Malcolm Crooks serves as field director of the Quaker team with headquarters in Tlemcen. "We want our children to learn that people are the same the world over, and how better can they discover this than by experiencing it for themselves?"

Besides the Crooks family in western Algeria, AFSC families abroad include Paul and Ruth Miller and one daughter in Delhi, India, and 15 families with two to five children each living in Algeria, Berlin, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Mexico, Zambia, Peru, Guatemala, Switzerland, and Tanzania.

PROJECT LINKS JOBS AND HOUSING

THE Community Relations Division is initiating a two-pronged pilot program in the San Francisco area in cooperation with local groups, particularly the Bay State Urban League. This program is geared to improving employment opportunities for minorities and to sharing the experience of our national housing program with recently developed local fair housing groups. The purpose of the project is to break the traditional pattern that confines non-whites to urban ghettos, and to do this in an area still in the early stages of its industrial expansion.

Many business firms are housed in the new industrial parks, usually located some distance from the central city. They are not easily accessible to minority people who are thus discouraged from applying for jobs in which commuting costs are high. Businessmen, often eager and willing to comply with national fair employment requirements, hesitate to risk offending the local white community by breaking the traditional pattern of segregated housing.

Study Predicts Color Patterns

According to a recent monograph prepared for the University of California's Institute of Governmental Studies, San Francisco, Oakland, and Berkeley are likely to be about 45 per cent non-white by 1980, and the prediction is that the disparity between the employment pattern and the housing pattern will become more pronounced. Thus by 1980 the three cities will have only a quarter of the employment in the region.

AFSC workers will visit business and industrial leaders and real estate agencies to discuss the residential problems of minorities and offer them the benefits of Committee experience in housing programs elsewhere . They will attempt to involve whole communities in cooperative efforts to supply adequate housing and ensure open-housing patterns. Business firms—which in many cases hold mortgages on the properties of their relocated personnel—will be shown where they can use their influence on local real estate practices and help to solve what is now one of their stickiest employment problems.

IN YOUR ATTIC

Have you any photographs or mementos of earlier days in the field with the American Friends Service Committee? Any country, at home or abroad, in any year from 1917 to 1965. If you have, would you contribute them to our archives?

Write: Grace Perkinson
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
160 North 15th St., Phila., Pa. 19102

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

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LET'S BE human

by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 EAST 56 STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y. • PLAZA 1-4000

JUNE-JULY 1965

This issue of the Let's Be Human column is the combined June-July 1965 issue. You may use it all at once, or divide it for use in two monthly installments.

Have a nice summer.

CONFORMITY

"In our country we have those three unspeakably precious things: freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, and the prudence never to practice either." -- Mark Twain.

MOVING TO THE CITY

"Often removing screens, they sit half-dressed where it is cooler, and dispose of garbage the quickest way... When it comes to sex, their habits -- with respect to such matters as incest and statutory rape -- are clearly at variance with urban legal requirements."

Who are these big-city migrants, described in Clarence Senior's brilliant book, The Puerto Ricans: Strangers -- Then Neighbors (Quadrangle, $3.50)? They are descendants of those Thomas Jefferson called "the chosen people of God, if ever He had a chosen people," and the purest "Nordics" in the United States -- the white, Protestant, individualistic Southern mountaineers in Chicago.

Their difficulties have nothing to do with color, creed, language or nationality -- matters we frequently refer to when talking of other migrants. Yet, much to the distress of thousands of other Southern-born whites who have migrated to Chicago, the latter find themselves judged by the deeds of a minority of their group in trouble with the police, schools or social agencies.

Similarly, notes Mr. Senior, every migrant group, including the Puerto Ricans and the Negro, encounters difficulty in integrating into our society. Only if we stop thinking in stereotypes about any group can we think about individuals who differ in many ways and should be judged on that basis.

Recently, a New York judge chastised a Puerto Rican mother for permitting her son to wear "those Puerto Rican" sideburns instead of a

-more-

One and two column mats available upon request. The column may be used with or without a credit line

"decent" American haircut. Sobbing, the mother explained that the boy had always cut his hair short in Puerto Rico, but that since the American boys admired Elvis Presley she could not keep her son from imitating the native-born youths.

NO MAN IS AN ISLAND

"If there had been a broader understanding of the uses of nonviolent direct action in Germany when Hitler was rising and consolidating his power, the brutal extermination of six million Jews and millions of other war dead might have been averted and Germany might never have become totalitarian. If Protestants and Catholics had engaged in nonviolent direct action and had made the oppression of Jews their very own oppression and had come into the streets beside the Jew to scrub the sidewalks, and had Gentiles worn the stigmatizing yellow arm bands by the millions, a unique form of mass resistance to the Nazis might have developed. I am fully aware of the terror, the intimidation, the brutality and the force the Fascists were so quick to use but I am also aware that in the South today some racists of the same mentality have been curbed in their resistance to nonviolent action when practiced on a mass scale."

-- Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. in a speech to the American Jewish Committee.

GOOD NEWS

At the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. in Winston-Salem, N.C., a Negro woman is a foreman for 11 machines manned by white and Negro workers. On the crew she supervises, whites outnumber Negroes by more than two to one.

Spiegel, Inc., a Chicago mail order house, started hiring and promoting Negroes in 1946. Last Christmas time, as the company hired 8,500 men and women for the season, it had a unique complaint about the scarcity of help. A Spiegel official opined, "With more firms doing non-discriminatory hiring this year, a company like ours which has used fair employment for 20 years has a more difficult time hiring Negroes. We have a little more competition."

Metal Trades Councils, which bargain for 20 affiliated craft unions, have cooperated in opening up job promotion, transfer, and apprenticeship opportunities in the shipbuilding and petrochemical industries in Louisiana and Mississippi.

Mergers of segregated union locals have occurred in many cities, including the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers in Atlanta, Ga.; the Chemical Workers in Brunswick, Ga.; the Aluminum Workers in Sheffield, Ala.; the Machinists in Norfolk, Va.; the Iron Workers and Painters in Charleston, S. C.

In Pascagoula, Miss., the Ingalls Shipbuilding Corp. added 18 Negroes as work leadermen and supervisors.

In Atlanta, Negro sales clerks are employed at Rich's and Davison's, two of the largest department stores in the South.

These are only a small sample of the hundreds of examples of fair practices by employers and unions reported in a valuable new pamphlet,

"Fair Employment Is Good Business," just published by the Potomac Institute, Inc., 1501 18th Street, N.W., Washington 36, D. C. (Available free in small quantities.) Spreading this good news can help spread fair employment.

IMPOSSIBLE THINGS?

If you think children's books are for children, I suggest you take another look at Lewis Carroll's "Through The Looking Glass." In that book, Alice responds to one of the White Queen's improbable remarks with, "I can't believe that!" -- only to find herself an object of pity and concern.

"Can't you?" says the Queen. "Try again: draw a long breath and shut your eyes."

This made no sense to Alice. "There's no use trying," she says. "One can't believe impossible things."

"I daresay you haven't had much practice," the Queen responds. "Why sometimes I've believed in as many as six impossible things before breakfast."

Children's book? Both the John Birch Society and the Communists have been acting like the White Queen for years.

STRANGER THAN FICTION

In 1833, a white man, Richard Harper, was charged with vagrancy in Chicago, put in jail and ordered to be sold at auction to pay for his jail board and keep. When he was placed on the block in front of the log jail, nobody would bid for him. Finally the town crier, George White, bid 25 cents and received possession of the prisoner, whom he immediately freed. George White was a Negro.

Nine years later, reports Marion Neville in the Butcher Workman, a Negro freeman, Edwin Heathcock, offended his employer, who had Heathcock arrested on the grounds that he had no "free papers." Heathcock was put up for auction by Sheriff Lowe who told the crowd:

"Gentlemen, this is not a pleasant job. Don't blame me, but the law. I am required by the law to do it. If I cannot get any bids for this man I must return him to jail and continue the sale at another time."

Finally a voice in the crowd spoke up. "I bid 25 cents." It was the voice of Mahlon D. Ogden, one of Chicago's prominent citizens. No other bid was heard. Mr. Ogden handed a quarter to the sheriff and called the Negro to him. "Edwin Heathcock," he said, "I have bought you; you are my man -- my slave! Now, then, go where you please! You are free!"

Those were the first and last times a man was offered for sale in Chicago.

INSULTS

Invective comes so easily to most of us that one would think a book of insults would be superfluous. But along comes 2000 Insults For All Occasions, compiled by Louis A. Safian (Citadel, $4) and I discover

that it's useful. What could be more apt, in dealing with extremists, than these:

"He goes through life with morose-colored glasses."
"He's always building dungeons in the air."
"He's a mountain-climber over molehills."

ETHICS

"How should people treat each other?" asks Algernon D. Black in The First Book of Ethics (Franklin Watts, Inc., $2.65). "How can we get people to be fair to each other? How can we tell what is right and what is wrong?"

Using examples from history, anthropology, and the various religions of the world, Black helps young people find answers to guide the choices they must make in life. One chapter, for instance, deals with minus, zero and plus ethics. "Minus" ethics are the "you shall nots" such as "you shall not kill," "you shall not steal," and "you shall not bear false witness."

The "zero" ethics refer to just "not doing bad." At the end of a person's life, suggests Black, his epitaph might read:

"He never did anything wrong. He never killed anyone or robbed or cheated anyone. He never broke the laws. He had no enemies."

But, asks Black, "did he ever do anything good?"

"Plus" ethics, enshrined in almost all religions, demand positive action for good. "Seek justice, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow," said Isaiah in the Old Testament. Added Jesus in the New Testament: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Mr. Black poses three basic challenges all people must answer:

How to get the people of the world to stop killing each other in wars, and make peace; how to get the people of the world to guarantee one another's freedom, and assure equal rights and opportunities for all; and how to arrange so that people can share the abundance of nature and of man-made productivity. He can't answer all his questions but he helps us seek the answers ourselves. It's a great book.

QUOTE OF THE MONTH

"Extreme Rightists and extreme Leftists ought not to be taken out by us and shot against the wall, for they sharpen the argument, and make us realize the value of the democratic middle course -- especially if that middle course, in order to keep up with the times, is, and I quote what I said before, 'just a little bit left of center.'"
-- from Memorable Quotations of Franklin D. Roosevelt, compiled by E. Taylor Parks and Lois F. Parks (Crowell, $6.95)

OPENING THE GATES

Negroes have frequently been kept from promotional opportunities in oil and chemical plants because a high school diploma and tough tests have been prerequisites for all but the lowest level jobs. Now Shell Oil and Local 4-367 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers have developed a special program to expand job opportunities at the company's Houston refinery and chemical plant.

Shell and the union asked the University of Houston to find the minimum educational levels needed to perform specific jobs safely and efficiently. Tests were prepared geared to the actual reading, writing and arithmetic required for these jobs. As a result, 33 employees, including 31 Negroes, have qualified for jobs previously closed to them because of lack of formal qualifications.

LIR, LPK, LNP, CCD, MMCCD, ILG, LPKE, LBH

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File

LAWYERS' COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS UNDER LAW

REPORT ON THE COMMITTEE OFFICE IN THE SOUTH

June 2 - August 6, 1965

Berl I. Bernhard
Executive Director

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REPORT ON THE LEGAL AID OFFICE IN THE SOUTH

June 2 through August 6, 1965

I. INTRODUCTION

On January 27th of this year the Board of Directors of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law approved the establishment of an office in the south. Its purpose was to place the organized bar directly and visibly into the effort to protect Constitutional rights through the use of the legal process and to assure that no accused person lacked adequate counsel, however indigent he might be and however unpopular his cause. Jackson, Mississippi was chosen as a site that could serve, not only as the center of Committee activities in Mississippi, but in the other states of the Deep South.

In the intervening months the plan of last January has been transformed into a reality.

In February an active program of recruitment of volunteer lawyers was initiated. A notice of the Lawyers' Committee's plan was published in over 400 periodicals. By April almost 100 volunteers had completed application forms and indicated their willingness to serve without compensation for no less than one month. After initial screening and evaluation of the application forms, those with litigating experience or other qualifications which would be needed particularly were interviewed by members of the Committee in various states. Those ultimately selected were required to attend a training session at Airlie, Virginia, which was run in coordination with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund on April 22 through April 25. A second training session was held at Airlie on July 7 through July 10. Thus to cover the months of June through October 1965, some 45 volunteer lawyers have been selected, trained and scheduled for participation. Through the second week in August the following volunteers have served or are serving in the Jackson office:

Miss Muriel Bell
Lord, Day & Lord
25 Broadway
New York, New York 10004

Henry S. Broad
Smith, Stratton, Wise & Heher
One Palmer Square
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Benjamin W. Boley
Shea & Gardner
734 - 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Garrett M. Byrne
3000 Connecticut Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Clifford N. Carlsen, Jr.
King, Miller, Anderson, Nash
& Yerke
1200 American Bank Building
Portland, Oregon

James T. Danaher
Danaher, Fletcher & Gunn
2390 El Camino Real
Palo Alto, California

Melvin D. Freidel
90 East Main Street
Bay Shore, New York 11707

Robert Kent Greenawalt
Agency for International Development
New State Department Building
22nd & C Streets, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Peter R. Haje
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton
& Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Joseph B. Harvey
Assistant Executive Secretary
California Law Revision Commission
Room 30, Crothers Hall
Stanford University
Stanford, California 94305

Professor John O. Honnold
University of Pennsylvania
School of Law
3400 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

Hugh Latimer
Bergson & Borkland
888 Seventeenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Robert P. Levine
Levine & Frost
32 Broadway
New York, New York 10004

William B. McHenry
General Counsel
Reader's Digest Assn., Inc.
200 Park Avenue
New York, New York 20017

Morey M. Myers
Gelb, Carey & Myers
Scranton Life Building
Scranton, Pennsylvania 18503

Michael J. Silverberg
Phillips, Nizer, Benjamin, Krim
& Ballon
1501 Broadway
New York, New York 10036

Professor James E. Starrs
George Washington University
School of Law
720 - 20th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Leonard Ware
Adams, Freidenrich & Ware
627 University Avenue
Palo Alto, California

Stephen F. Williams
Debevoise, Plimpton, Lyons
& Gates
320 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

The Committee's program was to be coordinated formally with that of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, not only in the training stage but, more important, in Mississippi itself. Berl I. Bernhard, Executive Director and John H. Doyle, III, Assistant Executive Director went to Mississippi in May to work out plans not simply to establish an office but also to meet with various civil rights leaders about the project. A complete law library was brought together to be open, on an orderly basis, to all attor neys working in civil rights. The office address 233 North Farish Street, Jackson, Mississippi.

The Committee was successful in raising $130,000 from four foundations and some $52,000 from Lawyers, businessmen and other individuals interested in the overall Committee program. Outside of capital expenditures the cost of operations per month is approximately $12,500.

The office itself opened formally on June 2, 1965. John H. Doyle, III, on leave from the firm of Patterson, Belknap & Webb in New York City, has served from the beginning as the continuing office manager although during the first month Professor John Honnold of the University of Pennsylvania Law School acted as Chief Counsel. The Committee has been fortunate in securing as its Chief Counsel for the next year Richard E. Tuttle, Esquire, previously Chief Counsel of the California Public Utilities Commission. John Doyle will continue to serve as Assistant Chief Counsel. The Committee has become aware that its potential greatest service will be in the area of affirmative suits. This means that reliance must be placed on full-time people to a greater extent than had been anticipated. As a result we have determined to put on the staff a young lawyer who will help provide this necessary continuity. It is believed that between five and eight volunteers a month in the Jackson office will suffice although demands on the Committee to provide counsel in Selma and Greensboro, Alabama and Americus, Georgia, may increase the need for volunteers.

In the two months that the legal aid office has been open, legal assistance has been furnished to more than twelve hundred persons who would otherwise have lacked representation; limited improvements have been stimulated in the local administration of justice; and significant victories have been achieved in the courts.

The Committee has found a genuine need for its office in the South. Its most effective role appears to be not simply furnishing counsel in criminal defense matters but striking at the underlying causes which give rise to the arrests. While the Committee plans to continue its defensive work it will press affirmative projects which seek prison reform, correction of the bail bond situation which at present does not function in civil rights

cases, reduction of harrassment by the police of civil rights workers and an end to discrimination in the provision of public services and facilities. In all these matters, assistance of local counsel will be sought.

Laying the Foundation

To attain goals the Committee set for its Jackson operation it was necessary from the outset to secure the confidence and cooperation of two rather diverse groups -- the local bar and the local civil rights organizations. This was a difficult and delicate task since these groups view each other with considerable suspicion and were, therefore, potentially apprehensive about the seeming paradox of the Lawyers' Committee attempting to serve two masters.

The Committee proceeded upon the basis that its cardinal objective -- afuller realization of the obligations of the legal profession -- was a common goal of both the local bar and the civil rights groups and that to the extent the Committee achieved this it would serve the higher aims of each and would deserve the support of all.

The assistance of the local bar was needed not only to enable the Committee to operate fully but also to make possible its ultimate goal of so encouraging the participation of local lawyers that its project would one day cease to be necessary. And the full confidence of the Civil rights groups was obviously essential since these groups enjoy the allegiance of the very people to whom the Committee wished to extend legal aid, and because it shared with them common legal objectives that could best be realized by working together.

From the earliest beginnings, Committee Co-Chairmen Harrison Tweed and Bernard Segal sought and achieved a working relationship with the Leaders of the Mississippi Bar. As a result, in July 1964, the Mississippi State Bar adopted a resolution affirming the obligation of attorneys to accept unpopular cases and authorizing a liaison committee to implement the resolution. In May 1965, the Board of Commissioners of the Mississippi State Bar adopted a resolution extending to the Lawyers' Committee its cooperation, and shortly after the Committee's Jackson office opened, the outgoing and incoming Presidents of the Mississippi State Bar, Mr. Earl Thomas and Mr. Orma Smith, visited the office and established a working liaison system which continues to function on a daily basis.

This rapport has been translated into action on the local level which the Committee regards as having genuine significance. A year ago it was difficult to document instances where white Mississippi lawyers had

defended civil rights demonstrators or had taken part in any legal action with a civil rights connotation. But in the past two months examples of such representation can be cited.

In a similar vein, the Committee's Executive Director, Berl Bernhard, and the Assistant Director, John Doyle, moved promptly to establish working ties with the civil rights groups in Jackson, ties which are now bearing fruit in a number of cooperative enterprises, some of which will be cited in this report.

We believe there is basis for concluding that the Committee's effort to work harmoniously, within its chosen sphere, with the various groups involved has, as of this date, been justified by events and it is to be hoped has sown the seeds of an even more meaningful cooperation in the future.

II. THE JACKSON DEMONSTRATIONS

Shortly after the Committee opened its office in Jackson, the city became the scene of several attempted racial demonstrations which resulted in the arrest of about 1000 persons. Defense work in behalf of those arrested and appeals to the courts for injunctive relief absorbed the major part of our effort during the early weeks in Jackson.

On June 13 and 14, 1965, eight persons were arrested for distributing on the sidewalks of Jackson leaflets announcing a forthcoming series of demonstrations and urging the support of Negro citizens.

On June 14, the first demonstration took place. A group of more than 400 persons began walking quietly, two abreast, along the sidewalks of the Negro section of Jackson toward the State Capitol to protest legislative deliberations of a Special Session of the Mississippi Legislature on restrictive voting bills. Before the procession had left the confines of the Negro section, all demonstrators were arrested for "parading without a permit."

The identical pattern of "instant arrest" was followed throughout the next 10 days. By June 24, about 1000 persons had been arrested and confined, most of them charged with parading without a permit. The Committee immediately undertook a series of legal actions to secure the release and to assert the Constitutional rights of those arrested.

The adult demonstrators were generally placed under a bond of $100. Motions for a reduction of bail or release of the defendants on their own recognizance were unsuccessful. The prisoners were placed

in two large armory type buildings (commonly referred to as the "compound") located on the premises of the State Colliseum in Jackson. During a period of two weeks they were detained under primitive conditions, until their release was effected on cash bond supplied by an anonymous donor.

Larger problems remained. More than half of those arrested were juveniles. A Committee volunteer, Professor James Starrs of the George Washington University School of Law, undertook primary responsibility for their representation. A visit to the compound on the Fair Grounds where the juveniles were confined presented Professor Starrs with a delicate and complex task. More than 500 children, many of them from distant places in Mississippi, Tennessee and Alabama, and all of them separated from their parents and without transportation back home, were being held under conditions that threatened to endanger their physical and emotional well-being.

Some had been suffering from malnutrition before confinement; many others had been habitually underfed, and the scant fare provided day after day in the compound raised the need for instant action.

Starrs, Attorney James Danaher and other Committee attorneys quickly established a viable working accord with Juvenile Court Judge Carl Guernsey, who began holding court at the compound daily from nine a. m. to nine p. m. The Judge agreed to release the juveniles in the custody of their parents if they appeared contrite and if they were not found to be incorrigibly delinquent. Committee attorneys set about the task of rounding up parents from remote places and bringing them to the compound, and, where parents could not be located and brought to Jackson, of persuading the court to accept the presence of other relatives or interested neighbors in their stead.

It was the contention of the defense that the defendants had been arrested under invalid ordinances for the mere exercise of their rights. It became necessary to shape a dialogue between the court and the juveniles that would permit the latter to show to the judge a satisfactory degree of contrition without renouncing their right to take part in future demonstrations.

In the end, the Committee attorneys were successful. More than 500 juveniles were released without posting bond, most without having formal charges brought against them and even those having the charges against them wholly dismissed. Of all the juveniles arrested, only one was removed from his home and committed to an institutuion. Even in

this case, in which the accused had previously been found to be delinquent, the Committee was successful in obtaining his release from state custody. (See discussion of the James Lee Anderson case below, at Part III).

Appeal to the Fifth Circuit

While acting to secure the release of the Jackson demonstrators the Committee also sought injunctive action against the ordances cited in the arrests. One ordinance forbade marches of any kind without the prior approval of the Mayor; no qualifications or grounds for approval or disapproval were specified. The second ordinance forbade marches without the approval of the City Council and was equally vague. The third prohibited distribution of handbills and pamphlets on Jackson streets without prior approval of City Council. The hundreds of arrests made under these ordinances appeared to be in patent violation of the Constitution, and the Committee decided to test them in the courts.

Committee attorney John Honnold of the University of Pennsylvania Law School faculty, working in concert with Melvin Zarr of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, presented a petition for injunctive relief to the federal district court in Jackson on June 19, 1965. That court refused for a week to take any action on the petition and a motion was therefore filed in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on June 28. Attorneys Honnold and Zarr argued to the Fifth Circuit that the three ordinances were unconstitutional on their face as abridging free expression protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments and that as long as they remained in effect the people of Jackson would suffer irreparable destruction of their Constitutional rights of communication and free expression.

The Fifth Circuit promptly issued an order enjoining further enforcement of the three ordinances and further enjoining any arrests, prosecutions or other inteferences to stop persons from engaging in orderly marching for the purpose of communicating political and social opinion. The order was issued without a hearing, thus signifying the Court's recognition that fundamental First Amendment rights were being suppressed. It marked a turning point in the Jackson crisis by opening the public sidewalks to persons peacefully petitioning for the redress of grievances. This was the first instance in which the City of Jackson's policy of total suppression, initiated by the "freedom ride" arrests of 1961, was thwarted by court action maintained by private parties.

III. DEFENSE ACTIONS

While coping with the unusual litigation arising out of the demonstrations, Committee attorneys undertook a broad series of defense actions. The cases cited in this section are representative of the varied areas of defense work in which the Committee is engaged, but by no means exhaust the range or extent of Committee activity.

Juveniles in Jail

On the day after Committee lawyers obtained the release of a 15 year old girl held for parading without a permit, she was again arrested, this time for shoplifting. She was called before a youth court, and, out of the presence of her mother or an attorney, committed to Oakley Training School.

Upon learning of the commitment of his client, Attorney Starrs advised the court that he would take immediate appeal on the grounds that it was illegal to proceed in the absence of the child's attorney and mother, and illegal also to proceed without issuance of a petition and service of a summons. The Judge agreed to dismiss the commitment order and to hold a hearing on petition and summons. In the end, Starrs arranged with the court to have the child placed in a suitable foster home.

While these negotiations were taking place, Starrs' youthful client was being held in the county jail in Jackson. While visiting her there, he encountered a situation which he described to the Committee as involving "gross illegality and abominable inhumanity." He found that four other young girls were confined in the county jail awaiting the availability of space at the Oakley Training School, and that it was common practice to incarcerate youngsters in local jails for extensive periods averaging four months, before transporting them to Oakley.

One of the girls thus imprisoned was a malnourished 13 year old who had been adjudged a delinquent and committed to Oakley after having been found begging in the streets of a well-to-do neighborhood. She had been in jail for four months when Starrs happened upon her.

He protested to the court and its youth counsellor that it made a mockery of the protective theory of the juvenile court to commit a child to reform school after an informal hearing without recourse to legal counsel, and then to confine her in the county jail as a criminal for several months with no end in sight. The court agreed to obtain the release of all four of the girls forthwith.

In one sense, this was a victory, but in another it merely cloaked a continuing injustice. The county jail in Jackson, the State Capital, is reported to be a "sweat box" in which young children can be held without the opportunity to lie down and without any windows or other means of circulating the air. If these children can be thus detained in the largest city of the state for over four months, the plight of other children in the rural areas seems likely to be worse. This is a question to which Committee lawyers are now addressing themselves. Our lawyers contend that such children should not be treated as criminals and exposed to the demoralizing aspects of prison life.

James Lee Anderson

James Lee Anderson, 16 years old, was among the juveniles arrested during the first day of demonstrations in Jackson. Over Starrs' objection, the Youth Court Judge committed him to Oakley Training School as a delinquent. The commitment was grounded primarily on what was described to Anderson as "another violation of the law". Starrs and Kent Greenawalt filed an appeal to the Chancery Court, which was forestalled by its refusal to entertain the appeal as a pauper. Because the state remedies had been clearly exhausted, the Committee filed a petition for a writ of habeas corpus in the Federal District Court. The petition alleged the following three grounds in support of its prayer for immediate release of An derson: (1) A juvenile cannot be declared delinquent and committed to a reformatory for engaging in peaceful constitutionally-protected activities; (2) A commitment to a segregated reformatory conflicts with equal protection of the laws; (3) A system that prohibits an indigent juvenile from prosecuting a meritorious appeal but allows a juvenile with money to do so violates guarantees of due process and equal protection of the laws.

Immediately upon receiving service of Anderson's petition, State Assistant Attorney General Will Wells advised Doyle that Judge Guernsey would vacate his prior order denying an appeal to the Chancery Court as a pauper and issue an amended order allowing such appeal. Judge Guernsey promptly issued such an order and Anderson was immediately released. Further, Will Wells has advised Doyle and Judge Cox that no further proceedings will be taken in Anderson's case until the validity of the Jackson parading ordinance is adjudicated in Federal Court. As Anderson has no criminal conviction as a result of the demonstration and will be free from further proceedings if the statutes are declared unconstitutional, the Committee believes his rights have been effectively preserved. As a result, the Committee entered into a voluntary stipulation of dismissal, without prejudice, with respect to the petition for habeas corpus.

The Echoles Case

In August, 1964 Mr. Samuel Echoles, a forty-four year old Negro sharecropper from Sardis, Mississippi attempted to register as a voter in Panola County. Shortly afterwards, he was arrested on a charge of perjury, allegedly committed in filling out his registration form. The occasion for the arrest was a section on the registration form requiring the citing of any previous criminal record.

Echoles had once been convicted for "the possession of liquor." Not understanding the full import of the question on the registration form, unfamiliar with the concept of perjury, and unaware that he was taking an oath when he signed his voting application form, Echoles neglected to list his arrest for possessing liquor.

He was then suddenly confronted with his offense and solemnly informed by the Sheriff, the District Attorney and other officials that he would be given ten years in prison if he requested a lawyer, but would be "let off" with a three year sentence, 18 months suspended, if he declined counsel and pleaded guilty. Stunned by the sudden turn of events and denied legal advice of any kind, he agreed to plead guilty and was sentenced -- according to promise -- to three years in prison with 18 months suspended.

The Lawyers' Committee was informed of this matter by Assistant Attorney General John Doar and took immediate action. John Bodner, a Washington attorney serving as a volunteer for the Committee, filed a petition for a writ of error coram nobis in the Circuit Court of Panola County in November. After a full day's hearing the petition was denied. An appeal was immediately filed to the Mississippi Supreme Court. Despite repeated interventions by counsel, more than two months elapsed before the record was typed in transcript form by the court reporter. Upon completion of the record, Bodner filed a motion in the Mississippi Supreme Court requesting that the appeal be advanced on the calendar to permit arguments before the end of May, when the court recesses, and as an alternative asking that Echoles be released on bail pending determination of his appeal. This motion was denied by the Mississippi Supreme Court.

Bodner then prepared a petition for a writ of habeas corpus to be filed in the federal district court. On July 12, 1965 10 months after Echoles was imprisoned, the district court found that his rights would not be preserved unless he were afforded release on bail pending disposition of the state proceedings. The court issued an order freeing Echoles on $1,000 bond, and the Committee's lawyers were successful in obtaining the

bond. They are now preparing for further court action to free Echoles from the charges against him. This was among the few instances in which local bail bond companies have provided bond in civil rights cases.

Hardy Frye and Kenneth Scudder, Holly Springs, Marshall County

Two civil rights workers, one white and one Negro, were charged with trespass, disorderly conduct and threatening to do bodily harm in connection with an attempt to obtain service at an ice cream stand. The ice cream stand, located on an interstate highway, ordinarily serves Negroes but refused service to a mixed group of whites and Negroes on the grounds that they are civil rights workers. When the workers insisted on service the owner took out a gun and threatened them. He also assaulted Kenneth Scudder, white, who resisted the assault and stated that he would defend himself if attacked again. A policeman was called to the scene who served a warrant upon Scudder and also upon Frye, a Negro, requiring their appearance in the Municipal Court of Holly Springs on Monday, June 14.

Committee attorney Michael Silverberg obtained retainers from Scudder and Frye and then filed removal peitions with the federal district court. While serving the mayor and county attorney with notice of removal, Silverberg was informed by both that they did not intend to press the prosecutions. In the several weeks that have passed since then, no action has been taken by prosecuting officials.

Mrs. Marie Tucker, Batesville, Panola County

Mrs. Tucker is married to a sharecropper who works on a plantation near Batesville. As a result of marital difficulties, she left her husband in early June when the plantation crop was being harvested. Apparently at the instigation of their landlord, she was arrested for desertion of her children, a Mississippi felony. The motivation appears to be an attempt to force Mrs. Tucker to return to the plantation to work. Committee attorney James Danaher went to Batesville and arranged for bond to be set. The case has been set over to the October term of circuit court. Both the City Attorney and the landlord have suggested that the charges would be dropped if Mrs. Tucker returned to the plantation, but she is unwilling to accept that condition.

The Committee is continuing to oversee the status of this case and will refer it to a member of the local bar.

Sammie Lee McGee, Florence, Rankin County

On the evening of May 19, Mr. McGee was reportedly arrested on charges of trespass and "peeping tom" acts. The facts alleged are that he was beaten by a sheriff at the time of arrest and was further beaten at the courthouse and then put into a cell, where he was kept for two weeks without medical attention. He was then sent to the Whitfield State Hospital, where he was held for another week and then discharged.

Throughout this entire period he was kept incommunicado, although his parents made several attempts to visit him and inquired of the sheriff as to the availability of bond.

Committee lawyers went to Brandon in an attempt to discover whether charges were pending against McGee, as well as to collect evidence for a proposed action for civil damages against police officials under Sec. 1983 of Title 42, U.S.C.A. Assurances were received from Sheriff "Red" Shivers that no charges were pending and a search of the circuit court docket revealed no indictment against McGee. A prisoner who had been with McGee and witnessed his post-beating condition was interviewed. His statements confirmed McGee's allegations of police brutality and a tentative identification of the offending officer was made.

Approximately two weeks thereafter, members of McGee's family advised us that the Jackson police were seeking to arrest McGee, who has temporarily left the State. A further inquiry of Sheriff Shivers revealed that the Grand Jury has rendered an indictment against him for the original allegation of "peeping tom." The Committee has notified McGee's family of the pending charge and advised them that, if McGee re-enters Mississippi, he should be sent immediately to the Committee office for surrender to police officials in the company of his attorneys. The Committee will represent McGee upon his return.

Lewis Davis, Edwards County

Davis, a 54-year old Negro, was convicted of possession of whiskey, assault upon a police officer, reckless driving and resisting arrest. He requested counsel at his trial before a Justice of the Peace, but his request was not entertained. Davis was sentenced to 15 months and fined the sum of $1,447 (to be worked off at $3.00 per day). Committee attorney Robert Levine, at the request of Charles Evers, Field Secretary of the Mississippi NAACP, visited Davis at the Hinds County Farm, and the above facts were verified. Levine has written to Davis' brother in Flora for additional information and will continue to investigate.

Referral of this case to a local member of the bar is contemplated after completion of the initial stage of investigation.

A Pattern of Alleged Traffic Violations

Officials of the Child Development Group of Mississippi, an organization administering more than 65 Federally-sponsored "Operation Head Start" programs throughout the State, have been confronted with a rash of alleged traffic violations.

In pursuance of its policy to prevent the harrassment of civil rights workers through traffic arrests, Committee attorney Levine represented L. S. Climmons of Edwards County, Mississippi and Reverend Rims Barber, of Flora, Mississippi, in trials concerning petty traffic offenses. Mr. Levine urged the court to use its good offices to prevent further harrassment of staff members of the Child Development Group, and Gordon Wilcox, legal coordinator of the group, has advised that harrassment has diminished to some degree since then.

In a similar case Mr. Aaron Henry, President of the State Conference of the NAACP, was charged with a parking violation in Clarksdale, where he was attending a civil rights meeting. His car had been parked properly at the curb but was moved to a no parking zone while he was at the meeting. Committee attorney Leonard Ware learned of the charge while visiting Henry to inform him of the Committee's program, and agreed to represent him.

After Ware entered the case, charges against Henry were dropped. Committee lawyers are now investigating a whole pattern of petty harrassment against Henry, consisting of a number of traffic and parking charges during the past several months.

General Comments on Defensive Cases

In addition to the cases mentioned above, the Committee has represented many other civil rights workers, or persons referred to us through civil rights organizations, in a variety of criminal cases. The Committee's experience has indicated that prior to the advent of out-of-state attorneys, the system of criminal justice in Mississippi was geared to the arrest and trial of persons without representation. Our experience has suggested that, while acquitals in the State courts of Negroes or persons connected

with civil rights activities can rarely be obtained, a diminution in the sentences imposed, and in the severity of charges presented, can often be effected. Since recent decisions of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals have not expanded the scope of Federal removal jurisdiction in criminal cases, to the extent hoped, it has been and will continue to be necessary to defend many criminal cases in the state courts.

Of course, as evidenced by the discussion in Part VI below, the most significant improvement in the administration of local justice will be achieved through the intervention of the local bar. Until such time as members of the local bar can be called upon as a matter of routine to handle such cases, the Committee will continue to follow its program of providing representation in the state courts.

IV. INVESTIGATIVE WORK

A considerable part of the Committee's effort is expended in the investigation of what appear to be miscarriages of justice. Three representative instances are cited here.

Charles Martin, Clarksdale

Charles Martin is a Negro farmer working a small acreage in Clarksdale, Mississippi. In 1962 he borrowed $500 from a cotton firm "to make a crop." He alleges that the $500 note was changed by forgery to $5,000 and points out that it is unimaginable that a person of his small acreage would borrow $5,000 "to make a crop" or that anyone would grant such a loan.

Martin was sued by the firm for the $5,000 in a criminal proceeding whereby his accusers were represented by the County Attorney, Thomas Pearson, a nephew of one of the plaintiffs.

Martin retained a Clarksdale lawyer and paid him a retainer. But when the case came to trial the lawyer refused to appear at court and never did appear. Judgment against Martin was granted in the sum of $7,000. Thereafter, through some proceeding which has yet to be made clear, all of the produce of the acreage farmed by Martin for the years 1962, and 1963 was taken by someone on behalf of the cotton firm. Part of this produce did not even belong to Martin, but belonged to his aunt. Martin estimates the value of the crop taken for each of the two years to be between $1,200 and $1,500 or a total of between $2,400 and $3,000 for the two years.

Martin subsequently paid another lawyer in Clarksdale a $25 retainer and reports that this lawyer got the judgment reduced to $5,080. In April of 1965 Martin, in desperation, wrote a letter to the Secretary of Agriculture explaining his plight. The Secretary's office referred the matter to the Committee.

At the present time Martin advises that he has until August 15, 1965 to pay the remaining amount of the judgment, $5,080 and has made arrangements through FHA to pay it off. He is sending all papers and data to the Committee's office in Jackson. Our attorneys have found this to be a highly sensitive matter involving the possibility of forgery, wrongful taking of property and the abandonment or other malpractice by a member of the local bar. When they have had the opportunity to digest the facts fully a decision will be made as to which course to pursue.

Arthur Roberts, Itta Bena, Leflore County

In the spring of 1965 Arthur Roberts, a 14 year old Negro boy, was committed to the County Farm for shoplifting, over his father's strenuous objections to the Youth Counsellor of Greenwood, Mississippi.

On June 28, the boy was shot and totally blinded by an armed Negro trustee who was supervising the work of Roberts and other prisoners. The occasion for the shooting was, apparently, that Roberts had refused to obey the orders of the trustee quickly enough. Committee attorneys Williams and Meyers made a fact-finding visit to Greenwood. They found the motivation of the shooting to be obscure. The shot was fired from about 60 feet away which excludes any suggestion of self-defense and there was no allegation that Roberts was trying to escape. Apparently, Roberts was a victim of a fit of temper on the part of an unstable prisoner who should not have been armed. The boy's father wishes to recover damages from the County for his son's injuries.

Mr. Roberts has informed the Committee that he does have a local attorney who might be able to represent him in the matter of his son's claim for damages. We have advised Mr. Roberts to consult with his attorney in Greenwood because, under the circumstances, it would appear improbable that anyone but a local member of the bar might recover substantial damages by litigation or settlement.

Oakley Training School

On July 8, 1965 James Starrs visited Oakley Training School together with Jane Gray and Florence Winston of the Committee office. Oakley Training

School is a Negro reformatory located in Raymond, Mississippi, Hinds County, to which delinquents are committed by the Youth Courts of the various counties of Mississippi. Mr. Starrs and Misses Winston and Gray conducted an inspection of the school, interviewing several officials. The condition of the school was found to be shockingly primitive. Classrooms are poorly equipped and there is no working library. No vocational or technical educational facilities are provided for boys, and home economics teaching facilities for girls are pitifully inadequate. There appeared to be little attempt at providing rehabilitation or psychological help for the delinquents.

A reformatory for white delinquents is located at Columbia in Marion County. This institution accommodates approximately one-third the number of delinquents held at Oakley and is reported to have far better training and recreational facilities. The Committee will continue its investigation by sending a team of lawyers to visit the Columbia school .

The Committee is contemplating possible methods of securing the desegregation of the training school facilities. The Committee has consulted with Judge Guernsey of Jackson and will continue to meet with other local officials in its endeavor to determine the appropriate legal steps.

V. AFFIRMATIVE ACTIONS

Another objective of Committee efforts is the redress, through positive legal action, of discriminatory abuses which are a source of much injustice and racial unrest.

Committee attorneys are now laying the groundwork in several counties for a series of affirmative court actions which could be basic to attaining equal application of the laws. With the active help of civil rights groups, information is being gathered and studied on a broad range of discriminatory allocations of public services and benefits.

Four basic types of complaints are being investigated:

(1) complaints of segregation in public buildings, schools, courthouses, penal institutions, etc.;

(2) complaints of segregation in public or federally-assisted hospitals;

(3) complaints of racial discrimination in the allocation of welfare payments; and

(4) complaints of discriminatory distribution of public services, such as libraries, roads, street lights, bus transportation, sewers and other public facilities and services.

While this investigatory work is being pursued, a legal task force at the University of Pennsylvania Law School is carrying out research projects and preparing memoranda for use in court actions to bring about the redress of unequal applications of public laws, public facilities and public funds. This effort will be a major facet of our work in the months to come.

Desegregation of Courtroom in Hattiesburg, Mississippi

On July 19, 1965 Committee attorneys Morey Myers and Stephen Williams entered the courtroom of the Police Justice Court of the City of Hattiesburg in the Hattiesburg City Hall on a defense case. A bi-racial group of civil rights workers from the Congress of Federated Organizations, followed Committee attorneys into the courtroom, in an orderly manner, and sat in its two sections. They were immediately informed by the Court that the courtroom was segregated and that whites were to sit on one side and Negroes on the other. When one of the COFO workers, Mary Louise Crosby, refused to move from her seat, she was arrested.

It was also noted that rest room facilities were segregated.

Committee attorneys informed the Court that unless these practices were stopped, they would file an injunction action in Federal Court. When the Court failed to act, such an injunction was filed immediately.

Federal district court Judge Cox set a hearing for July 24, but before the hearing could take place city officials held a meeting and voluntarily decided to desegregate the courtroom and its attendant facilities. A public statement was issued from the courtroom eliminating all segregation practices; and the prosecution of Mary Louise Crosby was dismissed.

In the face of this, on July 24, Judge Cox denied our application for a temporary restraining order and preliminary injunction on the grounds that the city officials had already announced the end of segregation and had substantiated their intention with affidavits of several city officials, including the Mayor. Judge Cox, however, has retained jurisdiction in the case and any further acts of non-compliance can be countered by renewing our motions for preliminary injunctive relief.

In a related move, on July 24, the public library system of Hattiesburg was also desegregated and made available to all on a non-discriminatory basis.

On July 27 Committee attorney William B. McHenry filed a suit in Philadelphia, Mississippi, following a two-week investigation of segregation practices in Neshoba County, to enjoin the maintenance of separate courtroom, rest room and water fountain facilities in the Neshoba County Courthouse.

Similar investigations are being undertaken in other counties, with the cooperation of civil rights groups to hasten the desegregation of all courtrooms and public buildings.

Postal Service in Philadelphia, Mississippi

In response to complaints from local residents that the city administration of Philadelphia and the United States Post Office Department have unduely delayed the extension of carrier delivery service to the Negro sections there, Committee attorney McHenry made an investigation. After finding that the complaints were justified he initiated a conference with the acting postmaster of Philadelphia, who gave satisfactory assurances that reasonable efforts were being made, both by the city and the Post Office, to complete the extension of delivery service at the earliest possible date. The complainants were satisfied with this assurance. It was decided to withhold injunctive action for the present.

Segregation in Public Hospitals

The Committee office has determined to move against segregated facilities in publicly operated or financed hospitals. A possible test case is the Holmes County Community Hospital in Lexington, Mississippi, constructed under the Hill-Burton Act.

Committee attorneys Stephen Williams and Kent Greenawalt, working in conjunction with representatives of the Medical Commission on Human Rights, conducted an investigation in July 1965. Their report indicated a clear pattern of de facto segregation involving separate entrances for Negroes and whites, segregated hospital rooms, segregated cafeterias, lounges and rest rooms for hospital employees, and a discriminatory wage and employment structure.

The Administrator of the Holmes County Hospital, C. D. "Buster" Read, acknowledged the de facto segregation cited but maintained that no Negro had ever attempted access to facilities or areas of the hospital traditionally reserved for whites and that no Negro would be refused if he did so.

Representatives of the Medical Commission on Human Rights intend to encourage Negroes to assert these rights. The help of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare will be sought to influence the hospital administration toward full desegregation. Committee attorneys will make periodic checks to determine that the hospital has complied with the assurances given by Mr. Read.

Unequal Distribution of Public Facilities

After preliminary investigations by attorneys Williams and Greenawalt throughout the month of July, the Committee has decided to make Tchula, Mississippi the site of a significant effort to bring about the equal distribution between white and Negro sections of sewers, roads, street lights and other public facilities.

That discrimination in the allocation of these services and facilities exists is not open to question. What is still in doubt is the proper method of seeking redress. In addition to continued investigatory work, the Committee is making a thorough study of all possible avenues of litigation and of ways to bring about compliance without litigation.

It will shortly be decided whether a mandatory injunction will be sought ordering the City of Tchula to provide equal public services to its Negro residents. If such action can be brought successfully, it will prove a landmark advance which will have application in hundreds of communities.

Positive actions of this type will constitute a major field of Committee effort.

Actions Under the Public Accommodations Section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act

The Committee has filed actions against five restaurants in the City of Meridian and five restaurants in the City of Canton. Attorneys for the Meridian restaurants are engaging in a series of dilatory motions seeking to protract the litigation. The Committee is taking all available steps to bring this litigation to a prompt disposition and has reason to believe that Judge Cox will encourage an expeditious prosecution of this action.

On August 4th, the Committee was advised that two defendant restaurants in Canton have agreed to desegregate on August 10th, 1965. Attorneys for a third restaurant have advised that they will seek to arrange a meeting of counsel for all five defendants to seek voluntary compliance within the near future. Committee lawyers will participate in these negotiations with opposing counsel, to the end that compliance can be obtained without the necessity of further litigation.

Pleadings and affidavits have been completed with respect to a Title II suit to be filed in Clarksdale. Complaints have also been received of practices of segregation in several Jackson restaurants. Investigations of these complaints is proceeding.

VI OTHER FIELDS OF ACTIVITY

The Committee has initiated a wide range of activities not easily categorized.

The Committee's lawyers are assisting the Delta Ministry Project of the National Council of Churches, which is engaged in advising Negro workers in industries related to agriculture of their rights under the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act. It has already been determined that many Negroes who are entitled to the protection of this Act are not receiving it and the Committee has not only given legal advice to the Delta Ministry, but has offered its services in the filing of court actions.

* * *

The Committee is assisting the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. in its survey of discriminatory application of capital punishment statutes in several states.

* * *

Another phase of Committee work is its educational program to inform potential Negro voters of their rights under new state registration laws and under the new federal Voting Rights Bill. The Committee participates in such educational programs whenever requested to do so by interested groups in local communities.

VII OFFICE PROCEDURE

The management of the Mississippi office has been based upon the basic working principle that Committee lawyers should be available for field work in communities throughout the state to the extent consistent with proper organization and continuity in the Committee's Jackson office. Our experience has shown that at least one attorney must be present at all times in the Jackson office to assure proper communication. As the Committee lawyer working continuously in Jackson during the summer, Mr. Doyle has served as "house counsel" for this purpose.

Of primary importance has been the maintenance of a close working relationship with the civil rights movement of the state. Since the movement consists of a number of different organizations operating under markedly different philosophies and methods, the Committee has maintained total independence and has refrained from serving as retained counsel for any civil rights group as an organization. Committee relations with the NAACP state operations have been established by working closely with Charles Evers in Jackson and with Aaron Henry in Clarksdale. A satisfactory working relationship with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was reached on the occasion of the Jackson demonstration crisis in June and has continued subsequently. Similarly, Mr. Doyle has worked closely with Mr. Richard Jewett, who is in charge of the CORE program in the State of Mississippi.

Perhaps more important than through these organizational contacts, however, the Committee's primary access to the civil rights organizations as well as the Negro community has been through the efforts of its many volunteers who have worked in all areas of the state for the past 2-1/2 months. A recurring experience has been that of a Committee lawyer visiting a community to investigate a specific complaint and finding himself consulted by many members of the community on the various problems spanning the full range of the civil rights spectrum.

Our experience has shown clearly that, despite the organizational framework of civil rights activities and of the movement in Mississippi, the attorney-client relation ship in the civil rights area remains essentially a personal one. Civil rights project workers in various communities have shown a natural tendency to refer current matters to the same attorneys with whom they have previously worked. In all instances where Committee lawyers are working in the field, they have informed local members of the community of the nature and purposes of the Committee as well as of the personnel in its Jackson office. In this way, the continuity of the Committee's relationships has been satisfactorily preserved.

The Committee's formal coordinating arrangement with the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund has been an essential link between the Committee and the Negro community. Many of the initial cases on which the Committee has worked were referred to it by lawyers representing the Legal Defense Fund. A mutually constructive exchange of advice and assistance with respect to cases undertaken had been continued with the Legal Defense Fund throughout the course of the Committee's program.

Because of the administrative problems posed by the turnover of volunteer lawyers, all attorneys are instructed to maintain comprehensive and current case reports on all matters undertaken. At the end of each day, each attorney furnished to Mr. Doyle a written report on steps taken in connection with current litigation or investigations. Case files contain detailed notations of telephone conversations and other communications by Committee lawyers. As a result, the danger of discontinuity or confusion because of the changing office personnel has been kept to a reasonable minimum.

VIII. COOPERATION WITH THE LOCAL BAR

At the outset of its program the Committee met with the president and president-elect of the Mississippi State Bar Association to set up a routine working arrangement with the officers of that Bar. With the support of Earl T. Thomas, president, Orma R. Smith, president-elect appointed an attorney in Jackson to serve as liaison with the Committee on behalf of the State Bar Association. This attorney, George Hewes, is with the firm of Brunini, Everett, Grantham and Quin. Subsequently John Doyle and other Committee attorneys have met regularly with Mr. Hewes at luncheon conferences to advise him of the Committee's work.

At a recent meeting with John Doyle, Orma Smith proposed that a circular letter be distributed over his signature to the new slate of Bar Commissioners appointed under his presidency of the State Bar. A draft copy of the immediate report and of biographical information on the volunteer lawyers has been transmitted to Mr. Smith for his guidance in drafting the circular letter.

Contacts with the local bar have also been made by Committee lawyers in informal luncheon meetings. Recently, Mr. Doyle and three volunteer lawyers met with Mr. Sherwood Wise, a former president of the Mississippi State Bar, who has publicly announced his willingness to support and cooperate with the Committee in its Mississippi project.

As a result of that meeting, Mr. James Child, an attorney in Mr. Wise's firm has arranged for Mr. Doyle to address the Junior Bar Conference of the Mississippi State Bar Association at its meeting of September 3rd.

Two striking instances of fruitful cooperation with the local bar have taken place within recent weeks and are described below:

Prosecutions of Parents of Illegitimate Children

Section 2018.6 of the Mississippi Code provides that "if any person who shall have previously become the natural parent of an illegitimate child within or without this State, shall again become the natural parent of an illegitimate child born within this State, he or she shall be guilty of a misdemeanor. . . ." This crime is punishable by imprisonment in the county jail for not less than 30 nor more than 90 days or by a fine of not more than $250 or both. The statute was enacted in the spring of 1964 and took effect in March, 1965.

During the week of July 26, 1965, it came to the Committee's attention that 98 women residing in the area of Clarksdale, Mississippi had received letters from Thomas H. Pearson, County Attorney, requesting that they report to his office. The text of the letter was as follows:

> "Information has been received by this office indicating that you have given birth to an illegitimate child. I would like for you to come to my office so that we can discuss this matter."

In addition, one person received the following letter from Mr. Pearson:

> "Please make arrangements for the care of your children so that you can report for trial on the charge of having an illegitimate child on Monday, August 2nd, 1965. I will recommend to the court that you be sentenced to serve 30 days in the county jail, but the court has the power to sentence you up to 90 days in jail or a $250 fine.
>
> "I will expect to see you in my office on that morning."

At the request of Mr. Aaron Henry, Committee lawyers immediately went to Clarksdale to interview the women who had received the above letters. It was ascertained that a second woman had been informed verbally to appear at the office of the County Attorney on August 2, 1965, apparently for trial.

On July 31, 1965 the Committee filed a suit in federal court for an injunction against prosecution and further enforcement of this statute. A temporary restraining order was requested. On that same day, Mr. Doyle called a leading member of the Clarksdale Bar with whom officers of the Committee had exchanged communications prior to the opening of the project office. This attorney expressed the view to Mr. Doyle that the opinion of the majority of local members of the bar was that the statute in question was unconstitutional.

He referred Mr. Doyle to another member of the Clarksdale Bar who he felt would be in a position to take steps informally with a view to having the prosecutions dropped. Mr. Doyle contacted this lawyer who did persuade Mr. Pearson to forego prosecution. Mr. Pearson agreed to grant an indefinite continuance on the trial scheduled for Monday, August 2. Further, at the urging of the attorney acting at Mr. Doyle's request, Mr. Pearson wrote to Mr. Doyle under date of August 3, 1965, promising to forego any further steps to enforce the statute until an opinion on its constitutionality can be secured from the Attorney General of Mississippi. On the same day Mr. Pearson wrote to the Attorney General requesting such an opinion. Mr. Pearson's letter to Doyle further represented that, even if the Attorney General should certify that the statute is constitutional, Mr. Pearson will take no further steps until the Committee shall have the opportunity to present before Judge Clayton its motion for a temporary restraining order with respect to the prosecutions.

On August 4, 1965, the Committee learned that one of the three plaintiffs in the injunctive suit had been threatened with dismissal from her job at a local manufacturing company. Mr. Doyle then contacted the attorney with whom he had worked previously. This attorney contacted the employer of the plaintiff and obtained an explicit assurance that no recriminations or other displinary action would be taken against the employee because of her role as plaintiff in the injunctive suit.

In a number of other instances, Committee lawyers have had fruitful contacts with members of the local bar in connection with pending cases. At Mr. Doyle's request, Mr. Richard Allen, of Indianola (a member of the State Board of Bar Commissioners), intervened in an effort to persuade the mayor of Drew, Mississippi to permit a Committee attorney to represent a civil rights worker on a reckless driving charge. Although this effort was unsuccessful, the Committee believes it helped to create a favorable climate for the Committee's lawyers in that community.

Further, Mr. Doyle has called informally upon members of the Bar in several other communities for assistance and information with respect to cases pending. These inquiries and requests have been received cordially and cooperation has been extended.

✓PW

MEMORANDUM September 21, 1965

To: NAIRO Membership, and Friends

From: Mrs. Ruby Hurley, President
Atlanta Chapter, NAIRO

Re: INFORMAL SOCIAL MEETING
October 1, 1965, 8:00 P. M.

Out of the recommendations which developed at the last Atlanta Chapter meeting an informal social gathering has been planned for October 1, 1965 at 8:00 P. M. at the home of Mr. Clarence D. Coleman, 99 Burbank Drive, S. E.

As our first meeting for the fall it is designed to sharpen our chapters' activity in the field of Inter-group Relations and also to demonstrate a personal commitment for the philosophy of NAIRO. The meeting is particularly to determine what road NAIRO is to take. A lot of preliminary discussion has been held and the membership must decide the direction of the local NAIRO Chapter during the next year. Informal snacks and drinks will be served. Please be kind enough to let us know if you can come by calling Ken Crooks, 688-8778 before September 28, 1965.

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM

CITIZEN DIPLOMACY IN THE SOUTHEAST

A Regional Conference
November 11 and 12, 1965

Co-Sponsored by:
National Council for Community Services to International Visitors (COSERV)

and

Atlanta Committee for International Visitors
Huntsville Council for International Visitors
Council for International Visitors of Greater Miami
State Department Reception Center, Miami

Biltmore Hotel
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 11

9:30- 11am	Registration
11- Noon	Opening Session: Introduction to Conference
Noon-1pm	Buffet Luncheon: Introduction of Communities
1:15-2:45 pm	General Session: "Cross Cultural Communication" Speaker: Edmund S. Glenn, U.S. Department of State
2:45- 3:15 pm	Recess
3:15- 5 pm	Open Forum: Resource specialists on: Latin America, Asia, Africa, Middle East
5- 5:30 pm	Optional: Film "Friends at My Door" (AID)
7- 8 pm	Reception and Social Hour
8 pm	Conference Banquet Address by an authority in the field of International Exchange

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 12

9:15- 10:45 am General Session:
"MEETING THE PROGRAM NEEDS OF VISITORS"

Opening Statement: "Coordinating Services at the Community Level"
by Mr. John Reichard, Executive Director of the Philadelphia Center for International Visitors, and immediate past president of COSERV.

"The Role of the National Agency in Programming"
Discussion by representatives of the major agencies

10:45- 11 am Recess

11:15- 12:30 Open Forum
"The Volunteer as Interpreter of the American Scene.

1:00- 2:30 Closing Luncheon

"INTERPRETING THE CHANGING SOUTH"
Speaker to be announced.

THIS IS ONLY A PRELIMINARY FORM:
Do not remit registration fee at this time, but please return the following form by October 1 to:

Atlanta Committee for International Visitors
Biltmore Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia 30383

---

tear off here

ADVANCE REGISTRATION FORM

Please return this form before October 1st.

Name _____

Address _____ Telephone _____

_____

I plan to attend the COnference November 11 and 12 _____

File

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Ga.

SUMMER 1965 REPORT ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION DEVELOPMENTS

SCHOOL DISTRICT (Give full name)_____

Address of Superintendent's Office_____

NUMBER OF WHITE PUPILS IN DISTRICT_____ NUMBER OF NEGRO PUPILS_____

DOES THE DISTRICT HAVE A SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLAN?_____

Was it ordered by a Federal Court?_____ If so, when?_____

Was the plan submitted to the Office of Education in Washington?_____ When?_____

Has the plan been approved by Washington?_____ If so, when?_____

DESCRIPTION OF PLAN: (If possible, attach a copy of the plan.)

By what year will total desegregation be accomplished?_____

How many grades will be desegregated in 1965? Which grades?_____

Is this a zoning plan or a freedom of choice plan?_____

What arrangements are there for the registration of first graders and other new students?_____

_____

Are students in all grades permitted to transfer to get courses not offered in the segregated schools?_____

Are there provisions for the desegregation of buses?_____

Are there plans for teacher desegregation? Describe_____

_____

PUBLICITY GIVEN TO THE PLAN:

Were there notices in the newspaper?_____ If so, how often?_____

Did parents receive individual notices or letters about the plan and about the procedures for registration and transfer?_____

Did school officials meet with PTA and other groups to interpret the plan?_____

If possible, attach copies of notices published in the newspaper.

REGISTRATION, TRANSFER AND ASSIGNMENT PERIOD:

Give the dates:_____How much time was there between the notice in the newspaper and the transfer or registration period?

_____

Were there different dates for different grades?_____

_____

Were transfer forms easily available? Describe how transfer forms are secured and note whether there have been any problems._____

_____

_____

Was the transfer period held before the plan was approved by Washington?_____If so, was an additional transfer period scheduled?_____

HOW MANY NEGRO PUPILS APPLIED TO ENROLL IN FORMERLY ALL-WHITE SCHOOLS?_____

HOW MANY NEGRO PUPILS HAVE BEEN ASSIGNED TO FORMERLY ALL-WHITE SCHOOLS?_____

If possible, give number assigned to each desegregated grade_____

_____

In addition to the pupils assigned to the grades desegregated in the plan, were others assigned who had requested transfer to get special courses not available in the segregated schools?_____

WERE ANY WHITE PUPILS ASSIGNED TO FORMERLY ALL-NEGRO SCHOOLS?_____

WHAT ABOUT STUDENTS WHO APPLIED BUT WERE REJECTED:

What were the reasons given? (If possible attach a copy of a rejection letter.) _____

_____

Were they given another opportunity to choose a desegregated school?_____

Were they given a hearing by school officials?_____

HAVE ANY NEGRO TEACHERS LOST JOBS BECAUSE OF DESEGREGATION?_____

_____

HAS THERE BEEN ANY INTIMIDATION OR REPRISALS AGAINST NEGROES WHO SEEK A DESEGREGATED EDUCATION? Describe. Note particularly whether any teachers or other school board staff have tried to persuade Negroes not to attend formerly all-white schools. _____

_____

_____

_____

DO YOU KNOW OF EFFORTS ON THE PART OF LOCAL OFFICIALS TO PREPARE THE COMMUNITY FOR DESEGREGATION? _____

_____

DATE OF THE OPENING OF SCHOOL FOR THE 1965-1966 TERM _____

DO YOU ANTICIPATE ANY TROUBLE WHEN SCHOOLS OPEN? _____

_____

IS THERE A GROUP IN THE COMMUNITY WHICH HAS BEEN WORKING TO PROMOTE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION? Please give us the name of this group and the address of the key contact person. _____

_____

ARE THERE WHITE CITIZENS WHO ARE WORKING TO PROMOTE PEACEFUL SCHOOL DESEGREGATION? _____

HAVE CONCERNED CITIZENS WRITTEN TO THE U.S. COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION IN WASHINGTON TO GIVE HIM THEIR VIEWS OF THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLAN?

_____

HAS THE COMMUNITY BEEN VISITED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF ANY FEDERAL AGENCIES CONCERNED ABOUT SCHOOL DESEGREGATION DEVELOPMENTS: Community Relations Service, Office of Education, Department of Justice, etc.?

_____

_____

COMMENTS. We will welcome information about how citizens feel about the implementation of the desegregation plan.

DATE _____

Please give us your name and address so that we may keep in touch with you. Your name will not be used without your permission.

PELHAM COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RELATIONS

PELHAM, NEW YORK

File

Rec'd 3/2/66

January 10, 1966

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Dear Friend,

In recent weeks, some Pelham teachers, school board members and PTA officers have received a booklet called "How Classroom Desegregation Will Work," by Henry E. Garrett, Ph. D. Published by the Patrick Henry Press of Richmond, Virginia and mailed for obscure reasons from Washington, D. C. with no indication of the real sender, the booklet purports to give scientific backing to a thesis of innate Negro inferiority.

While we doubt many recipients of this anonymous gift have been taken in by its obvious racist message and its unscientific, out-of-context statistics, we thought you might be interested in some background information. Preliminary investigation reveals that Pelham is merely an incidental target, that an estimated 5,000 copies of the booklet have been received by educators in at least a dozen other Westchester communities, and that New Jersey, Pennsylvania and other Northern states are also being propagandized.

Garrett's booklet, already labeled by the respected National Education Association as a "racist pamphlet," contains its own clear warnings to the careful reader. For example, the introduction states in part: "The daily papers, the slick magazines and various books stridently proclaim the environment to be all important in Negro-white differences. But most of this 'evidence' isn't evidence at all, but is wishful thinking. Therefore, it is omitted in this booklet."

In those three brief sentences, Garrett dismisses the overwhelming majority of psychological, sociological and anthropological data -- the central core of current knowledge about race -- and proceeds to present what virtually all of the respected experts in these fields now accept as unscientific nonsense.

The Patrick Henry Press is an arm of the Patrick Henry Group, an extreme right-wing segregationist organization founded in 1961. Among its other publications are "Is the Supreme Court Pro-Communist?" by Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi and "Is the NAACP Subversive?" by Congressman E. C. Gathings of Arkansas. The titles and authors of these offerings are sufficient to describe their contents.

"...to promote better relations among members of all racial, religious, ethnic and cultural groups both within the community and seeking to enter it; to preserve and extend the civil rights and equal opportunities of all without regard to race, color or creed; and to combat all forms of discrimination based on race, religion or national origin — by education, study and action." *From the Preamble to the By-Laws.*

While the NAACP needs no defense from anyone, it is probably to the point to recall the response of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to a similar question about it: "Equality, freedom and tolerance are essential in a democratic government. The NAACP has done much to preserve these principles and to perpetuate the desires of our founding fathers."

The sponsors of the Patrick Henry Group have been clothed in anonymity, but in 1962 its chairman was revealed as T. Coleman Andrews. Andrews is a member of the National Council of the John Birch Society and was the 1956 third party Presidential candidate of the right-wing, segregationist States Rights Party.

Henry E. Garrett, author of "How Classroom Desegregation Will Work," is also the author of articles published and circulated by the (White) Citizens Councils of Mississippi. For a Deep South racist organization, Garrett must have been an important discovery, for he has a solid Northern academic pedigree. He began teaching at Columbia University in 1923 and retired in 1956 as head of the psychology department. These facts, of course, are duly noted in the racist booklet. What is omitted, however, is perhaps more important to an understanding of Garrett's views on race.

Garrett now lives in Charlottesville, Virginia, where he was born in 1894. He received his B. A. from Richmond University in 1915. From 1915 to 1917, he taught in a segregated Virginia high school. His racist views did not become widely known until after his retirement from Columbia at the age of 62. Then, just two years after the U. S. Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation decision, he assumed a visiting professorship in psychology at the University of Virginia just as the State of Virginia was mounting its campaign of "massive resistance" to the Court's orders. His subsequent scientific distortions of the facts of race have made him popular with many racist organizations.

Garrett was reported to be a member of a grant committee headed by Senator Eastland of Mississippi set up to disburse research grants to scholars willing to undertake to prove the genetic inferiority of Negroes. The money came from Col. Wycliffe Draper, an elderly and wealthy recluse with two such grant committees.

Garrett has been associated with the Association for the Preservation of Freedom of Choice, an organization that has opposed fair housing laws, public accomodation statutes and FEPC legislation in various states. Together with one Donald Swan, Garrett sought to incorporate the group in New York. Refusing to grant an incorporation certificate in 1959, New York Supreme Court Justice J. Irwin Shapiro said that the applicants "seek to foster racial and religious discrimination." Swan, incidentally, is a self-described "American Fascist."

Garrett's association with the (White) Citizens Councils continues. On January 7 and 8, 1966, the (White) Citizens Councils of America held its 11th annual Leadership Conference in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Garrett was a featured speaker.

As for the Patrick Henry Press, publisher of the booklet distributed in Pelham, it has not been possible to trace the source of the large amounts of money currently being spent to distribute its racist publications in Northern communities, though there are some clues. During the 1964 Congressional debate over the Civil Rights Act, the official State Sovereignty Commissions of several Southern states, financed by tax money, and led by the State of Mississippi, poured large sums into a lobbying group, the Co-ordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms (CCFAF). The CCFAF was dissolved after its unsuccessful campaign to defeat the much-needed legislation, but no accounting of large sums left over has been made public.

John J. Synon, who was executive director of the CCFAF and who lives in Richmond, Virginia, has written at least one pamphlet for the Patrick Henry Group, and there is speculation in informed circles that perhaps some of the CCFAF money has found its way into this effort to save segregation in the South by fostering segregation in the North.

We hope this information will be of interest and perhaps use to you and your colleagues in the Pelham schools. More detailed information on the current efforts to reestablish the respectability of racist claims of Negro inferiority and on the subject of racial differences is available from this organization in the form of two publications of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith: "Race and Intelligence," edited by Melvin M. Tumin, and "What We Know About Race," by Ashley Montagu, with a Teachers' Supplement.

The Pelham Committee on Human Relations stands ready at all times to provide accurate and complete information in the broad area of human relations to individuals and organizations in our community. Please let me know if you would like either or both of the above publications. We hope, too, that you will report incidents and problems in intergroup relations to us so that we may be of maximum effectiveness in making Pelham a better place for all to live.

Cordially yours,

William E. Peters Jr.

William E. Peters, Jr.
Chairman
44 Witherbee Avenue
Pelham, New York 10803

Janet Short

News Release
Civic Leaders of Southside Community

For Release Friday afternoon, January 13, 1966

WE THE UNDERSIGNED civic leaders of the Southside Community of the city of Atlanta, Fulton County, and the State of Georgia, do hereby endorse the undersigned resolution:

Whereas, on January 10, 1966, the duly elected representative of the 136th District was deprived of the right to be sworn in in the Georgia Legislature for exercising his Constitutional Right of freedom of speech which is guaranteed him in the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. We feel that Representative-elect Julian Bond should have been sworn in with the other 73 new members. We feel that the governor of the State of Georgia should use all the influence of his office to obtain the adjournment of the current session until the people have full representation of their choice, from their district.

We further resolve that all elected representatives of Fulton County who voted against the voters' decision of the 136th District, deprives them of their choice of representation in the Georgia Legislature.

We further resolve that we, the voters of Fulton County will take a keen look at all Fulton County Representatives who deprived the people of the 136th District of their choice of representation. We further resolve we are prepared for the coming September 1966 elections. We feel that the representative who was elected to represent all of the Fulton County districts, who voted against seating Julian Bond, did a disservice to the voters of the 136th District as well as the people of all the districts in Georgia.

Signed:

Benny T. Smith, Pres.
Metropolitan Atlanta Civic Council

William Merrits, Pres.
Joyland Civic League

Henry Phipps, Pres.
Peopletown Civic League

Asberry Fields, Pres.
Norwood Manor Civic League

Mr and Mrs Venos Robinson
Citizens of the 129th District

Marcells Thornton, Jr.
Candidate, City Executive Committee
South Atlanta Community

Deacon Lewis E. Peters
Mechanicsville Civic League

Louise Whatley
Candidate for City Alderman

Mary Watkins, Pres.
Capitol Avenue P-TA

Re. C.D. Colbert, Pres.
Georgia Avenue-Pryor Street
Civic League

Sarah Baker
Runner-up Candidate, 127th District

Edward Moody, Pres.
Pryor Street P-TA

Robert L. Barnes, Pres.
High Point Civic League

Rec'd 1/27/66

File

NEWSLETTER
SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401
(205) 758-2301

THIS IS THE SECOND NEWSLETTER for friends, project members and associate organizations. For those who did not receive the first letter here is a recapitulation of the Selma Inter-religious Project.

Many of the religious groups joining in the Selma to Montgomery March in April, 1965 united in a common program beginning in October 1965. The purpose is to continue the relationship established between these groups and the people in the Civil Rights Movement in Selma and the Black Belt, to bring resources to bear where needed, and to serve where-ever bridges are being established between whites and Negroes. While there are a dozen members, four major religious organztions act as sponsors:

THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTER-RACIAL JUSTICE
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST
THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
THE UNITARIAN-UNIVERSALIST ASSOCATION

***

MUCH OF MY TIME SINCE DECEMBER has been spent working with the Wilcox Co. S.C.L.C., Inc. The biggest problem was intimidation of registered voters. It was jointly decided that one way to stop intimidation would be to send updated, signed and witnessed accounts of intimidation to the Justice Dep't. We would demand that the Justice Dep't stop landowners and banks from interfering with persons attempting to excerise constitutional rights. We would demand an injunction to stop such persons immediately.

Everett Wenrick, an Episcopal seminary student, and I interviewed and recorded accounts from 25 families. These 25 cases were sent to the Justice Dep't through Mr. Charles Morgan, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union in Atlantia. Mr. Morgan added these cases to others he was reporting from the Black Belt. Sixty other cases were sent directly to the Justice Dep't by the Wilcox County S.C.L.C. , Inc.

Incentive was added to this as we read the Justice Dep't had done in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, just what we were asking in Wilcox. On Jan. 2, a man from Wilcox County and I were able to make these demands directly to Attorney General Katzenbach and his aides. We were allowed to meet with him a few moments when he came to Mobile to deliver a speech. He assured us investigating agents were already in the county. He reminded us of the West Feliciana case. During his speech the mention of agents in Wilcox drew applause.

So far there has been no federal action against this form of harassment in any Southern county except West Feliciana. Wilcox is not the only place or worst place where this is happening. An A.P. dispatch, dated Jan. 18, reports 2 0 Lowndes county citizens (not the Justice Dep't) have asked U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. to enjoin landowners in Lowndes from evicting sharecroppers because they registered to vote.

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SOME OF US HAVE BEGUN A "AMERICAN QUILTING BEE." We're looking for groups to sell the handmade quilts of the women in Wilcox County. A quarter of the price will go to the Wilcox Co. S.C.L.C., the rest, after expenses, to the maker of the quilt. The women we have approached, while eager to participate, can hardly believe anyone would pay good money for an object so utilitarian as "a regular old bed quilt." We hope to show these ladies that they have a beautiful and valuable product to offer. We need scraps. Interested? Write us please.

***

THERE ARE 21 PRECINCTS IN THE COUNTY. Negroes meet weekly on the precinct level in most of the 21 areas. These get-togethers are remarkable for their practicality and effective teaching techniques. They are dramatic meetings; so why not a place for drama that can relate these people to the rest of the world and expose them to Negro achievements? Mr. Cayle Patton, head of the Drama Dep't at Tuscaloosa's Stillman College has agreed to student performances at precinct meetings. We have been talking of doing parts of "In White America" and "Spoon River Anthology."

***

I'M TRYING FOR THE BIRMINGHAM ATTORNEY, Orzell Billingsely, to speak in the more isolated eastern part of the county. The people asked that he speak on the pros and cons of independent political parties in Alabama.

***

THROUGH A FRIEND in the American Friends Service Committee I was put in telephone contact with a worker in the Washington Office of Economic Opportunity. He is already assisting Lowndes Co. people to apply for a program under TITLE III. B. of the Anti-poverty Bill called self-help housing. He has sent us a stack of material. The program would help tenant farmers too poor to qualify for even the Lowest Farm Home Administration loans.

***

PERHAPS SELF-HELP HOUSING can become a component of a long term program now being applied for by the Wilcox S.C.L.C. It hopes to build 50 houses on land already owned and finance and operate a 600 acre co-op truck farm. This entails F.H.A. support and single purpose O.E.O. grants. I'm volunteering time now to assist in the research necessary to fill out applications.

***

SAMUEL YOUNGE was not known to me personally. The anguish of Jonathan Daniels death is not felt. So my feelings are like those of most white Americans. Younge in Tuskegee and Dahmer in Hattiesburg were as human as Viola Liuzzo and Daniels. But Younge's death is not big news in Alabama or the nation. My white friends around here aren't upset about it. The President has not said anything. It's different. Is it different because the papers are saying Younge's murder was not racial, just a personal affair between Younge and Mr. Segrest? No, the difference is deeper; after all the papers are printing the story we whites are begging them to print. Anyone in Tuskegee will tell you what really happened if you want to know. The difference is the difference: Younge and Dahmer were black, Liuzzo and Daniels were white. From the President down, down to local guardians of morality, down to you and me, its more acceptable to kill Negroes than whites.

Judge Johnson has ordered the Justice Dep't to be named as a party to the suit.

All our documentation, even our little interview with the Attorney General, has helped the 85 families not a whit. My own feeling now is that we could have better used our energies standing beside these people in some dramatic form of direct action. But the crisis is over, hindsight can not return to their homes those who have journeyed to already overburdened relatives in Chicago, Birmingham, Mobile, Atmore, and Pensacola.

The notices the tenant farmers received, usually by registered mail, may interest students of the Southern way of life. Here is a reconstruction with names changed.

Beauregard, Cathcart, and Mims, Inc.
Investments and Securities
Montgomery, Alabama

Willy:

Because of ill health I am turning my land over to another agent. You will move off by Jan. 15, 1966.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Addie Mae

Mr. Willy Hobbs has lived on Miss Addie Mae Carhcart's land about 25 years. He is 69 years old. Miss Cathcart is the same age. She lives in a big house in Montgomery. A few days later Mr. Hobbs receives this notice:

Camden Farmers and
Confed rate Bank
Camden, Alabama
December 29, 1965

Willy:

Your note for $3,106.00 is due in its entirety February 1, 1966. You must sell your two cows and pigs to pay this loan.

Mr. Charley Wallace
Loan Dep't.

Mr. Hobbs makes $400.00 a year. He pays what he can, about $150.00, on his loan every year. He has owned money to the bank as long as he can remember.

Last week I heard that Mr. Hobbs had been to the bank to inform them that he was moving to Birmingham to live with his eldest son. Mr. Charley Wallace told his friend "Uncle Billy" that since he was moving the bank would work something out about the loan. Mr. Hobbs youngest boy will move with him. He has been active in the Movement and is a member of the first common laborers union to establish a local in the county. Apparently, his removal to Birmingham is worth $3000.00

***

THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE EMERGENCY RELIEF. "Operation Freedom" run by the Rev'd Maurice McCrackin contributed food, clothing, and $1400.00 Part of this went to spring the only man jailed so far for non-payment of debts. A Negro church has bought land for one family. One newsletter reader has offered to send emergency food. Several families have been able to get F.H.A. or conventional loans to build on Negro owned property. It is significant that the mere report of federal investigators loose in Wilcox has made at least two landowners change their minds about evicting tenants. This demonstrates the practical and immediate effect an injunction would have. Injunction may yet come. But deleberate speed will not bring back the families, known and unknown, who have been driven away.

SOME OF US HAVE BEGUN A "Freedom Quilting Bee" We're looking for groups to sell the handmade quilts of the women in Wilcox County. A quarter of the price will go to the Wilcox Co. S.C.L.C., the rest, after expenses, to the maker of the quilt. The women we have approched, while eager to participate, can hardly believe anyone would pay good money for an object so utilitarian as "a regular old bed quilt." We hope to show these ladies that they have a beautiful and valuable product to offer. We need scraps. Interested ...

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***

THE SELMA FREE LIBRARY mailing address is Box 638 Selma. The shipping address 720 1st Avenue. Selma. The library is now equipped with book shelves built by local people. Local people are now serving as part time librarians, learning the trade. A Negro business club has volunteered to pay half the rent. But the staff of non-local volunteeres is still there. These young people live in voluntray poverty in the homes of Selma Negroes who appreciate what they have started. The staff still requests volunteers who can serve at least for a semester. Books are needed, and magazine subscriptions. Here's a list of topics and authors from which new or up to date books are needed: James Baldwin, Richard Wright, Dick Gregory, Langston Hughes: sports, practical nursing, math, physical education, high shhool physics and hygiene, and children's books that do not illustrate or portray only white people.

***

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA is still interviewing candidates for dean of its new~~est~~ school, a dep't of social work. The Director of Social Services at Bryce Hospital in Tuscaloosa will be in New York City the end of January interviewing. Anyone interesred in this vital post should write: Dr. Alex Pow, University, Alabama.

DIRECTOR OF THE ALABAMA COUNCIL OF HUMAN RELATIONS IS BEING SOUGHT. Usually clergymen have been hired. For more information write the Council at: 2809 Governers Drive S.W., Huntsville, Alabama (205) 539-4277.

***

WHAT ABOUT THE MARCH ON SEGREGATED JUSTICE? Last newsletter I said this would happen. It did not. President Johnson's promises were believed and the march idea dropped.

***

BETTY AND I are have a contract to buy the house in which we are living. We moved in upon applying to F.H.A. for approval fo the loan everybody assured us we were good for. We bought because of the low equity. The loan amount has now been rejected twice by F.H.A. I have reason to believe I've been rejected for other than the stated reasons. Maybe not, paranoia is an occupational hazard for such as us. Anyway we have appealed to the Atlanta office of F.H.A.

***

Note on item below, Expressions of sympathy may be sent to Mrs. David Colston Camden Academy Camden, Ala. Letters of encouragement, much needed, to Rev'd Dan Harrell Box 513 Camden, Alabama.

***

Rec'd 3/7/66 File

POOR PEOPLES FUND
Post Office Box 1001
Greenville, Mississippi

WHY WE ARE SENDING YOU THIS BROCHURE

A three-day planning session at Mount Beulah on January 28th gave birth to the Poor Peoples Fund. We are people who need food, land and jobs right now. We took action by going to live at the abandoned Greenville Air Force Base. After we were evicted from the base, we decided we needed land of our own.

Ten families are now living at Mount Beulah, a former school campus in Edwards, Mississippi which is leased by the Delta Ministry. We are buying land -- land for all the poor people who want to join us. Until we move onto our own land, the Delta Ministry has opened its facilities at Mount Beulah, free of charge, to house and feed those who want to come and permanently join the Poor Peoples Fund.

The group divided into committees. Most of the men are on the land committee. The women share various housekeeping jobs. There are classes for the children, a sewing center and a woodworking shop. Additional programs are being planned, for example, a ceramics workshop. Every adult is expected to work in one of the programs.

When new families are recruited, they will come to Mount Beulah. The men will work on our land to make it livable. Until that is done, the women and children will continue to learn and work at Mount Beulah in the various programs.

We need money desperately -- and we need it right now. Please read the brochure which tells more about us and what we are trying to do. Can you help us so we can help ourselves? Thank you.

February 25, 1966

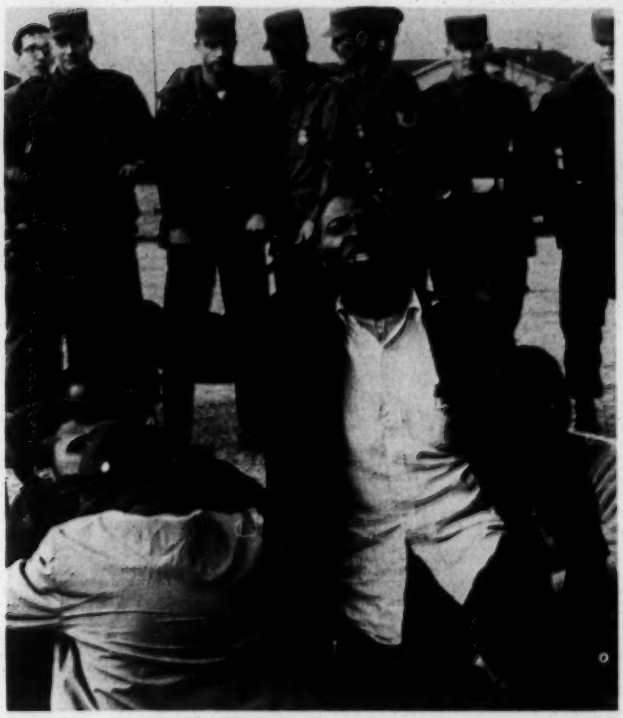
- Because of 1965 cotton acreage reduction law and increased farm mechanization, MORE THAN 20,000 MISSISSIPPI NEGRO COTTON FIELD WORKERS WILL NOT BE NEEDED THIS YEAR
- Where will these people go?
  Probably, most will head for Northern ghettoes. But many want to start a new life and build new communities right here in Mississippi.
- Over 1,000 of us from the delta came together at Edwards, Miss. last Jan. 28. We discussed these problems of land, jobs and food.
- On Jan. 31, 40 of us acting on behalf of other hungry poor people, moved into an abandoned building at the Air Force Base in Greenville.
- The next day we were thrown off the base under orders from President Johnson. The same day, people from Tent City, Tribbett, Miss. offered their land to us as a temporary refuge.
- We left Tent City and moved to Issaquenna county where we lived in tents again. We finally came to our present location at Edwards, Miss.
- More poor people are arriving every day. They tell us they want to join us. The government has rejected them too. Our only hope is to get land of our own. For that we need money--today.
- $125 will buy a fourth acre of good delta land.
  $500 will buy a whole acre.
  $5,000 will buy materials for one good house.
  $15,000 will buy materials for one good community center or small factory building.
- Will you help us so we can help ourselves? Please send money or pledges to:

THE POOR PEOPLES' FUND

BOX 1001, GREENVILLE, MISSISSIPPI

THE POOR PEOPLES' FUND

"We're Beginning A New Future"



"You know, we ain't dumb, even if we are poor. We need jobs, we need food. We need houses. But even with the poverty program we ain't got nothing but needs. That's why we was pulled off that building (the Air Force Base at Greenville) that wasn't being used for nothing. We is ignored by the government. The thing about poverty upsets them, but the thing about poor people don't. So there's no way out but to begin your own beginning whatever way you want. So far as I'm concerned, that's all I got to say about the past. We're beginning a new future."

—— Mrs. Ida Mae Lawrence, Rosedale

"I came here because I was poor and I didn't have nothing. I have ten children and I can't make enough to get shoes for 'em to go to school like they should.

"I made 28 bales of cotton last year 'choppin' and I ended up owing the boss man $1,740.

"I wouldn't go back even if I could rent. There ain't nothin' in cotton.

"I believe we should share what we have with those people who don't have nothin'. If people join us who don't have a piece of bread, I think we should share with them what we have. This here's for the poor."

—A Negro sharecropper, Holmes County

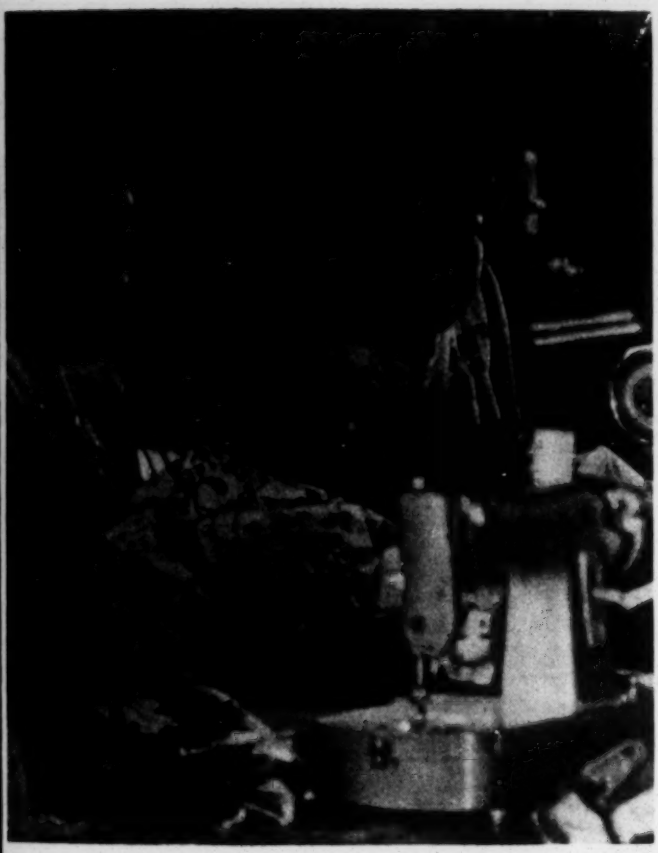
"I.got seven children including four small ones. We are helples peoples. The government won't help us. The president won't help us.

"We wants land of our own--not just for my own family but for all the poor peoples that needs it.

"We wants to build us a shop so we can make things. The womens can sew real good. We want to build us a place where the teen-agers can go.

"Most of all we wants to build our homes. We're staying here now but what we wants is a regular home for our childrens."

——A Negro mother, Yalobusha County

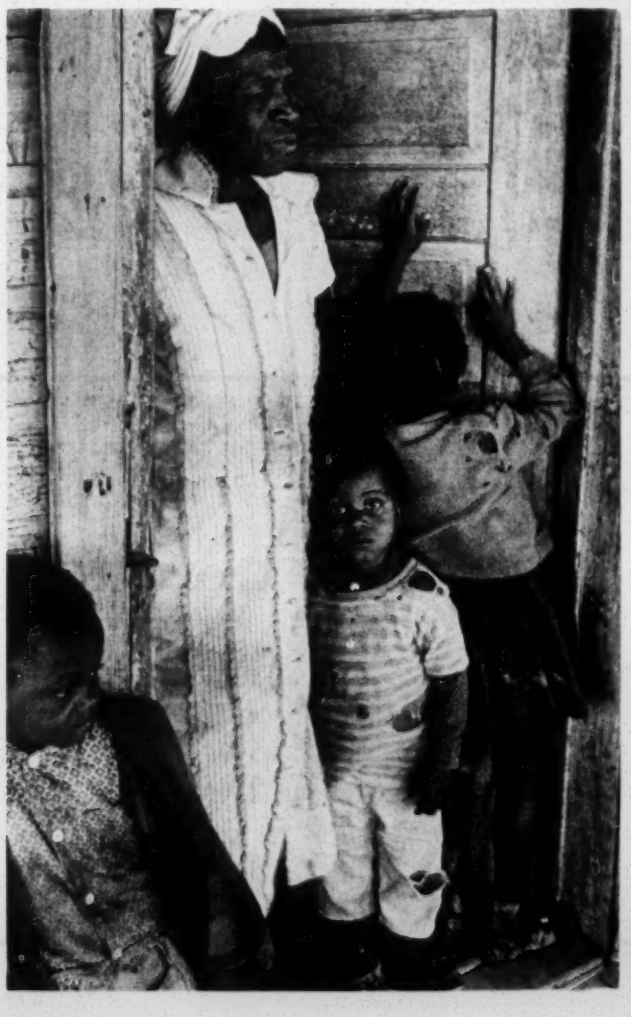


"I have five kids and a wife in Itta Bena. I left after I got involved in the civil rights movement. Every job I got I was kicked out of. I didn't have no house of my own. Didn't have nothing to do but live off the peoples.

"We could build a cooperative factory owned by poor peoples. We could divide the profits according to what we make. If some peoples can't work and don't have nothing we're going to help them too. . .We shouldn't turn nobody down. This here's for poor peoples.....

"If we could get some money we could buy lands so we can grow some vegetables for the children. When they gets fresh vegetables believe me, it's a treat."

— A Negro day laborer, Leflore County



April 4, 1966

Mr. Ping Ferry
Center for the Study of
Democratic Institutions
Fund for the Republic
Box 1068
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Mr. Ferry:

I am sorry to be so long writing to thank you for the material you sent, and to request more when applicable. I am finishing up a seige of work on a book about Negro voting which is why I haven't written sooner.

Best wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encl: Winter issue, New South

PLEASE POST

PW
~~BA~~

April 15, 1966

SREB

PROJECT FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION OF SOUTHERN JOURNALISTS

MARK ETHRIDGE FELLOWSHIPS FOR SOUTHERN JOURNALISTS--FALL, 1966

Applications now may be submitted for Mark Ethridge Fellowships for study beginning in the fall of 1966, or later, at one of the six universities cooperating with the Southern Regional Education Board in a program to extend the liberal education of Southern journalists.

The program is open to news and editorial personnel of newspapers, wire services, news magazines and radio and television stations in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia.

Fellowships will be awarded for periods of study ranging from a single quarter or semester to a full academic year at one of the following universities: Duke, Emory, North Carolina, Vanderbilt, Virginia and Texas. Amounts of grants are flexible and relate to the personal circumstances of each Fellow.

The Fellowship program is designed to fit the particular, personal needs of journalists. An applicant must submit a program of study, which may include the auditing of courses or seminars, discussions with members of the faculty and use of the library or any other of the university's resources. A Fellow will not be permitted to receive credit for a course, nor will he be permitted to study journalistic techniques. In awarding Fellowships, primary consideration will be given to the merit of an applicant's program of study relative to its contribution to his professional growth and performance.

The full costs of the instructional program, including living expenses of participants, will be paid from a grant by the Ford Foundation to the SREB. A participant's employer will be expected to pay his transportation expenses and to continue his fringe benefits.

An applicant for a Fellowship must agree to return to his place of employment upon completing the program of study for which the grant is requested. His employer must support the application, certify that the amount of the grant requested is in keeping with the applicant's circumstances and agree to give him a leave of absence for the period requested.

Fellowship applications for study beginning in the fall of 1966 should be submitted by June 1. Application forms may be obtained from Reed Sarratt, Director, Journalism Project, at the address below.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL EDUCATION BOARD / 130 SIXTH ST. NW, ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30313 / AREA CODE 404 875-9211

File

Ad Hoc Committee for a Guaranteed Income
The School of Social Service Administration
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois 60637

May 8, 1966

Rec'd 5/10/66

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Enclosed please find a Registration Form for a conference on the Guaranteed Income being sponsored by the administration and student body of The School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago on May 21, 1966.

In conjunction with the conference, we are initiating a newsletter, to be published monthly, which hopefully will serve as a clearinghouse for material on the guaranteed income. At present, we are attempting to assemble a mailing list of 10,000 names; we plan to send each person on the list a free copy of the first newsletter in the hope that they will subscribe to the newsletter. We were wondering if you could send us a list of names of people who might be interested in such a newsletter as soon as possible, before May 21, 1966 if that is at all feasible. It would be a great help to us.

Thank you very much.

Yours truly,
Louise Collums

Mail reply to: Ad Hoc Committee for a Guaranteed Income
School of Social Service Administration
969 East 60th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Attn: Louise Collums

A LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON THE GUARANTEED INCOME

University of Chicago
Law School Auditorium
1111 East 60th Street
Chicago, Illinois

May 21, 1966

CONFERENCE PURPOSE

The proper treatment of poverty in the United States today requires that the federal government guarantee to every family and person, as a right, income sufficient to maintain a decent level of living.

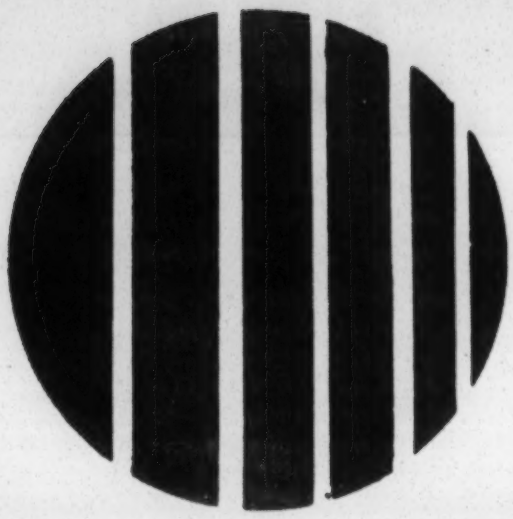
This leadership conference will be the first of its kind, bringing together a wide variety of prominent leaders and members of religious, trade union, business, neighborhood, social work and civil rights groups. Conference participants will discuss the concept of a guaranteed income and strategies for implementing it.

The conference is convened with a sense of urgency and a conviction that poverty in America demands immediate consideration of a guaranteed income.

NEWSLETTER

In an attempt to clarify issues and make information more readily available, the Ad Hoc Committee will publish a monthly newsletter designed to serve as a clearinghouse for material on the guaranteed income. In addition, the newsletter will make a continuing evaluation of the current public welfare programs and local community efforts to organize public assistance recipients.

THE GUARANTEED INCOME
A LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
AD HOC COMMITTEE
FOR A GUARANTEED INCOME



LAW SCHOOL AUDITORIUM
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
1111 East 60th Street
Chicago, Illinois

9:30 a.m. MORNING SESSION
12:30 p.m. LUNCH
1:30 p.m. AFTERNOON SESSION
3:00 p.m. COFFEE

MORNING SESSION

THE GUARANTEED INCOME; CONCEPT AND STRATEGY . . . . . Moderator, Abner J. Mikva, State Representative and Democratic candidate for U. S. Congress, 2nd District

9:30 a.m. **"The Pressing Need and Key Issues"** . . . . . Robert Theobald, Consulting Economist, Author of *Free Men and Free Markets*, and Editor of *The Guaranteed Income*

10:30 a.m. **"Achieving the Guaranteed Income Through the Influence of the Poor"** . . . . . Richard Cloward, Consultant to Mobilization for Youth, and Professor, Columbia School of Social Work

11:30 a.m. Reactions from the Audience

12:30 p.m. Box Lunch will be served

AFTERNOON SESSION

CHICAGO AND THE GUARANTEED INCOME: IMPLICATION AND IMPLEMENTATION

1:30 p.m. **"The Guaranteed Income: An Idea in Action"** . . . . . Discussion Groups

3:00 p.m. Coffee

3:30 p.m. **"Eight Voices of Chicago"** . . . . . Moderator, Edward Schwartz, Author of "An End to the Means Test" in *The Guaranteed Income*, and Professor, The School of Social Service Administration

James Bevel, Minister, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
William Brueckner, Director, Chicago Commons Association
Willam H. Cohea, Jr., Chicago Business Industrial Project
Leon Despres, Alderman, 5th Ward, Lawyer, and Columnist
Al Raby, Convenor, Coordinating Council of Community Organizations
Chester Robinson, Executive Director, West Side Organization for Full Employment
Jim Wishart, Director of Research, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America
Others to be Announced

DETACH AND RETURN

REGISTRATION FORM

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ (Zip Code) _____

Organizational Affiliation _____

Check appropriate boxes

☐ I do want lunch reservation
☐ I do not want lunch
☐ I am an individual delegate
☐ I am an organizational delegate

Please mail registration by May 12 with remittance to:

Ad Hoc Committee for a Guaranteed Income
The School of Social Service Administration
969 East 60th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

REGISTRATION

Registration Fee:

Organizational Delegate	$5.00
Individual	2.00
Box Lunch	1.00

Because registration for the conference will be limited to 500 people, please return the attached registration form by May 12.

If places are still available, arrangements will be made for registration at the conference.

THE AD HOC COMMITTEE FOR A GUARANTEED INCOME

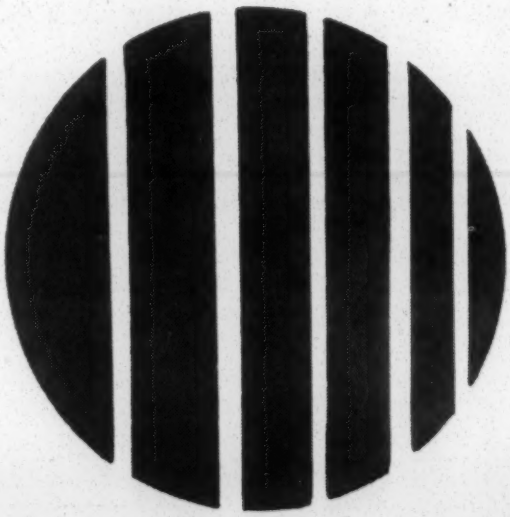
PLANNING COMMITTEE

Co-Chairmen	Richard Lessor Irwin Garfinkel
Conference	Patrick Henry Bruce Jansson
Newsletter	George Martin Elinor Paulson
Liaison Committee	Panke Bradley
Finance Committee	Milo Yoder
Publicity Committee	Hazel Andrew Sue Scheffler
Art	Caroline Morgan
Consultants	Alan D. Wade Edward E. Schwartz Robert Theobald

Under Auspices of:

University of Chicago
School of Social Service
Administration
Student Body

THE GUARANTEED INCOME A LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE



May 21, 1966
LAW SCHOOL AUDITORIUM
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Letter mailed for 3rd meeting.

First official meeting of Bd.

Gadsden Community Service Center

REV. H. J. HOYT, PRESIDENT
MISS BETH LIVEZEY, DIRECTRESS

1052 TUSCALOOSA AVENUE
(205) 547-4604

May 30, 1966

Dear

A committee has been working on the continued operation of the Service Center. This committee was formed from a community cross-section with representatives from our churches, NAACP, Federated Women's Clubs, fraternal groups, Citizenship Council, Voters League, and interested individuals.

Enclosed you will find the By-laws of the Service Center outlining its organization and purposes. You have been selected to serve as one of the twenty one Board members.

Please let us know in writing no later than June 7, if you accept this responsibility. If we have not had a reply by this date, we will assume you are not accepting and will select another to serve.

There will be an organizational meeting of the Board at 6:00 p.m., Saturday, June 11, at the Service Center. If you have questions before accepting, please contact Dr. Spencer Thomas, Rev. H. J. Hoyt, or Dr. J. W. Stewart.

We hope you will work with us to continue and expand the services rendered by the Center.

Sincerely,

H J Hoyt

Spencer Thomas, M. D.
Acting Chairman of Board

Rev. H. J. Hoyt
Co-chairman

ST/bl
Enclosures: 2

Please return this form to: The Gadsden Community Service Center
1052 Tuscaloosa Avenue
Gadsden, Alabama

I do _____ do not _____ accept my selection as a member of the Gadsden Community Service Center Board of Directors.

I will _____ will not _____ be able to attend the organizational Board meeting at 6:00 p.m., Saturday, June 11, at the Service Center.

_____
Signed

_____
Date

First formal meeting received this letter. Went to civil rights workers, club presidents, individuals, etc.

Gadsden Community Service Center

REV. H. J. HOYT, PRESIDENT
MISS BETH LIVEZEY, DIRECTRESS

1052 TUSCALOOSA AVENUE
(205) 547-4604

May 17, 1966

File

Dear

This is to notify you of a meeting to be held at the Community Service Center on Saturday, May 21, 1966 at 6:00 p.m. sharp. Rev. H. J. Hoyt will preside.

The meeting will deal with the continued operation of the Service Center. Since Beth will be leaving June 11, 1966 this meeting is most urgent.

We want all community leaders and persons involved with the Service Center to attend. Enclosed you will find an outline of our previous thinking and an agenda for Saturday's meeting. Please read this material ~~carefully and be prepared~~ to discuss it thoughtfully with others.

Your help is greatly needed. We hope you will be with us.

Sincerely,

Beth Livezey

Beth Livezey

H J Hoyt

Rev. H. J. Hoyt

WHERE WE STAND NOW *Agenda for first meeting*

I. The past year has shown us the need for a Community Service Center. We feel this need continues.

A. The Service Center provides a central office for civil rights information.

1. We need to continue voter registration work and compile up-to-date, complete, and centrally located files on all registered and unregister Negro citizens.

2. We need central and complete records on students applying for school transfer.

3. As employment opportunities increase we need central information Center.

4. We must continue to have Center for job discrimination claims and follow-up.

5. We need central information place for men from Justice Department, Equal Employment Opportunities, Equal Education Opportunities, etc. to contact.

6. The Center serves as call - place for variety of local problems.

B. The Service Center provides centrally located meeting place for a variety of groups.

C. The library, toys, blackboards, etc. are constantly being used--especially by neighborhood children. This community service should continue and be expanded.

II. Beth, who has been head of the Service Center the past year, is leaving June 11, 1966.

III. If we keep the Service Center open we must succeed in the following:

A. Financing the Service Center - average monthly budget below:

Rent	$48.00
Phone	20.00
Gas	8.00
Electricity	8.00
Incidentals	5.00
Office Supplies	10.00
TOTAL	$99.00

B. Find acceptable personnel to operate Center and re-imburse Director financially for his(or her) services.

C. Form Board of Directors to make policy for groups and individuals using the Center.

THE FOLLOWING IDEAS HAVE BEEN SUGGESTED

I. Form a Board of Directors from various community groups and geographical locations in the County. T his Board would determine Service Center policy.

II. Form a committee to systematically contact the following groups to explain Service Center and solicit regular financial support.

A. All churches
B. All Women's Clubs
C. All Fraternal groups
D. Individuals

III. Establish a By-laws Committee

IV. Establish a Finance Committee of respected and trusted individuals. This Committee would be responsible for:

A. Opening a bank account for the Gadsden Community Service Center
B. Monthly financial reports to Board of Directors, all contributors, and public
C. Financial report must be detailed. All contributions received must be listed. All money spent from Center account must be accounted for with paid receipts. Financial Committee is governed by Board of Directors.

V. Find a Center Director who is

A. Acceptable to the Board of Directors and community
B. Willing to work hard in community to co-ordinate Center and expand its work.

VI. The Citizenship School Council has suggested that they and other interested men and women in community volunteer mornings and afternoons to help operate Center. This means setting up specific times that persons would be working at Service Center with civil rights work, children, library, receptionist, etc.

VII. That the kitchen facilities be more fully utilized than in the past.

A. A lady has expressed interest in operating the kitchen to serve meetings, individuals, etc.

B. A lady assuming this responsibility would be financially reimbursed either out of food sales or Service Center budget.

****

A variety of persons have been invited to this meeting. We have not always seen eye-to-eye on all matters in the past. However, to implement the above program WE MUST ALL WORK TOGETHER FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF OUR COMMUNITY.

AGENDA

1. Discuss above outline. Please read it with thought and care. We wish to have a constructive meeting.

2. Discuss and if deemed appropriate

A. Form Board of Directors
B. Form By-laws Committee
C. Form Finance Committee
D. Seek Director
E. Begin setting up volunteer schedule
F. Give lady 'go-ahead' on assuming kitchen responsibility

Saturday's meeting is for the sole purpose of discussing the future of our Center. All other topics--however urgent and worthy--will not be discussed. We have more than a full program for discussion already.

Results of By-laws committee. Discussed and adopted at second organizational meeting. Mailed to those accepted at Bd. members.

ARTICLE I - NAME

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be the Gadsden Community Service Center.

ARTICLE II - PURPOSE

The purposes of the Gadsden Community Service Center are:

Section 1. Provide central information and working office for civil rights activities in Etowah County.

A. Continue voter registration and compile up-to-date working files on all registered and unregistered Negro voters.

B. Compile central records and increase work on school desegregation.

C. Provide central office for employment discrimination charges and follow-up.

D. Serve as contact for federal government in areas of equal voting rights, education, employment, health, housing, etc.

E. Increase political awareness and education.

F. Initiate programs in improved and equal housing, recreation, et

Section 2. Education

A. Provide information on scholarship and loan programs, educational opportunities, and career possibilities. Work for better and equal education at all levels.

B. Support program engendering appreciation and sense of direction in fine arts such as music, literature, drama, and art.

C. Collect and disseminate information on Negro history and heritage.

D. Continue and expand community use of library.

E. Provide creative recreation program for children.

F. Provide tutoring programs and study center as needs are identified.

Section 3. Employment

A. Collect and provide information on employment opportunities, procedure for job interviews, etc.

B. Locate, screen, and rehabilitate Negro job applicants.

C. Seek needed skilled and professional persons to practice in Gadsden.

D. Initiate program to encourage Gadsden talent to return to Gadsden upon completing education.

Section 4. Serve as central meeting place for community groups.

Section 5. Bring together persons interested in community services to unite energy and efforts.

Section 6. Initiate new programs of community service (such as credit union, co-operative, rent survey, etc.) as needs are indentified.

ARTICLE III - MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Any person in accord with the purposes of the Gadsden Community Service Center is eligible to become a Friend of the Service Center.

Section 2. Person becoming Friend of the Service Center shall make an annual pledge of no less than $2.00. Inability to make financial pledge may be replaced by volunteer service to Service Center or may be waived at the discretion of the Board of Directors.

Section 3. All Friends of the Service Center who are in good standing shall have a vote in the annual election of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE IV - GOVERNMENT

Section 1. A twenty-one (21) member Board of Directors shall determine Service Center policy and operation.

Section 2. After the year 1966, Board members shall be elected by the Friends of the Service Center; Board members shall serve two years. The first year (1966) eleven Board members shall be elected for one year and ten shall be elected for two. The Board shall elect its officers.

Section 3. The Board shall appoint a Center Director and other personnel necessary to operate Service Center. All personnel shall be responsible to the Board.
Section 4. The Board shall be responsible for Service Center budget.

Section 5. The Board shall have the authority to form committees and appoint chairmen. There shall be standing committees on Civil Rights, Education, Employment, and Finance. Inactive Committee Chairmen may be removed and replaced by the Board. No Chairman shall be removed without having the opportunity to appear before the Board. The Board is responsible for outlining Committee duties to Committee Chairmen.

Section 6. The Board shall meet monthly with the Center Director, committee chairmen, and others invited. Special meetings may be called.
Section 7. One half the Board members are necessary to conduct business. All members must be notified of official meetings.

Section 8. Simple majority of members in attendance will be necessary to pass on question.

Section 9. Each Board member shall be allowed to be absent from one fourth the official meetings. If more than one fourth are missed without lawful excuse, the member shall appear before the Board. Board has authority to remove member and appoint another for the remainder of his term.

ARTICLE V - FINANCIAL OPERATIONS

Section 1. All financial operations shall be the direct responsibility of the Board of Directors. A finance Committee and Chairman shall be appointed. Finance Committee is responsible for monthly report to Board: this report shall be available to the public. Quarterly reports will be mailed to all group Friends of the Service Center. Reports must be detailed. All contributions received must be listed. All money spent from Service Center account must be accounted for with paid receipts.

Section 2. A bank account shall be opened in the name of the Gadsden Community Service Center. All checks must be countersigned by two of the following: Chairman of Board, Chairman of Finance Committee, and Center Director.

Section 3. Finance Committee shall for Friends of the Service Center composed of churches, businesses, clubs, schools, and individuals, etc. Annual membership and pledges will be solicited. Monthly contributions shall also be sought. The Finance Committee shall be responsible for systematically contacting groups to explain the Service Center and seek financial support.

ARTICLE VI - AMENDMENT

Section 1. Amendment to By-laws may be made by recommendation of the Board, subject to two thirds majority of Friends present at a meeting, providing that a thirty day notice has been given to the group Friends; and providing that two thirds of the Board be present at said meeting.

ARTICLE VII- PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY

Parliamentary Authority shall be Roberts Rules of Order.

For Pat Walters

File

SUMMARY of the Cooperative Training
Planning Conference
Mt. Beulah Conference Center, Edwards, Mississippi

June 9, 10, 11, 1966

Over the past few years Negro farmers of marginal means have been steadily organizing co-ops all across the Black Belt as an answer to their more pressing economic needs. Interested observers see a great deal of merit in such ventures, yet feel that under present conditions expectations may be disappointing.

There is reason both for enthusiam and for caution. The positive side can be summarized as follows:

1. Co-ops are an excellent organizing tool. They give people the opportunity to work as a group on common interest problems.

2. Co-ops offer people the chance to participate in fairly good-sized businesses.

3. Co-ops, with their one man - one vote provision, offer members an excellent opportunity to "participate" in a democratic organization.

4. Co-ops, because of their belief in continued education and study groups, can be used to expand their members' ability to plan ahead, to think "big," etc. -- using direct self interest issues as motivation.

On the negative side there remains the fact that unless Negro organizations can have the technical and educational assistance available to other similiar white co-ops, they aren't going to be a success and could even result in financial ruin for those involved. There are several reasons why the necessary mechanical assistance is not available.

Foremost among the reasons is the failure of the Cooperative Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture to assist low income groups, particularly those made up of Negroes. Another major factor is that no organized cooperative association working in co-op education and training exists in the South. Finally, the majority of established co-ops in the region have been rigidly segregated for years and are not showing any inclination now to change their policies.

The purpose of the Mt. Beulah Conference was to bring together members of low-income co-ops lacking the experience to make their organizations effective and men skilled in co-op management.

The following is a summary of the thoughts, ideas and plans formulated at the meeting.

The Needs and Problems

Mr. Joseph Marlboro, president of the Grand Marie Vegetable Co-op, a newly formed marketing cooperative with 200 members, set the tone for the discussion of the needs of members of his group. Mr. Marlboro said, "A bunch of small farmers -- we'd been raising sweet potatoes but we wasn't doing much good. When ya borrow money and get nothing off your crop you're in trouble. So we formed this co-op to get rid of the middle-man."

During the discussion of how the Vegetable Co-op came into being and what were the problems facing it several interesting points were made:

1. Until the co-op was organized there were no Negro sweet potato inspectors. During a meeting of the co-op someone mentioned this. The co-op sent a letter of protest to the Agriculture Department. There are now Negro inspectors.

2. Many members of the co-op have become interested in continuing their education in order to be able to carry out their duties as co-op officers better. A four-month training program for the members was recently funded by OEO.

   "Not long enough. We need more" said one member.

3. The members of the co-op felt there was a need for a training program which would include Farm Management, Credit Management, Training for Board of Directors (Mr. Marlboro stressed this point saying, "We learned that sweet potatoes and fertilizer was competitive as hell! We might be fraternal inside the co-op but <u>outside</u> it isn't."), and Co-op Management.

4. The group could forsee several problems in their future.

   A. There is a need to continue their education program, as their OEO grant stops in four months.

B. Perhaps there will be a competing co-op made up of whites. (The Grand Marie Co-op members are Negro.)

The members thought that this would often be a problem for co-ops made up of Negro members.

C. The problem of obtaining credit was often mentioned. Several members had had problems with FHA over individual loans in the past and they were skeptical of the chances their $170,000 application had of being granted.

"We expect 'em to continue stalling us until the crop's almost ready to bring in -- then they'll give us the money. Hope it ain't too late" explained one member.

D. The lack of cooperation these farmers have experienced over the past years from federal agricultural officials was mentioned many times. One man said he thought that the co-op with its many members could get services individuals could not expect to get. He answered the question "Why doesn't the county agent help you?" with "The county agent came Tuesday. First time I ever saw him. I suppose the co-op might of brought him. It (the co-op) asked him to come."

Father McKnight and Dr. T. T. Williams of Southern Consumers Co-op, Lafayette, Louisiana, continued the discussion of needs and problems. "The biggest problem is that of overpromising," said Dr. Williams. "Of saying a co-op can accomplish things maybe it can't. Co-ops are really instruments to help overcome the problems, not ends in themselves."

Dr. Williams went on to say that he thought there was still some fear among low-income people toward co-ops. The reasons for this were:

1. Past failures of co-ops.

2. Intimidation from "big" men.

Dr. Williams said there was a need to take an inventory of what expertize is already available.

Problems he mentioned were:

1. How do you keep people together after you get them together?

2. Often people don't require people to put enough money in a co-op to make them feel ownership.

3. The failure thus far to use existing co-ops -- especially in skills assistances, and capital.

Mr. Howard Bailey, a member of the Mid-Mississippi Oil Co-op (Holmes County), initiated discussion on the merits of creating competing co-ops instead of joining the existing segregated ones. Bailey said he thought it would be impossible to integrate the existing co-ops in Holmes County and still maintain any "cooperative" spirit among the members. Besides, he agreed, why not get used to running "our own" and then maybe later on, after experience in co-ops has been gained, "merge the co-ops." Several people stated they thought efforts to integrate existing co-ops should be made before new (and competing) organizations were organized.

Both James Mays and Dr. Williams agreed with Mr. Bailey as to the merit of members learning how to operate a co-op through actual experience in management.

Mr. Mays, who has worked with several groups in Mississippi helping them to organize co-ops,said he thought there was a great need for a co-op training program in Mississippi. He said he thought such a program should:

-- "be around the specific problems immediately facing the group, and

-- work to adapt the present co-op materials to fit the vocabulary to the persons."

He warned a training program should not do anything for people that they can do themselves. Mr. Mays made this remark with specific reference to surveys and feasibility studies, which he said should be done by the people and not for them.

The most important thing about an educational program Mr Mays said was that "the members should run the program themselves," that "the members should control the co-op," and "that the co-op should run the educational program." He said that he understood, of course, the great need for various types of technical assistance in such a program and that that is what he hoped a training program would provide.

Lastly, Mr. Mays said he thought the training program should include "think big" training. He said, "there needs to be someone around a co-op -- around anything, I guess -- that has an open mind, that can think different, you know, that can think big -- that can know that you need to grow."

Summary of Needs

The following were listed by the participants of the planning meeting as needs a co-op training program should meet:

-- Leadership Training
- A) organizing committee
- B) board of directors
- C) committee workers
- D) manager.

-- Technical Training
- A) for secretary, treasurer, manager, supervisory committee, education committee.
- B) in production co-ops - craftsmen and farmers, use of materials and equipment.
- C) in marketing, modern business methods.
- D) in methods of financing.
- E) in finding proper sources of supply.

-- Membership Understanding
- A) principles, methods, benefits, objectives, ends and means of co-ops.
- B) how to finance and control.

-- Public and/or Potential Member Relations
- A) explain needs and possibilities of co-ops without too far-reaching promises.
- B) inform "general public" and "power structure" or "community" about co-ops.

Questions Raised and Statements Made Concerning Training Program's Ability to Fit the "Needs" of the People.

-- Should training be in or away from individual communities, or include both?

-- Can existing local resources be used? e.g:
- A) county agent
- B) colleges and universities
- C) existing co-ops.

-- There is a great need to adapt materials and methods to fit the needs of low-income groups.

-- Materials should be created out of actual experiences. e.g:
- A) visual aids
- B) cartoons
- C) picture stories
- D) graphics
- E) dialetic and idom writing.

-- Learning by doing is valid education.

Other needs expressed

-- Financing -- concern in how to cut down the "red tape" of agencies that are supposed to help co-ops.

-- Full-time "live" organizational and technical help is needed in the beginning stages of a co-op.

-- Concern on how to keep people together once a co-op is formed.

-- The need of requiring substantial investment to give participants a genuine sense of ownership.

-- What kind of co-op should be first in a community? e.g.
A) credit union
B) buying club?
C) marketing?

-- Need for open-minded creative persons with imagination to help co-op members to consider new ideas and to think big.

The Possibilities

In the first part of the meeting the members and organizers of existing co-ops in the South told of the needs of these co-ops.

The second half of the meeting was used to discuss the possibilities open to a training program that would fit these needs.

Mr. Merlin Miller, International Cooperative Training School, asked the group to use their imaginations in discussing the possibilities for a training program so as to find the program that "will really fit the needs."

Miller asked:

> "What would we want if we had an organization devoted to co-op education and training?

In order to be able to consider this question better the training program was divided into several parts:

1) The education of members during the formative states of an organization.
2) Additional training--Board of Directors, Committees, etc.
3) Management Training.
4) Continuing education (for all the above).

The Education of Members in the Formative Stages

-- How will this be done?
-- Who will do it?
-- Where will it be done?
-- Should we train people to train people?
-- How about a Co-op College?

With these questions to prod the group's imagination the discussion began:

Father McKnight -- The sweet potato co-op used volunteers.

-- It is better to use paid workers as educational teachers.
-- These teachers should be people from the low-income community trained as "co-op generalists."
-- Low-income people could be trained as "generalists" either at local colleges or perhaps a central center. It would be better to take people out of their present community for this training.
-- The training of the membership and potential membership would then be done by these "generalists" who are not only knowledgeable of "the peoples" problems but have experienced them themselves.

Dr. T. T. Williams --

-- How would these low-income people be selected?
-- Would they return to work in their own community area?

The group discussed Williams' questions at some length. The question of selection was felt to be one of mechanics and that it could be discussed at a later time. General agreement seemed evident among the group that the "generalist" would probably be more effective outside of his home county but still within an area close enough to it to have similar problems. (Politics, past reputations, and the possibility of the "generalist" becoming "the leader" rather than remaining "the organizer" and "the advisor" were reasons given by the group.)

As the various ideas for a training program were discussed by the group it was decided that some type of framework for them was needed. The following structure was tentatively decided upon to serve as this framework:

-- Initially five states (probably South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana) with plans later on to expand.

-- Rural southerners would be trained to work as "co-op generalists" in these five states -- suggested twenty generalists per state.

-- Mobile units would service the more technical needs of groups. These units would contain education and training materials and be operated by two-man teams. There would be two mobiles to a state.

-- A central office would provide coordination and would also offer courses in co-op training and education, possibly several weeks in length.

-- The project would be considered a demonstration project -- experimentation with various components might be concentrated in specific states. e.g. -- self-help housing in one state, credit unions and buying clubs in another, etc.

-- The project would be for a four or five year period.

-- Hopefully, one end result of the project would be a federation of the various low-income co-ops.

Summary of Discussion of Training Program Possibilities

Objectives:

-- create community-wide awareness of the potential of co-ops to assist low income families; and provide education and technical assistance in the development of such co-ops of all types, including credit unions

-- assist in the training and education of members, board of directors, managers of these co-ops in order to foster the economic stability and growth of the individual members and the group collectively

-- assist in the formation of federation(s) of co-ops with a membership fee base to continue this educational program and provide business advisory services to member co-ops on a self-supporting basis

-- community co-op advisers (100 over-all, 20 per state), one in each county or parish, to fulfill our stated objectives

-- ten traveling co-op technical specialists in five mobile vans making periodic visits to assist local community co-op advisers with visual aids, specialized seminars and education, more advanced training in the use of new techniques

-- necessary central staff to service traveling and local resident field personnel and to provide necessary central training institutes.

Suggested administration and timetable:

-- Al Ulmer was requested to ask Southern Regional Council if they would solicit the funds and direct the administration of the program.

-- The Cooperative League of the USA, Credit Union National Association, National Sharecroppers Fund, Mid-South Co-op, etc., Southern Consumers' Cooperatives and other interested organizations will be invited to endorse and support the proposals.

-- It was also suggested that an advisory assembly be created of representatives of new and newly forming co-ops and the co-sponsoring co-ops and agencies to approve the program and policies of the Southern Regional Council in connection with this proposal.

-- Initially concentrated in the five states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

-- Assistance should be first directed at those already existing co-ops, co-ops in process of formation, and areas where groups have made requests for help of co-sponsoring organizations.

Future Plans -- Co-op Training Project

-- A continuing committee to work on a formal proposal will meet in early July.

The following men volunteered for this committee:

John Zippert	T. T. Williams
Lewis Black	Father McKnight
Art Emery	Jesse Morris
James Mays	Mike Kenny
Merlin Miller	James Johnson
Al Ulmer	Howard Bailey
Nathan Payne	Joseph L. Marlboro
Co-op League (Representative)	Legal Adviser (Marion Wright to be asked)

Following the writing of a proposal another general meeting will be held in order to allow discussion of the proposal.

File

THE ATLANTA PEACE CENTER

Room 502, 41 Exchange Place, Atlanta

523-6629

June 28, 1966

INFORMATION BULLETIN

Newsletter

Within the next month, we hope to begin publishing a regular four-page newsletter. It will carry notices of local peace activities; notices of national peace activities; reprints of important articles; original articles. This information bulletin is to keep you informed until that time. Volunteers to work on the newsletter (write, type, mail) are cordially invited.

July 4, Philadelphia, "Save the American Revolution"

The Committee for Nonviolent Action, the War Resisters League, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and others have issued a call under this title for a nonviolent, pacifist demonstration at Independence Hall, on Independence Day, beginning at 10 a. m. The demonstration will be part of a worldwide series of patriotic demonstrations on behalf of the principles of the Declaration of Independence. (In Paris, all Americans are being urged to demonstrate before the American Embassy.) If you plan to go and would like a ride-or offer a ride - call Jim Gehres at the above phone number. Please tell us about your experiences if you go.

Fast for Peace, Beginning June 27, the White House, Washington, D. C.

Ken Sherman, whom many of us got to know when he was a VISTA worker in Atlanta, and a group of his friends will begin a fast to protest the death of 300 people a day in the war in Vietnam. To express your sympathy and support, you can do the following: 1) send a telegram to President Johnson and the members of his family and staff calling their attention to the act of conscience being performed outside their windows; 2) Send a copy of the telegram or another message to Mr. Sherman

(Western Union will try to deliver wires addressed to: Ken Sherman, Hunger Strike Protest at the White House If you prefer you can send your message to: 1318 Addison St., Philadelphia, 19107.); 3) join the fasters if you are in or near Washington (groups planning to go to Philadelphia, July 4, might go through and spend a day or two with the fasters); 4) plan a sympathetic fast in Atlanta - phone above if you wish to help in doing this. Please carry our greetings and report to us if you see Ken.

Sanford Gottlieb to Speak

Sanford Gottlieb of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy will speak in Atlanta in the near future. Mr. Gottlieb visisted Vietnam last year. He has been involved in attempts to develop a "third force" solution to the conflict. We will send more information about his visit when it becomes available.

TV and Radio Appearances

Members of Atlantans for Peace have asked several radio and TV stations for an opportunity to present their opinions on Vietnam and related matters. Perhaps you could help by calling one or more of the stations, asking that our side be given a hearing.

August 6, Atlanta, Walk of Conscience in Commemoration of Hiroshima Day

An ad hoc committee for a Hiroshima Day Memorial Walk, to coincide with walks in cities throughout the world, is being formed. Groups and individuals of all persuasions (religious, political, etc.) are being invited to participate. Let us know by mail or phone if you can help.

Peace Center Needs

We need some book shelves and some file shelves to store and display our good selection of literature.

We very much want to find a store front or groundfloor quarters in the downtown area at very low or not rental. Please tell us of any such place of which you know, even if it is available for a few months only.

We need telelphoners, typists, envelope stuffers.

We want visitors at the Peace Center. Come and see our selection of good and important literature - and let's get acquainted.

We thank those who have so generously responded to our appeal for funds, and ask other friends to join them. An envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

----------Clip and Mail----------

We (I) wish to support education and efforts toward a peaceful world and offer: ( ) $5 (or$_) per week for 13 weeks

( ) $__ enclosed herewith

Make checks payable to: Nancy Collinson

to help with ( ) telephoning, ( ) typing, ( ) sending out newsletters, ( ) clipping periodicals, ( ) to provide for the Center, ( ) bookshelves, ( ) other_____.

Name_____Phone_____

Address_____Zip_____

SFE
SINCE 1867

SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION
811 CYPRESS STREET, N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308 / 875-0279

Please reply to:
1501 18th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

rec'd 10/5/66

October 3, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat,

We just finished up the orientation for our intern bunch - it seems like a year ago that we were sitting with you, lots of ground covered! So I am finally getting around to a proper thank you.

The Atlanta section was most instructive for me, I have had a chance to see much more clearly how to use all those Southern resources -- next time I'll be able to give you a better list of questions and issues. I'll send you the report when I have had enough sleep to be able to write it, and would appreciate your reactions. The trouble with education is that nobody is doing it very well, so I can't get my perfect social model on the table for observation!

Anyway, I appreciated very much your willingness to meet with my bunch; next time I promise to think of a way to include refreshments in the experience.

Sincerely,

Gina

(Mrs.) Virginia Frank
Washington Representative

publishers of AFRICA TODAY

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA

211 East 43rd Street • New York, N. Y., 10017 • (212) TN 7-8733 • Cable AMCOMMAF

4th October 1966

Dear Friend:

We are enclosing a brief background statement on the South West Africa issue now being debated at the UN. This question together with the unilaterial declaration of independence by the white minority in Rhodesia, will be the basis for international initiatives to limit the power of South Africa. It is not expected that this General Assembly will deal with new approaches to the issue of apartheid within South Africa.

As is clear in the enclosed statement, we feel that the principle must be established by UN action that the UN has the right and the responsibility to terminate South Africa's administration of the Mandate in South West Africa. The means of implementing this action, is a most serious question. Implementation will take a period of time, undoubtedly. But the task cannot be started until the principle of UN control of the Mandate is clear.

We urge you to communicate with Secretary of State Rusk and UN Ambassador Goldberg, urging acceptance of the principle of UN control of the Mandate (as asked for in the Afro-Asian resolution) because South Africa has violated her "sacred trust of civilization". The resolution will be voted upon in a few days. Therefore immediate action is required.

Sincerely,

George M. Houser

George M. Houser
Executive Director

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

The Current Issue

With the opening of the 21st session of the UN General Assembly on Sept. 20th, one item was given priority status on the agenda - South West Africa. In an unprecendented action, debate began on this issue simultaneously with general statements by various delegations on the world situation. This is a mark of the importance of this issue. The basic question is whether South Africa will with impunity continue to exercise her racist policies over a growing area in southern Africa.

Some aspects of this issue are outlined in this memorandum.

Background

The Territory: Arid scrubland and semidesert stretching over an area the size of France and the United Kingdom combined; a land hemmed in between the Atlantic and the Kalahari Desert, between white supremist South Africa and Angola, Portugal's fat colony; a land where the scarcest commodities are water and people.

Apartheid People:	Whites	Blacks
	80,000	480,000

Colonized, exploited and decimated by the Germans until 1918, the Africans haven't done any better under the "sacred trust of civilization" (Mandate). The South Africans have settled the best land in the center of the country, and the Africans have been confined by law to the north and a few shabby reserves. A permit is required to come to the "white" central areas and if you're black, you only get a permit by offering your labor. As communications in the north are virtually non-existant and African agriculture has received no assistance, cash earnings are hard to come by. So the Africans come South, where they get paid one-tenth of what Europeans earn.

The African political parties have been outlawed; Africans cannot even vote for whites. Alleged political organizers or even witnesses can be imprisoned without charge for successive 180-day periods. Africans cannot own land in half the country. Africans must use separate facilities: inferior and scarce hospitals and schools and buses and trains and crowded living compounds.

The Resources and Capital: The extensive mineral deposits, the karakul sheep lands, the rich fishing grounds, are for white capital and white profits. Half the profits leave the country; less than 10% find their way to black areas through Government revenue and expenditure for social services. With self determination, equal opportunity and independence the Africans would have the highest per capita income of sub-Sahara Africa: $250 approximately (equivalent to mineral-rich Gabon).

THE MANDATE

"THE MANDATORY SHALL PROMOTE TO THE UTMOST THE MATERIAL AND MORAL WELL-BEING AND THE SOCIAL PROGRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TERRITORY." (Mandate Article of League of Nations)

The Mandate to administer South West Africa was given to South Africa in 1920 by the League of Nations. One party to the contract, which the United Nations inherited, has obviously failed its obligations. South Africa has not sent in reports on the territory to the UN and has impeded petitioners, who have wanted to present evidence against the administration. Moreover, South Africa has violated Article 1 (2) of the UN Charter regarding the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. South Africa has flouted General Assembly resolution 1514 XV in failing to grant the people of South West Africa political independence after forty-six years of administration.

The International Court of Justice: The decision of July 18, 1966 was tragically mistaken. It was held that no country, however closely related its people to the victims of racial injustice in South Africa, whatever its concern for the sanctity of international agreements to which it is a party, has any legal interest in how South Africa governs its mandated territory of South West Africa. Effectively, this reverses the ruling of December 21, 1962, the minority opinion of that year becoming the majority opinion of 1966.

The Court's earlier advisory opinions are left untouched. In 1950, 1956 and 1962 it was shown that South Africa is responsible to the United Nations for its administration of South West Africa. However, the 1966 judgment appears to deny any effective judicial means of vindicating that responsibility.

The 21st General Assembly: A joint draft resolution has been introduced and cosponsored by most Afro-Asian states.

Operative paragraphs (4-7) of the resolution read as follows: (The General Assembly)

4. "Decides to take over the Mandate conferred upon His Britannic Majesty to be exercised on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa and to assume direct responsibility for the administration of the Mandated Territory;

5. "Establishes a United Nations Administering Authority for South West Africa composed of ... States Members of the United Nations - to be immediately designated by the President of the General Assembly - to administer the Territory on behalf of the United Nations, with a view to preparing it for independence;

6. "Requests the Administering Authority to proceed immediately with its work in the Territory and to recommend to the General Assembly as soon as possible, and in any case not later than the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, a date for the independence of the Territory;

7. "Requests the Security Council to take the necessary effective measures to enable the Administering Authority to discharge its functions in accordance with the present resolution."

US POLICY

The International Court decision of July 18 preserves the status quo - the continued control of South West Africa by South Africa, extension of apartheid, virtual annexation of South West Africa into the Republic, etc.

The real issue is whether the international community, through the UN, will allow South Africa to continue to exercise its administrative authorities in South West Africa, or whether steps will be started for the UN to assume responsibility for the Mandate. Basically this is a political, not a legal issue.

South Africa does not recognize the right of the UN even to a supervisory role over the Mandate. Therefore, whether the UN assumes only a continued supervisory role (as was recognized by the advisory opinion of 1950), or takes over the administration of the Mandate, a direct confrontation with South Africa is inevitable.

After 16 years of efforts to find a conciliatory solution, half measures are fatuous. The United States must ensure through the United Nations that the people of South West Africa secure their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence in accordance with the UN Charter.

The task of the United States is crystal clear. Democracy and freedom have been usurped in South West Africa. It is quite essential for the United States to support the resolution by which the powers of the Mandate revert to the UN. The United States must then demonstrate that the prospective UN Administering Authority will enter South West Africa and will enter with the active support of the United States.

It is not expected that this resolution if accepted by a UN majority will be implemented easily. A step-by-step course will undoubtedly be followed. But the principle of UN authority will be established and hopefully then, some step can be taken toward extending the provisions of the Charter even into a territory that has been dominated by South Africa for so long.

Telephone 202 - DUpont 7-7575

United States
Student Press Association

2117 S Street NW • Washington, D.C. 20008

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October 11, 1966

Miss Pat Watters, Editor
The New South
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Watters:

The U. S. Student Press Association, under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, is sponsoring a series of seminars for college newspaper editors on issues in higher education. We hope to acquaint the editors with current educational questions and alternative solutions and to stimulate them to discuss these issues in their newspapers. Although few editors at the present time have the background or interest necessary for discussing education, we believe that such a dialogue would improve their respective institutions.

Four weekend seminars will be held in different parts of the country together with a six-week summer session in Washington. The second weekend seminar will be held in the South at Duke University, December 9-11. We will bring together approximately thirty editors with a small group of professional journalists, faculty members and administrators to discuss general questions -- such as what should the university teach and how? What should be the relationship between faculty, students and administration? What is the responsibility of the university to society? -- as well as questions particularly pertinent to Southern education.

I will be in Atlanta October 19-21 and would like to discuss this project with you. I will call you when I arrive to find out when and if you will be available.

Thank you very much. I look forward to talking with you soon.

Sincerely,

Barbara Stallings

BARBARA STALLINGS
Director
Higher Education Seminars

Pat Watters

File

DEC 15 1966

NEWSLETTER
SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Director
810-29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Number 9 December 16, 1966

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The Selma Inter-religious Project is a joint effort of over a dozen organizations and denominations to continue the relationship established between these groups and the people of Selma and Black Belt Alabama. The Chairman of the Project is Mr. Mel Dubin, a New York businessman. Four groups act as national sponsors. They are:

The Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ.
The National Catholic Conference for Inter-racial Justice.
The Synagogue Council of America.
The Unitarian-Universalist Association.

WISHING HOLIDAY GREETINGS to our readers(who either belong to or have left almost every religious or ethical group in the country) poses social and theological problems. To avoid these problems allow me to be subjective and, as a Christian, to wish that you all may enjoy and show forth a certain love and respect for men. That is the love that moved the authors of the Gospels insistently to proclaim that their Lord was born in a shelter for animals and laid in a feed trough.

***

TWO ALABAMA CIVIL RIGHTS MURDERS WERE REPORTED in the second issue of this newsletter, February 1966. Samuel Younge Jr., a SNCC worker and student at Tuskegee Institute, was killed by a white service station operator named Segrest. January 23, 1966 I missed by less than two hours witnessing the murder of a Mr. Colston by a white farmer, Mr. Reaves, outside the Antioch Baptist Church in Camden, Alabama just before a civil rights meeting. Little stir was caused by these murders in Alabama or the nation. The murdered men were black. Even less stir was caused last week when their killers were both acquitted by all white juries.

I give up. I mean journalistically. Why tell you about it? To request letters of protest? To call for legislation? To create public outcry? I'm not a federal employee so I don't have to appear constructive. I'm not a "New York Times" or "Birminghan News" editor. To earn a living I don't have to "influence" people. So let's call this news an exercise in futility.

The fact is the government and the overwhelming majority of our citizens are not only indifferent about bringing justice within the grasp of 20 million citizens, they are actively supporting a national way of life that keeps 20 million outside the pale of constitutional protection. And there is not one thing on the horizon that promises to change this.

***

THE SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT has survived financially into its second year. Last year's budget was $15,880.00, actual expenditures $15,722.95. We were saved by gifts from individuals. End of the year donations are certainly welcome. S.I.P. is not itself a tax deductible organization. Contributors who wish gifts to be tax deductible may donate through the sponsoring agencies or through

The Episcopal Society for
Cultural and Racial Unity
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Such donations should be ear-marked "Selma Inter-religious Project".

***

TWO 16 MM FILMS, ONE RELATING TO THE INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT are now available. The first film "A Time For Burning" depicts a Lutheran parish congregation in a declining neighborhood. During the time of filming an innocent request to include Negroes in a church program erupted in bitter conflict. The cameras recorded it all and the American Lutheran Church had the guts to release it. It may be ordered from

Lutheran Film Associates
11 West 42nd Street
New York, New York 10036

"Lay My Burden Down", a National Education Television production, is the work of Jack Willis. It was my privilege to introduce Jack to contacts he needed to do the film. Several of my friends and associates are in it. It depicts with accuracy and compassion the conditions now, post Selma March, among local Negroes in Dallas and Wilcox counties— those for whom all the marching was done. I cannot recommend it too highly. If you've wanted to see where the Selma Inter-religious Project works this is your opportunity. Churches, Human Relations Councils, clubs and your state ETV network should show it.

It may be rented from

N.E.T. Film Service
Audio Visual Center
c/o Mr. James Cole
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

A special note to Alabama readers: I checked, it has been routinely decided that the film will not be shown on Educational Television in Alabama. Please write

Mr. Graydon Ausmus
Broadcasting Services
Box X,
University, Alabama

Ask that the N.E.T. film "Lay My Burden Down" be shown. ETV is sensitive to requests. If enough write it will be shown.

***

THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE has a large stock of single and double bed quilts at $20 and $25 and bonnets at $3.00 for Christmas. Since March 1966 we have distributed $5500.00 in profits to co-op members. Our top earner has made over $200.00. She works six days a week as a cook and maid for $12.00. Some co-op members have augmented the family income from 10 to 25 per cent. I am so proud of the officers I could bust. But I am partial. As one man said last week, "That feller sho' is wrapped up in quilts."

***

AN UNUSUAL CONFERENCE WAS HELD Dec. 9, 10, and 11. It was called a Rural Life Workshop but it was sometimes called the School for White People. S.I.P. and the Pleasant Grove Baptist Church of Gees Bend, Wilcox County sponsored it. It was quite an experiment. Gees Bend is an all Negro community located in an isolated bend of the Alabama River below Selma. After a year of making friends and contacts in Alabama I felt I knew

people well enough to hold such a workshop. Thirty-two people came, five from out of the state. Of the rest, twenty-seven were white Alabamians, five Negro. They came from Huntsville, Mobile, Birmingham, Tuscaloosa, and Montgomery. The panelists and teachers were all local Negro leaders from Wilcox and Dallas counties. Topics discussed were the local Movement, tenant farming, cooperatives, law enforcement, credit, education and politics-all as it effected Negroes in the Blace Belt. The people of Gees Bend came too. At times the large church was almost full. For most of the conferees it was the first time they had ever heard about conditions in the Black Belt straight from Negroes who knew how to tell it. The people of Gees Bend opened their homes and their hearts to us. Fried chicken, squirrel, sweet potato pie and chicory coffee abounded. What an experience. I'd been thinking about such a thing for months but finally found the courage to try. I hope to be able to report later on the reactions of the people who attended.

***

O.E.O. TITLE III B. PROGRAMS IN LOWNDES AND WILCOX were funded as we guessed ten days after the November elections. One can say this is the only rebuff George Wallace has received in over a year. OEO officials warned us board members that the attack to destroy these programs would be, if anything, more powerful than the forces that destroyed the C.D. G.M. in Mississippi.

The "Birmingham News" is waging war against the programs. In an exhaustive scrutiny the paper has interviewed absolutely everyone in Alabama about it; except of course, the chairmen or members of the two boards who are administering the programs.

I have attended my first two meetings as a member of the Lowndes board. I've met the white man in Lowndes who serves — brave man, but no braver than the black people who have struggled to develop the program. I heard that the white people who agreed to serve on the Wilcox board have written O.E.O. denying they were ever members. That's the way it goes. These boards have worked hard to invite everybody to participate. But it's almost impossible to find whites who are not either opposed or too afraid.

Basically these programs will provide pre-vocational education skills to adults. Many will be able to learn reading and writing. Day care centers for childern will also be operated. Participating childern will be able to receive milk and a well balanced meal. The cost of the two programs is $500,00.00.

***

SOUTHWEST ALABAMA SELF-HELP HOUSING is a non-profit organization created to apply for funds to administer an imagintive housing program in the rural Black Belt. I was asked to find some white people to serve on it. So far I have found five which is enough to start. There are about twenty people on the board. However, most of the members are working too hard to get the two funded programs going to begin the lengthy preliminary work of writing the application. Besides rural funds for such programs have just been cut way back by Congress. Yet as the Christmas and New Year's holidays begin how many families of tenant farmers will not have their contracts renewed and will face eviction from house and land? We have no way of knowing.

Senator Mansfield is quoted as saying we need a "pause" in the Great Society.

Merry Christmas Mr. and Mrs. Moorer; Merry Christmas Big Bill Williams; Merry Christmas Mr. Wiley Bell and family. Put up your Christmas tree anyway, it doesn't need to be in a house. You can dance around it to keep warm. You are a people who bear affliction lightly. You won't mind. But don't you listen to Stokely. He's no Santa Claus. We're here to tell you that Black Santa has not produced one present, not one goodie in the ten months he's been talking. You believe in Santas Mansfield, Dirksen, Johnson and Whitney Young, Jr. They got the bag haven't they?

You believe in them and you can be us white folks Holy Family. We won't have to build a little pine slab lean-to in front of the First Segregated Church. We won't have to get out our plywood Mary and Jesus. If you will truly accept Senator Mansfield and all his choir as Santas we'll let you stand around outside our church holding your children in your arms.

***

TEACHERS AND PARENTS IN ALABAMA ATTENTION. A large number of top grade Northern high schools are looking for very bright students. These schools are able to pay all expenses involved in sending a child off to get a wonderful education. Of course, only a very few are able to be selected. Here is what you do to find out more about it. If you know of a very bright child in your family or school, or if you just want to understand more about this opportunity, write me a letter. I will come to explain the program. The program takes some explaining. I had to study a lot of material before I understood it. It is mostly for students entering the ninth and tenth grades in the fall of 1967. There are only a very few places for children entering the eight and eleventh grades. I learned about the program too late to help many people this year. But the folks who run the program said any parent or teacher who knows a very bright and hard working student should encourage him to apply. The child would have to take a test in either Mobile, Montgomery, Tuskegee, or Birmingham Feb. 4, 1967. So you will have to contact me right away. If I possibly can I will travel to any school in the Black Belt to explain the program to teachers and parents. Any child accepted at one of these schools has almost a sure chance of being accepted in a college. Maybe only one child would go from Alabama this year or next. But still it's worth your interest. These schools are all finer schools than any private schools in Alabama, white or Negro.

***

THE CITIZENS CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY based in Washington, deserves the respect and thanks of folks in Alabama. It is developing a program to create low cost housing. This is not a crisis orientated civil rights organization but a community development type organization. Clumsy terminology but it says it. It has centers now in Eutaw and Selma. It plans to open a concrete block plant in Greene County.

The Crusade has employed some experienced people to handle its Alabama program. Mr. Randolph Blackwell, formerly employed by S.C.L.C. is the overall director of this Southern program.

***

THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE is still advertising for a manager at a salary around $5000.00. We could use two people if a couple want to apply but at the same salary. Returning Peace Corps Volunteers make good prospects. Know any? Please remember, almost all our good ideas and contacts have come from Newsletter readers.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE PA Ret PW

Southern Regional Office

3210 West Broadway
Louisville, Ky. 40211
(502) 772-1098

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•

IN COOPERATION WITH
Southern Conference Educational Fund

PRESIDENT
Fred L. Shuttlesworth

EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS
Carl Braden
Anne Braden

December 20, 1966

Dear Friend:

During its 28 years of existence, the House Un-American Activities Committee has succeeded in creating a false relationship between subversion and the civil-rights movement in the minds of many Americans.

A recent announcement by Chairman Willis of HUAC about preliminary investigations into outbreaks in urban slums shows that HUAC is bent on strengthening this myth. The real purpose of this investigation is to attack and discredit the civil-rights movement by associating it with violence and subversion. It is an attempt to halt progress made through the suffering and protests of people struggling to improve their lives.

As a Southerner or sympathizer involved in this struggle of black and white people for their basic civil rights and liberties, you are aware of the damage such an investigation can do. The time to stop HUAC is now, before it diverts attention from the real problems of poverty and discrimination in our cities. These issues should be dealt with only by responsible Congressional groups.

Therefore, we are inviting you and some 400 others to join the initiating signers by adding your name to the enclosed petition. We plan to present this petition to the Speaker of the House of Representatives on its opening day, January 10, 1967. Later, it will be circulated among an even larger group in the South.

We must assemble the names of signers immediately after Christmas if the petition is to be ready when Congress opens. Because there is so little time, please do not lay it aside for future attention, but sign it now while it is in your hand. A self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience in returning the petition.

Yours for action in an urgent cause,

Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

Rev. F.L. Shuttlesworth

Barbara Bloomfield

Barbara Bloomfield

A PETITION TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES

We, the undersigned, petition the House of Representatives of the United States to stop the Committee on Un-American Activities from carrying out its plan to investigate uprisings in the black ghettoes of this country.

The Committee claims to be looking for "subversive elements," "Communists doing the work of Moscow or Peking." It says it will not investigate the civil-rights movement unless it finds that a "... civil-rights group is actually controlled and dominated by Communists." Yet, as Southerners, we know from experience that the Committee's viewpoint is that Communists are responsible for all movements for social change.

For 28 years, Southerners working for political and economic democracy have been labelled Communists or Communist dupes by the Committee. It has always proposed legislation to repress activists rather than to remedy social injustice. The Committee insinuates that ideas and movements concerned with ending the problems of racial injustice in our society are treasonous. This attitude has resulted in an atmosphere in which unknown numbers of Southerners have hidden their desire to end racism because they feared harassment and loss of their jobs or their lives.

Therefore, we feel it is our responsibility to warn the rest of the country about the danger of this Committee. We see no reason why its investigation into urban disturbances would have different results.

Two Southern segregationists on this Committee will be in charge of overseeing the preliminary investigation. One of them, Representative John Buchanan of Alabama, recently called the use of civil disobedience by the civil-rights movement a cause of outbreaks in the urban ghettoes.

If the civil-rights movement has had any part in these uprisings, it is by reminding America of what it says it is -- a land of equal opportunity and justice for all -- and what it truly is for one-fourth of its people -- one of poverty, unemployment, unequal education and injustice. For a fourth of these poor people, there is the added torment of hatred and discrimination against them because they are black.

These, not some vague external conspiracy, are the problems our government should be investigating in the name of our national interest.

INITIATING SIGNERS

THE REV. RALPH ABERNATHY, Vice President and Treasurer,
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
JULIAN BOND, Member,
Georgia House of Representatives
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Chairman,
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
LAURENCE GUYOT, JR., Chairman,
Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
MYLES HORTON, Director,
Highlander Center
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., President,
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
FLOYD B. McKissick, National Director,
Congress of Racial Equality
THE REV. FRED L. SHUTTLESWORTH, President,
Southern Conference Educational Fund
THE REV. C. T. VIVIAN, Director of Fellowships,
Urban Training Center
THE REV. WYATT TEE WALKER, Publisher,
Negro Heritage Library

YOUR NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

TITLE OR ORGANIZATION_____
(if you want it to appear on the petition.)

File

Rec'd 12/14/66

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

INFORMATION LETTER

Number 32 December, 1966

I. Farm Labor Organizing
II. The Ground Is Our Table, a book on farm labor by Steve Allen

I. FARM LABOR ORGANIZING

California

Grape fields and storage plants continue to be the focal points of farm labor organizing in California. Over a year ago workers demanded higher wages and union recognition from some 33 growers. Early targets of the strike were the two largest ranches, Schenley Industries and the DiGiorgio Corporation; both have since agreed to the concept of collective bargaining, although much still needs to be worked out with the far-flung complex of DiGiorgio ranches.

Representation elections in the DiGiorgio fields had been accompanied by the divisive tactics of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. The two initial farm unionsthat had committed themselves to the strike (the National Farm Workers Association and the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO) merged into the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, to bring about greater unity of farm workers and to more effectively oppose the Teamsters' late attempt to woo them.

The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee defeated the Teamsters at DiGiorgio's Sierra Vista and Borrego Springs ranches on the 30th of August, 1966, but the right to an election has to be fought for at each DiGiorgio ranch. DiGiorgio's 9100-acre Arvin Ranch became the next center of controversy. DiGiorgio initially claimed it was in the middle of a union rivalry, and refused to proceed with the election unless both unions were represented. The Teamsters finally withdrew, and an election date was set for November. The workers were to vote simply "yes" or "no" on whether they wanted UFWOC to represent them. A comfortable majority voted "yes." The contract that will be discussed includes a UFWOC no-strike pledge, and if the two parties cannot agree on the terms within 45 days, negotiations will be referred to arbitrators. A fourth DiGiorgio ranch at Marysville, in Yuba County, will have elections in its fields on July 7, 1967.

A consumer boycott, endorsed by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, has been launched by UFWOC against the products of Antonio Perelli-Minetti, his sons, and their 26 private corporations. Field workers went on strike September 19 at the 1500-acre ranch in McFarland when the company refused to recognize the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee as bargaining agent. According to UFWOC's Delano Newsletter, "After the fields had remained empty two days, local labor contractors provided strike-breakers who were driven into the fields--through our picket lines--on Teamster buses with Teamster representatives acting as armed guards." William Grami, director of the farm worker division of the Teamsters, then announced that the Teamsters had signed a contract with the Company and represented the workers. The strikers had not been consulted about the contract.

co-chairmen: Frank P. Graham • A. Philip Randolph • treasurer: John A. Mackay • assistant treasurer: Robert W. Hudgens • committee: Steve Allen • William L. Batt, Jr. • Louis H. Bean • Robert Coles • Helen Gahagan Douglas • Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy • L. H. Foster • Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn • Henry B. Herman • Msgr. George G. Higgins • Jacob M. Kaplan • Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman • Isador Lubin • Archbishop Robert E. Lucey • Benjamin E. Mays • Bishop Reuben H. Mueller • Peter H. Odegard • Daniel H. Pollitt • Wilbour E. Saunders • Dore Schary • John M. Seabrook • Helen K. Sheffle • Norman Thomas • Frederick S. Van Dyke • George Wiley • Josephine Wilkins • founding members: Herbert H. Lehman • Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt • Maurice T. Van Hecke • executive secretary: Fay Bennett • assistant executive secretary: Linda W. Lewis • field representative: Stanley Hamilton

On October 14, packing shed workers at the Hourigan-Mosesian-Goldberg plant, denied recognition of UFWOC as their bargaining agent, walked out and joined field workers who had been striking since September 18. The state had certified the field workers' strike as a labor dispute on September 28, and picket lines were set up to discourage truckers from picking up or delivering grapes to the struck ranch. The system proved effective despite Teamster pressure on their drivers to cross the lines, and repeated breaking of the lines by Delano police. While the shed workers' election awaited National Labor Relations Board action on UFWOC's petition, Goldberg agreed to an election for field workers. On November 15, UFWOC again won overwhelmingly, 285-38.

In the most violent act against the strikers, a picket, Manuel Rivera, was critically injured when a truck carrying scab grapes was ruthlessly driven through the picket lines. No arrest was made. It is to the credit of the farm labor union, with its deep commitment to nonviolent tactics, that the brutal act met with no retaliation.

Texas

The farm labor strike for $1.25 an hour, begun in June by workers who have since affiliated with UFWOC, continues against 12 growers in Starr County.

Latest developments center around the flow of Mexican nationals who cross the border daily to work in the United States. These "green-carders" (so-called from their green visa for permanent entry into the U.S. under provisions of Public Law 414) are similar to the braceros previously admitted under Public Law 78 in that they contribute to keeping the farm wage scale low in areas near the border. Although permitted to remain in the U.S., many "green-carders" recross the border each night, and since they can live more cheaply on the Mexican side, they are competing unfairly with the American workers who cannot live on the same low wages.

On October 24, about 60 American farm workers walked onto the International Bridge at Roma and convinced many of the Mexicans crossing from the other side that they were "taking the jobs of others and helping the bosses win the strike." Two of the leading organizers, Eugene Nelson and Bill Chandler (both of whom worked on the Delano effort before coming to Texas) were arrested for blocking the bridge.

Franklin Garcia, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, gave an example of the degree of success: a La Casita Farms bus normally picks up 35 to 40 Mexicans workers at the Roma bridge each day. On the morning of October 24 "the bus was there, but after explanations were started at 5:30 a.m., only six people got on that bus by 8 a.m. Because it was successful, the growers called the sheriff of Starr County to stop the explaining." Mr. Garcia announced that other AFL-CIO unions will join in similar efforts at other international bridges along the U.S.-Mexico border to convince Mexicans to refuse to work for less pay than Americans.

Bulletin! On November 16 a report issued by a Starr County grand jury called the Texas farm workers' strike "unlawful and un-American," and "abusive of rights and freedoms granted them as citizens" (New York Times, November 18, 1966). The jurors continued, "The means as are practiced by the union group...are directly contrary to everything that we know in our American and lawful way of life." They called for the President to send men to the area "to assist in preserving the rights of all concerned" and for representatives of the attorney general's office and a Texas Ranger to remain in the county to assist local officers "during these extraordinary times."

In contrast to these incredible statements the facts speak for themselves. Farm workers in Texas are exercising a basic right that is protected by law for most other workers--the freedom to organize and bargain collectively. The report com-

plains of violence and threats on the part of farm workers. There have been absolutely no worker-instigated incidents of violence; even at a rally of 8,000 farm labor sympathizers (which Governor Conally refused to endorse for fear of violence) the audience was orderly and attentive.

Wisconsin

Successful efforts to increase Wisconsin's hourly minimum wage have been made as a result of protest demonstrations led by the United Workers, an affiliate of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.

As one indication of the opposition's sentiments, according to the Milwaukee Journal, "At a meeting of the Wisconsin Better Government Committee...a resolution was adopted which said the migrants enjoyed 'more freedoms than the average American.'" Recording secretary for the meeting, Karl E. Koehler, said it was "not too difficult for a person to go in and make $3 an hour" picking pickles. This has the whole aspect of going up north for a two month vacation and getting paid for it," he said. The resolution further advised the legislature to be "extremely cautious in legislating away the freedoms of one of the few remaining free groups in this country."

It is scarcely believable that anyone could describe labor involving bending over, picking, and carrying heavy baskets in the hot summer sun a "two-month vacation" with pay. Picking pickles is considered one of the most arduous of stoop-labor tasks; the vines are tough and close to the ground, and heavy gloves must be used.

A survey conducted by Mrs. Elizabeth Raushenbush, chairman of the Governor's Committee on Migratory Labor, came to conclusions very different from those of the Wisconsin Better Government Committee. According to the November, 1966, report, a migrant working in the cucumber fields of Waushara County earned an average of less than $20 a week in 1964. She added, "Because of an excellent growing season, earnings may have been slightly higher in 1966 than in 1964, but the structure of the industry and the structure of the labor market have not changed significantly since this study was made."

On November 10, 1966, the State Industrial Commission, empowered to set the minimum wage for all women and children, approved a $1.25 minimum to go into effect February 1, 1967. Minors under 18 will receive $1.10. Under the new law at least 65 per cent of those women farm workers covered must receive $1.33 next year.

Jesus Salas, leader of the August march that sparked the action on minimum wage, has continued his efforts to organize farm workers. On October 10 Salas' organization demanded recognition of its union from James Burns and Sons Company, a potato warehouse firm. Clergymen and AFL-CIO representatives joined the pickets, but the effort was abandoned. Salas said the picketing had been started too late in the season, "a tactical error in timing," but that it would resume next year.

New Jersey

Early in September, 1966, grower reaction to the presence of VISTA Volunteers in Cumberland County fields touched off a flurry of public protest. The VISTA Volunteers came up from Florida with Negro migrants as part of an antipoverty program called Upstream, which develops child care centers, reading classes, and other services for migrants. Only 11 of some 35 to 40 growers allowed the VISTAs on their property; most farmers were wary of the sympathy between the VISTAs and the labor union organizers who had been at work in the state. (The organizers' aim was to get enough workers to sign union cards so they could ask the National Labor Relations

Board to conduct an election on whether a union was desired. The campaign proved most successful where VISTAs had been allowed in the camps earlier.)

Louis Pizzo, major Cumberland County grower and member of the Governor's Migrant Labor Board, barred VISTA Volunteers from his fields and shouted: "See those people in the field, well they're nothing, I tell you, nothing. They never were nothing, they never will be nothing, and you and me and God Almighty ain't going to change them. They gave me the bottom of the barrel and I'd fire them all, clean them from the fields, if you'd get me someone else." Pizzo was also quoted as saying: "But I'll tell you one thing, there's no place on this farm for anyone with a union card--and I've told my people as much....If I have to deal with a union, I'll shut the whole damm place down. You can't run a farm with unionization."

After mediation by aides to New Jersey Senator Harrison A. Williams (Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor), Pizzo agreed to let the VISTA Volunteers have access to his workers. Aroused civic leaders nevertheless demanded Pizzo's resignation from the Migrant Labor Board.

According to the Trenton, New Jersey Sunday Times Advertiser (September 11, 1966), "Although the dispute between Pizzo and the VISTA contingent was reported settled, a new controversy gained momentum. The New Jersey Consumers League accused the Migrant Labor Board of failing to exercise leadership and authority as prescribed by state law. In a letter...the League endorsed Governor Richard J. Hughes' request for a report on the Pizzo controversy from John N. Seabrook, Migrant Labor Board chairman. But the organization urged the governor to extend the probe to 'other allegations in recent press stories of bad housing, child labor in the fields and disregard of the right of farm workers to organize and bargain collectively.'"

Another Migrant Board member, farmer Edward B. Fogg of Salem County, was found guilty by the Board of 22 violations of the housing code and fined $50. (He could have received a fine of $200 on each count.) Among other things, he was requested to repair a hole in the wall of one building, replace broken windows, install hot and cold running water, and make a privy fly-proof.

During a public meeting held by the Migrant Labor Board, witnesses described conditions under which many workers are forced to live. A social caseworker from Monmouth County told of migrant workers and their small children who were abandoned in an isolated camp by their crew leader; they received no wages, and were told by the farmer to live off the potatoes in the field.

A local welfare director in Gloucester County refused at first to pay for the burial expenses for a dead infant of a Puerto Rican migrant couple. The director was quoted as saying: "Puerto Ricans should practice birth control." The director, Mr. Leonard, was finally persuaded to bury the baby, but failed to notify the parents of the funeral. The couple thought their infant was still in the hospital mortuary , and did not learn it had been buried until a County nurse came to the fields and informed them.

Although the Governor has appointed a task force to investigate farm labor conditions, no reports have been issued.

Bulletin! Mrs. Lonnie Allen, president of a New Jersey farm workers conference, has been ordered out of her house, owned by prominent Cumberland County farmer Maurice Uhland. Uhland was recently fined $50 by the state for housing violations which included "an overflowing cesspool and gross rat and roach infestation." Mrs. Allen is certain the eviction of her family of 15 is a result of her work as head of SCOPE (Southern Citizens Organization for Poverty Elimination, composed of 50 migrant farm

workers). In a telephone interview with a New York Times reporter, Mrs. Uhland first asked, "Are you white or colored?" She called Mrs. Allen a "troublemaker," and continued, "Why should I house those kind of people?"

Though most of the seasonal workers have returned to the South, growers have already nailed up "No Trespassing" signs all over the county, doubtless in an effort to discourage union organizing activity next year.

New York

Funeral services were held on September 28 for two migrant farm laborers from Puerto Rico, who were burned to death in the tractor shed in which they had been living at a farm labor camp near Brocton, New York. The fire was started by an old pot-bellied, wood-burning stove; the walls of the shed were not insulated. A third man escaped death by climbing out of a window. He is still in critical condition, with 3rd degree burns covering 20% of his body from the waist up.

During the summer months roughly 2,000 farm workers live in the shanty town around Brocton, a small farming community south of Buffalo. Many of the workers are Puerto Rican men who leave their families for the summer to pick the crops on the East Coast. They work a 17-hour day, six days a week. Felipo Molina, a worker who has spent 17 summers in the Brocton area, says that in a good year, March through October, he ends up with $300 to $400. And in a bad year? "I buy for eat. I send my family. I have for transportation home. That -- that is all."

Don Hillegas, student at Fredonia State University and member of the Campus Americans for Democratic Action, spent all summer trying to improve housing conditions in the area. According to him, "Many of the workers actually live in chicken coops and deserted garages. I have seen the housing inspectors tell the owners 'clean them up or get the people out'; but that same inspector never pays a second visit and conditions remain the same."

Buffalo's State Assemblyman Arthur Hardwick, Jr., and other members of a joint legislative committee toured migrant labor camps a week after the fire. The committee found two camps operating that had never been issued permits. One had an "open well about 20 feet from a septic tank which was overflowing white sewage onto the nearby grass. Rat holes were found, and old newspaper mats covered the ceiling" (Fredonia-Dunkirk Evening Observer, October 10, 1966). The other camp had no bathing facilities.

Commented Hardwick: "...Health officers throughout the state are serving at the pleasure of county officials....Enforcement should be on the state level, rotate the men to make them more effective and to keep them away from political ties." Hardwick also recommended that the number of workers required before housing would come under farm labor housing rules be cut from five to one. "If this were done, then the camp in Brocton would have come under the county jurisdiction."

According to recent reports, some 75 farm workers have been signed up the United Steelworkers of America, which has 9 locals and 5,000 members in the Dunkirk area. Joe Granto of the Steelworkers gave early support to organizing farm workers. "Who are we not to help someone in trouble?" he explained.

The seeds are there in Brocton for a successful organizing effort: the migrants themselves have a strong and articulate leader in Mrs. Lares Trejan. It is she who sought out Joe Granto, who went on the local radio station asking her people to

refuse to work on the day of the funeral, who sees the importance of unity among the workers. With hard union support, a dedicated core of citizenry, and the concern of legislators such as Arthur Hardwick, a farm workers' movement in New York State can become a reality.

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The National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor is at work on a report on farm labor organizing--past, present, and future--in which other areas of the country will be treated in some detail. Please send us reports and news articles on farm labor organizing, and also any other clippings pertaining to farm labor issues in your area.

II. THE GROUND IS OUR TABLE

The Ground Is Our Table, by Steve Allen, with photographs by Arthur Dubinsky (Doubleday: $3.95, 140 pages).

In this short, fact-filled story of the American migrant worker Steve Allen has cut through the maze of detail to the human injustices perpetrated on over two million American field workers. He has succeeded in achieving the difficult balance between human concern and factual reporting; his compassion for these impoverished Americans is accompanied by persuasive evidence that better working and living conditions are not problems of finance, but problems of conscience.

NACFL recommends this book highly; its personal style will make it excellent reading especially for those who are not yet aware of the plight of America's farm workers.

2/6/67

Janet:

Bob Anderson asks that you please comply with the request of PA's on the attached 1966-67 Nairo Leadership list.

Thank you.

BBA - Would you please see that some time these names either get a New South or a flyer? Paul

1966-67 NAIRO LEADERSHIP LIST

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11/29/66

File

A Proposal for

A COOPERATIVE ACTION PROGRAM

for Southern Low-Income Groups

I. The Need and The Opportunity

Among the disadvantaged, low-income citizens of the USA, none are more numerous and few are more eager for emergence into the main stream of the American economy than the low-income population of the five states of the Deep South - Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, and Georgia. Most of these low-income families are rural and negro. The greatest transformation in American agriculture has passed them by. One encouraging evidence of an awakening among them is the widespread interest in organizing cooperatives, which has led to the development of this proposal.

In many respects the situation of the underprivileged in the Deep South, both rural and urban, is like that of the millions of unemployed throughout the USA in the Great Depression of the thirties. Out of those dark days hundreds of cooperatives were born - self-help cooperatives, buying clubs, farmers marketing and supply cooperatives. Many of the latter, assisted by the then newly-created Farm Credit Administration and the Farm Security Administration, are today large, successful businesses, and their once poverty-stricken members are now prosperous farmers. Some of the buying clubs, especially those with substantial intellectual or labor leadership, have become superbly successful super markets with a large, prosperous, largely middle-class membership. And many a strong credit union started very small in depression days.

But the situation of the low-income groups of the Deep South today differs, in several important respects from the situation of those who in the depression organized successful cooperatives:

1. A majority of the South's depressed population are economically illiterate. They have never had a fair opportunity to sell their labor or their crops, or buy their supplies in a genuinely free market. They are constantly in debt on usurious terms. They have never had a chance to become business men, individually or collectively.

2. They lack local trained leadership, although within their groups there are potential leaders who could, given the proper information and training, direct and manage cooperatives successfully.

3. Rightly or wrongly, many of the disadvantaged are convinced the local power structure is opposed to any improvement in their lot, and that even the local representatives of Federal agencies will not give them help to which they are legally entitled.

It is to overcome the handicaps listed above, and to stimulate and guide cooperative development that this proposal is presented. It is essentially an adult education program designed to develop mutual self-help cooperatives of all appropriate kinds which can eventually be self-supporting.

This proposal is based upon the needs of this awakening segment of southern society, as voiced at a Cooperative Training Planning Conference at Mt. Beulah Conference Center, Edwards, Mississippi, June 9-11, 1966. The conference was attended by delegates from a representative group of low-income cooperatives already started or in the formative stage, in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Tennessee. The Planning Conference had as technical advisors a small group of cooperative educational experts selected by the Cooperative League of the USA. These men brought to the discussions the wisdom distilled from uninterrupted service in cooperative education and training from the depression days to the present. And finally this draft of the proposal was formulated and refined by a committee chosen by the Mt. Beulah Conference. This drafting committee met in Atlanta, Georgia, June 22-23, 1966.

II. Objectives

1. To raise the economic status of low-income citizens of the Southern States, by preparing them for full participation in existing cooperatives or for the creation of new and strong cooperatives to meet their needs.

   Possible cooperative developments in line with this objective are described in some detail in Part III of this proposal, entitled "Ultimate Economic Goals".

2. To bring about this economic improvement by means of group study, group action, and individual participation in democratic decision making, providing thus for the cooperative's members a training in democracy and a new sense of human dignity, and a sense of accomplishment which becomes the basis for further development.

   The training programs proposed to meet this objective are set forth in Part IV "Personal Development--The Training Programs Required".

III. Ultimate Goals. It is impossible to set precise goals -- so many credit unions, so many consumer (home supply) cooperatives, so many farmers marketing cooperatives, so many petroleum, so many farm supply cooperatives -- to be achieved in this five-year period. To set such numerical goals would be to prejudge the needs and desires of the members; it would be a denial of the basic premise of these proposals, namely, that the people themselves shall make the choice of the kind of cooperative activity they undertake.

However, on the basis of the limited information available about cooperative interest among low-income Southerners, it is not too much to imagine one or more of the following developments:

A. The organization of cooperative service centers by most of the study-action groups formed through this program. These service centers may undertake such varied group actions as:

. buying clubs for the purchase of staple household commodities at wholesale prices;

. discount agreements with local merchants for purchase of appliances, clothing and other goods by group members at listed lower cash prices;

. rent or purchase of trucks for transportation and marketing of members' produce.

Some of these cooperative service centers might expand into full-fledged consumer cooperatives. Obtaining their supplies at reasonable cost will be essential for their survival. Some items may be obtainable from existing farm supply regionals. If so, the local consumer cooperative use their services and affiliate with them in whatever way may be possible. But since no consumer cooperative wholesale now exists in the South, the local consumer cooperatives will need to organize for their survival a consumer cooperative wholesale with service branches in several trading centers in the South. If this is done, it would seem to require that this cooperative wholesale have expert guidance based upon the experience of the cooperative wholesales of the North, East and West. Such a wholesale might be organized on a fee for service basis, and the service might include educational as well as business advisory services essential to the continued success of any consumer (home supply) cooperative.

B. The organization of one or more credit unions in each of the "pockets of poverty" recognized by OEO and organized for Community Action Programs. Many of these credit unions, under the plans worked out jointly by CUNA and OEO, might be staffed in their initial stages by OEO financed employes. All of them would, as a matter of course, join their respective State Credit Union Leagues, pay dues to the Leagues and CUNA, and receive full CUNA and League services. They would eventually be self-sustaining and full partners in the overall credit union movement.

C. Petroleum cooperatives and farm supply cooperatives, particularly those handling both petroleum and fertilizer, would seem to be a natural development in many rural areas of the South. In many places such cooperatives will already be established and ready to include new members. Where it is necessary to organize new cooperatives they may find their economic source of supplies in existing farm supply wholesales; in others they may need to organize their own wholesale. Such a wholesale, limited in capital, may be able to survive and offer the full educational and business services it should, if it can make its contracts for supplies through strong, friendly farm supply regionals in neighboring states.

D. Farm marketing cooperatives of specialized products may or may not be able to establish connections with existing cooperatives marketing the same products. Wherever possible this should be done. Where low-income farmers find it necessary to organize a new marketing cooperative, it is quite probable that such cooperatives may need to handle also farm supplies and join with a federation of farm supply cooperatives in order to survive.

E. Industrial or Handicraft Cooperatives have already sprung up, especially in some parts of Mississippi. The future of this type of cooperative will depend on many factors, not the least of which will be the extent to which markets can be developed and the extent to which technical questions of design can be met. In the textile and leather industries, where style is master, and fashion is fickle, a strong central organization is indispensable, for product development, quality control and successful marketing.

F. A central fee-supported educational federation should emerge as the best way to carry on a self-sustaining educational, training and business advisory service for the local cooperatives aided by this Project in their initial stages. The Southern Consumers Cooperative Association has initiated such a program by creating the non-profit Southern Consumers Educational Foundation to which each member must pay $5.00 membership fee before he can begin to accumulate share capital and voting rights in the cooperative itself.

The development of a central educational federation could be stimulated, from the first, by offering each study-action group organized, the following educational services:

1. a monthly newsletter to each member of the group
2. continuation of the educational services of the field staff of the Project
3. an annual state-wide conference for study-action and cooperative group members

The continuation of these services could be conditioned on the payment by the individual members of an annual one-dollar subscription fee. The one-dollar subscription fee would become a one-dollar annual membership fee in the federation when it is organized. The Project should further subsidize the federation, if necessary, after it takes over the educational services listed above.

It seems premature at this stage to predict either the form or the extent of the central cooperative educational and financial service organizations which may be set up by the cooperatives organized under this Project. But it is not too soon to recognize that the solution of this problem will be the ultimate test of the success of this project and of the cooperatives it helps bring into being.

IV. Personnel Development -- The Training Programs Required

It is not enough to achieve strong economic institutions as a result of this program. The project will have been a failure if it fails to produce men--members who understand and accept the responsibilities that go with cooperative membership and leaders who can wisely guide their groups in the search for sound cooperative businesses, and who can efficiently direct and manage those businesses when established. Such members and such leaders are not to be thought of as a means to a goal. In a truer sense, they themselves are the goal. "The best co-op product is a cooperator" is as true today as it was in the depression when Harvey Hall made it the slogan of the Indiana farmers cooperatives.

How then can this project produce -- or rather discover and develop these informed and loyal members, among an ill-informed low-income population? How shall their potential leaders be discovered and their latent talents developed -- potential organizers, capable candidates for elective cooperative office, committee men, managers, employees without whose understanding of cooperatives and dedication to cooperation as a way of business, cooperative success will be impossible? And, indeed, how can these loyal members and dedicated leaders be found and developed without first having a competent, dedicated and well-trained staff for the project itself?

To meet these needs of personnel discovery and development is the heart of this project. The training programs proposed are here listed in the reverse order from their undertaking, beginning with the basic training for potential members which is the foundation upon which the whole developing cooperative business structure will ultimately rest.

A. Study and Action Groups, locally. These educational groups, already referred to, will become the core of each cooperative group organized. This follows the pattern of the world-famous Antigonish movement in Nova Scotia and the most promising low-income cooperative development in the southern states today, the Southern Consumers Cooperative Association, with its sister educational organization, the Southern Consumers Educational Foundation, which is organized into small local "chapters" or "action groups". The purposes of the study-action groups organized under this project will be:

(Purposes of Study-Action Groups - continued)

1. to determine for themselves their own most urgent needs and to determine which of these needs could be met by joining an existing cooperative and which could only be met by organizing a new cooperative.
   (This means encouraging the group to "make their own survey and feasibility studies," with whatever technical assistance and guidance they may "call in,")

2. to study the essentials for success of the cooperative enterprise under consideration, particularly in terms of available business volume, capital required, and necessary member loyalty.
   (These considerations lead directly to the next point, basic cooperative understanding.)

3. to acquire a mastery of the cooperative principles and practices essential to the success of the enterprise.
   (This has been the goal of such "study groups" in Nova Scotia, in Ohio, in India, in Puerto Rico and many other places.)

4. to acquire capital for the cooperative planned by regular weekly or monthly savings deposited with the action group during (and after) its period of initial studies.
   (This technique has been widely and successfully used by credit unions and other cooperatives, even among the very poor, in countries all around the world. This technique is one of the most effective known to stimulate "capital formation", the most acute problem of any low-income, economically disadvantaged segment of society. It stimulates this capital formation by transferring small sums regularly from consumption (at high prices) to savings. As they said in Puerto Rico of their cooperative developments, the impoverished jibaros ("hillbillies") became "penny capitalists"-- penny capitalists, but capitalists nonetheless.)

5. to visit as a group, or as delegates from the group, successful cooperatives already started elsewhere.
   (This technique was one of the most effective means of organizing and expanding cooperatives used by CCA of Kansas City in organizing the farm supply cooperatives of the central Midwest. It helps the group to think in larger, but realistic terms, in terms of successes within their own reach.)

6. to stimulate the imagination of the group's members, to plan ahead, to go on from one success to another and another.
   (The genius of successful cooperation is that success in one field widens members'horizons and leads to other and equally successful services for the members. Groups should not be disbanded when their first cooperative venture has been launched. They should continue, both to make sure of the success of that first venture, and when it is assured to discover other needs which can be met cooperatively.)

7. to develop in the group's members, as a by-product of successful cooperative business action, a firm and soundly based self-confidence in their ability to handle their own economic affairs, as a group and individually .

   (This is the final value of the cooperative and of the group out of which it was born. It cannot be measured by patronage savings alone. It is an intangible, but with very tangible results in community prosperity.)

B. Selection and Training of the Staff of the Project. The new section of this proposal, Part V, "Staff and Administration" lists the specialists to be provided for the central staff of the project and each of the five state offices. It also describes the field force, referred to elswhere in this proposal as "field workers" or more technically as "cooperative counsellors". All of the project personnel--central, state and field will require intensive training before beginning their duties.

1. An orientation seminar or workshop of one or two weeks duration for central and state office staff. This should be held as soon as the Director, his Assistant, State Directors and their principal staff specialists have been chosen. This workshop should be held in the South, with participants including the staff of the project, and a number of outside "experts", i.e. sociologists trained in the dynamics of group action, economists specializing in cooperative credit and business, and cooperative educators with experience both in the USA and in developing economies abroad. Since all the central office and state office staff will be specialists, professionally trained, this orientation workshop will be designed to orient them to the special task of relating their professional skills to the problems of low-income people, and particularly the low-income people of the South.

   Representatives of regional cooperatives able and willing to accept low-income members will be invited and urged to participate in the initial workshop, as well as subsequent refresher courses.

2. Selection and training of the field force or "cooperative counsellors".

   a. Selection of the field force. It is proposed to place a field force of approximately twenty competent, trained persons in each state, each assigned to a specific area of one or more counties, to stimulate and assist each study-action group all the way from initial inquiries to the establishment and successful operation of the cooperative venture or venture eventually undertaken. For this task it is proposed to recruit socially-minded, well-educated southerners, with some professional training and experience. Especial effort will be made to interest returning Peace Corps volunteers and VISTA volunteers. Salaries are suggested at the level of well-paid public teachers. It is the aim to enlist competent persons, willing and able to enter a career with a five year future with the project and the possibility of eventual employment at good salaries by the cooperatives they help found. They need not be versed in cooperatives when selected.

b. Intensive training courses for the field force, to be given as the field staff is recruited. Each course should be six weeks in length, should be held at a central location in the South, should be held when about 20 staff members have been employed, and should include field observation trips to cooperative enterprises in successful operation, both low-income and middle-class cooperatives and credit unions. These intensive training courses might be set up at the Arkansas A. M. and N. College, Pine Bluff, if they develop the special course now under consideration for the training of foreign students coming to the USA under AID grants to study cooperatives.

3. Refresher courses or workshops for all staff and field force to be held every six months. At these refresher courses and workshops, materials may be prepared and revised and case studies and role-playing devised out of actual experiences.

C. Training the local group leadership

From the very first meeting of the field worker or cooperative counsellor with the group, the potential leaders will begin to emerge. In the earliest stages, these persons will be the discussion leaders; in later stages they will be the elected organization committee; still later the board of directors, and such continuing committees as the education committee and the supervisory committee. All these, in their turn will need training in the special techniques required for successful leadership in the positions they hold. The project, therefore, must provide:

1. Local leadership training courses, for organization committee members, for boards of directors, for other committee members and voluntary workers, whose greater understanding of cooperative problems and principles is essential for the success of group enterprise. These local leadership training courses will be held in local communities or in districts embracing several local groups, whenever the need arises, at the request of the local leaders, relayed through the area cooperative counsellor. Instruction to be provided by
   . the state "roving staff" with its mobile unit
   . cooperative leaders "called in" by the state director

2. Technical training for lay cooperative officers -- president (as presiding officer), secretary, treasurer, supervisory committee, education committee. Specific training dealing with the problems of these non-paid, voluntary and elective officers. This technical training will take two forms:
   (a) "coaching" by the area cooperative counsellor
   (b) group courses, for officers of the same position from several cooperative groups -- training to be given by the state staff "roving counsellors," the auditor-analyst on the state staff, and/or other cooperative technicians called in.
   (c) on the job "internship", a few days at a time, with existing cooperatives, which agree to provide this experience. This is an important part of the technique employed in credit union development.

   Particularly since most of these elected or volunteer officers will be low-income persons who can ill afford or cannot afford at all the time, travel and expense involved in such technical training courses, they should be reimbursed by the Project for all these costs.

D. Selection and Training of Managers for New Cooperatives

1. Selection of potential managers for training will be based upon the following principles:

   a. During the period while study-action groups are developing plans for cooperative action a pool of potential managers should be selected and trained, sufficient to staff these cooperatives when they are ready to go into operation.

   b. (1) It is anticipated that managers as well as the rest of the employed staff of cooperatives and credit unions assisted in this program will come largely from within the groups themselves. The development of business leadership from within the low-income groups themselves is one of the major objectives of the program. It is strictly within the American "office-boy-to-president" tradition.

   (2) It is proposed that talented young men within study-action groups may be recommended for management training by the cooperative counsellors, prior to the time the cooperative is ready to open for business. These young men, sent for training, may be employed at the conclusion of their training by their own group, or by some other group, depending on local circumstances.

2. Training potential managers must be thorough and must embrace both theory and practice:

   a. a course in management, probably one month in length, at a southern educational institution--this course to be repeated as many times a year as management trainees are available. Trainees will receive salaries and have all expenses paid. Planning the academic course in management should be done in consultation with the staff of the International Cooperative Training Center, University of Wisconsin and with the directors of such other cooperative training centers as the CCA School of Cooperation, Kansas City.

   b. "on-the-job training," field experience for each management trainee, in a cooperative where he can obtain the maximum amount of experience relevant to the management job to which he expects to return. For this field on-the-job training the trainee will have to go, perhaps, to another state; his travel expenses and salary will be borne entirely by the Project.

   The field training "on-the-job" should be planned in collaboration with the staff of the Board for International Cooperative Training, Inc. who have a panel of over 500 cooperatives across the nation who have agreed to give short-term field training in cooperatives to trainees from abroad. In addition, the Program Coordinator has in preparation a smaller, very select panel of cooperatives prepared to undertake a centrally directed, longer term on-the-job training.

V. Staff and Administration

The Southern Regional Council will furnish the staff and will administer the project, with the assistance of an Advisory Board representing the co-sponsoring organizations. A brief outline of the administrative structure follows.

A. A central administrative office, staffed by highly trained specialists
- a Director, the administrative head of the entire project, a man with administrative experience and empathy for the low-income groups of the South
- an Assistant Director, who may also be in charge of research, the search for active and incipient cooperative interest groups
- a "roving" Field Supervisor, available for promotional and planning assistance anywhere in the region, on call
- a Study-Action Group Director, to provide guidance and discussion materials to the field force and to the study-action groups
- a Cooperative Specialist, with organizational experience in several types of cooperatives, who would work closely with the Cooperative League and with regional cooperatives
- a Credit Union Specialist, working closely with CUNA International
- an Editor for the study-group news letter
- a Legal Counsel, versed in cooperative law
- an audio-visual expert, to assist in preparing materials -- charts, movies, simple literature in the vernacular
- a Comptroller, to handle all accounts
- necessary secretarial office personnel

B. A state office for each of the five states with:
- a State Director
- a Cooperative Specialist, working with existing cooperatives and furnishing expertise to the field force
- a Credit Union Specialist, working with the State Credit Union League
- an Auditor-Analyst, to offer needed business services (audits, analysis of financial statements, and business advice)
- two "roving counsellors", equipped with a well-equipped mobile audio-visual unit, to provide additional educational assistance when called in by the locally assigned advisers, especially
  - (a) in the early stages, to get an educational group study going
  - (b) for supporting and more advanced training conferences, as the local program proceeds
  - (c) for district or regional training conferences of leadership personnel of cooperative groups in the process of organizing or in the early stages of business operations
- a lawyer or lawyers, on retainer fees, to assist in drafting legal papers for new cooperatives
- necessary secretarial office personnel

(Staff and Administration - continued)

C. A field staff of active, dedicated, well-trained cooperative counsellors ("generalists," not specialists, in one particular kind of cooperative), each assigned to a specific area (county or parish). It is contemplated this will require twenty (20) trained field staff personnel in each state covered, each equipped with a car, a stock of literature and other teaching aids. This staff will:

1. Seek out all low-income cooperatives and credit unions in operation or in process of organization and all groups inquiring about cooperatives and/or credit unions, in order to offer them the services listed below.

2. Provide educational guidance and materials to enable study and action groups to determine how their needs can be met by cooperative action and to understand fully what cooperative action will require of its members.

3. Provide organization guidance and assistance, personally and on the spot, to action groups at every step in the critical process of organizing a successful cooperative business. Note that this will include "calling in" the necessary technical assistance from the state office and, if necessary, from such existing cooperative service organizations as the Cooperative League, CUNA International and State Credit Union Leagues and regional cooperatives and such Federal agencies as OEO, FHA and the Agricultural Extension Service.

D. An Advisory Board will be set up, including, among others, representatives of the following co-sponsors:

. The Cooperative League of the USA which has staff available to assist in planning high level seminars, workshops and training courses; and cooperative educational materials available for reproduction in simple, vernacular language.

. CUNA International which will make available directly and through the State Credit Union Leagues all plans and materials developed by the CUNA Anti-Poverty Program.

. Southern Consumers Cooperative Association which offers its projects as pilot plants for observation and study in the development of this Southern Regional Council five-state program.

. National Sharecroppers Union which offers its long experience in seeking constructive programs for and with southern low-income groups.

In addition, regional cooperative organizations able and willing to accept low-income cooperators and cooperatives into full membership will be asked to nominate members for the Advisory Board.

Membership on the Advisory Board shall not entail financial responsibility for any part of this project, the Southern Regional Council retaining full control of the funds, and assuming full responsibility to the donors for the proper disbursement of the funds.

VI. Relationship with Government Agencies

It is the intention to make the maximum use possible of services available from state and federal agencies. Specifically:

- The Office of Economic Opportunity will be kept informed of the overall plans, and its local Community Action groups will be involved in specific projects to the greatest extent possible, and OEO will be called on for the appropriate financial support.

- The Farmers Home Administration will be kept informed on all agricultural cooperative projects and will be asked to provide advice, and, where appropriate, financial assistance for specific projects.

- The Agricultural Extension Service and the Land-Grant Universities of the respective states, will be called upon for technical advice and assistance wherever appropriate.

It is the intent to maintain close relations at all levels with these and other available government service agencies. The Director of the project will keep in touch with national agencies. The State Directors will keep the appropriate state agencies informed at all times, and each member of the field force will be responsible for keeping the appropriate local officials in his area informed of the cooperative projects and needs in his area. But all requests for assistance and funds should come directly from the local study-action groups or the cooperatives they set up.

VII. Timetable

First year

(Getting started in five states. A budget year; actual time from first receipt of funds, probably 15 months)

(two months)

Selection of central staff and state directors
Orientation Seminar (two weeks)
Establishment of central office

(three months)

Employment state staffs - in all five states
Establishment of state offices
Employment of field workers ("cooperative counsellors")
(100 in all , for all five states)
Securing five mobile field units

(ten months)

Five intensive training courses for field workers ("cooperative counsellors")
(one month for each group of twenty, the first twenty hired, regardless of state in which they will work)
Hopefully, about eight months of regular field work
Average length of service for first group of field workers first year
Hopefully, first regular manager training courses

Second year (project in full operation)

Complete staff of field workers if any vacancies, or if any replacements needed
Eight one-week refresher courses; six for field workers who have had one year of service, two for new field workers
Manager training courses continued

Third year (continue with full staff, 100 field workers)

Ten one-week small group refresher courses for field workers and staff, or five small and one for entire staff together
Concentrate efforts on development of service and educational federations of cooperatives, for continuation of the project functions after completion of the project

VII. Timetable (continued)

Fourth year (begin consolidation and phasing out)

Two auditor-analysts, self-supporting
(that is, employed by a cooperative federation or non-profit organization serving the newly-created cooperatives of low-income membership)

Reduce staff of field workers as cooperative federations undertake their own field work; hopefully, a 20% transfer of field staff from the Project to self-supporting cooperative service organizations during the year

Continue refresher courses and workshops

Fifth year (phasing out)

Three remaining auditor-analysts, and as much as possible of central and state staffs transfer to self-supporting cooperatives service organizations during the year

Select members of field staff similarly during the year transfer to employment with self-supporting cooperative service organizations; remainder released, as their projects phase out

Sixth year (completion of project)

Retain skeleton central staff and a limited number of field representatives, if there are

(1) any incomplete local projects
(2) any incomplete projects for the creation of self-supporting cooperative service organizations
(3) any unexpended funds

VIII. Budget Estimates

The budget estimates, given in detail on the attached pages are based upon the following premises:

1. Salaries form the major part of the expenditures in any grassroots educational program. This program is no exception. The total salaries for 136 persons is $4,696,800. With fringe benefits of $534,730 this is 73% of the overall cash costs.

   The salary estimates have been made on these assumptions:

   (a) that the executive salaries should be in line with salaries offered by business, the government or the universities for professional services of similar grade.

   (b) that the field staff should receive remuneration at approximately the level of public school teaching positions in the South. It might be possible to recruit persons on an altruistic cost-of-living basis like the Peace Corps or VISTA, but such volunteers could scarcely be expected to serve five years. For this reason, if no other, the field staff is put on a semi-professional basis.

2. Capital expenditures indicated in the estimates by an asterisk (*) are included in the cash budget along with current operating costs. Of total capital outlay, $366,000, five-sixths is for cars -- one for each of the field force and 22 additional for the staff. The figures are for used cars (one-year old standard models at an average of $1500). An allowance is made for trade-ins, as may be required in subsequent years. The used cars may, in the end, cost as much as new cars, but they avoid the air of superiority which might be created by field personnel driving big, new cars while working with low-income people.

3. An overhead allowance should be allowed for overall administration. At 10% of salaries (the usual government allowance for "off-campus" services) this adds up as follows:

Cash budget estimates	$7,108,130
Overhead (10% salaries)	469,480
Overall grand total	$7,577,810

Budget Estimates

	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year	Fifth Year	TOTALS
I. Central Office						
Staff: Director and Assistant	27,000	27,000	27,000	27,000	27,000	135,000
"Roving" Field Supervisor	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	60,000
Study-Action Group Director	9,600	9,600	9,600	9,600	9,600	48,000
Cooperative Specialist	9,600	9,600	9,600	9,600	9,600	48,000
Credit Union Specialist	9,600	9,600	9,600	9,600	-	38,400
Comptroller	9,600	9,600	9,600	9,600	9,600	48,000
Editor	9,000	9,000	9,000	9,000	-	36,000
Audio-Visual Expert	9,000	9,000	9,000	9,000	-	36,000
Secretaries and Clerk-Typists (6)	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	20,000	140,000
Fringe Benefits (11.2%)	15,050	15,050	15,050	15,050	9,830	70,030
Fund for Legal Aid	9,000	9,000	9,000	9,000	4,500	40,500
Subsidy to Group-Study Paper	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	5,000	45,000
Consultants	7,500	7,500	7,500	7,500	-	30,000
Office Equipment*	4,500	-	-	-	-	4,500*
Office Expense						
Stationery, Postage, Phone, Insurance, Rent, Miscellaneous, Contingency	8,800	8,800	8,800	8,800	6,000	41,200
Autos (2) purchase*	6,000*	-	-	-	-	6,000*
Car maintenance, operation	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	1,000	9,000
Other Travel	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	3,000	27,000
Total, Central Office	194,250	183,750	183,750	183,750	117,130	862,630
II. State Offices and Field Force						
State Directors @ 9,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	225,000
Auditor-Analysts @ 9,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	27,000	9,000	171,000
Cooperative Specialists @ 9,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	225,000
Credit Union Specialists @ 9,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	-	180,000
Roving Counsellors @ 7,200	72,000	72,000	72,000	72,000	28,800	316,800
Secretaries and Clerk-Typists (15)	75,000	75,000	75,000	75,000	60,000	360,000
Field Staff (20 per state @ 6,000)	600,000	600,000	600,000	540,000	300,000	2,640,000
Fringe Benefits (11.2%)	105,000	105,000	105,000	95,000	54,700	464,700
Mobile Units*	50,000*	-	-	-	-	50,000*
Movies and literature	45,000	35,000	25,000	20,000	10,000	135,000
Automobiles (one each)*	180,000*	30,000*	30,000*	30,000*	-	270,000*
Auto Operations	50,000	50,000	60,000	50,000	30,000	240,000
Office Equipment*	10,000*	-	-	-	-	10,000*
Office Expense and Contingency	30,000	30,000	30,000	25,000	15,000	130,000
Fund for Legal Aid	45,000	45,000	45,000	30,000	15,000	180,000
Total, State Offices and Field Force	1,442,000	1,222,000	1,222,000	1,099,000	612,500	5,597,500
III. Training Programs						
Orientation Seminar	10,000	-	-	-	-	10,000
Field force training	80,000	-	-	10,000	-	90,000
Refresher Courses	-	10,000	15,000	12,000	6,000	43,000
Technical Training	10,000	15,000	20,000	20,000	10,000	75,000
Management Training	60,000	100,000	120,000	100,000	50,000	430,000
Total Training	160,000	125,000	155,000	142,000	66,000	648,000
Grand Total	1,796,250	1,530,750	1,560,750	1,424,750	795,630	7,108,130

*Capital Expenditures

File

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION
of the
SOUTHERN FEDERATION OF COOPERATIVES

The undersigned, all of whom are representatives of incorporated or unincorporated associations, do hereby voluntarily associate ourselves together to form a nonprofit cooperative association under the provisions of the Cooperative Associations Act of the District of Columbia, and for such purposes do hereby adopt the following articles of incorporation, to-wit:

ARTICLE I: NAME

The name of the association shall be the Southern Federation of Cooperatives.

ARTICLE II: Registered Office

The location of the registered office of the association is _____

in the city of _____, County of _____

State of _____.

ARTICLE III: Registered Agent

The name and address of the registered agent of the association is _____, in the City of _____,

County of _____, State of _____.

ARTICLE IV: Purpose

The purpose for which the association is organized are to promote region wide programs and institutions for the training of persons interested in the formation and development of all types of cooperatives; to sponsor and encourage the development of all types of cooperatives through education and other means; to act as a clearing house and data bank of information relating to the different types (continued on page 2)

of cooperatives; to make technical and financial resources available to existing cooperatives and to persons wishing to organize a cooperative or association of cooperatives; to coordinate advertising on behalf of cooperatives; to aid cooperatives in ascertaining alternative means of supply and distribution; to engage in research relevent to economic development or cooperative expansion; to serve as a clearing house for potential resources, financial assistance and technical help for cooperatives; to publish and distribute newsletters, pamphlets, books and other information about cooperatives or matters of interest to members of cooperatives; to promote the organization of state federations of cooperatives; to promote cooperation among cooperatives; to assist, defend and protect the cooperative movement; to provide such services as may, from time to time, be requested by member cooperatives; to associate private counsel to advise and represent the association, member cooperatives and persons wishing to form cooperatives; to engage in any activity in connection with the marketing or selling of agricultural or manufactured products of its members including the picking, gathering, harvesting, receiving, assembling, handling, grading, standardizing, packing, preserving, drawing, processing, transporting, storing, financing, advertising, finishing, manufacturing, selling, marketing, or distributing of any such agricultural or non-agricultural products; to purchase for its members and other patrons farm supplies and equipment, industrial supplies and equipment and whatever other supplies and equipment materially advance the cooperative movement; to promote or participate in the cooperative production and distribution of agricultural or manufactured products and the provision of personal services; to manufacture, process, sell, store, handle, ship, distribute, furnish, supply and procure supplies and equipment for cooperatives; to exercise all such powers in any capacity on any cooperative basis that may be agreed upon; to finance by loan, grant or purchase any of the aforementioned activities; to maintain such executive staff and assistants as may be necessary to carry out the objectives of the federation; and to exercise all other powers of association required or permitted under the Cooperative Associations Act of the District of Columbia.

ARTICLE V: Principal Place of Business

The place where the principal business of the association will be transacted is in the City of _____, County of _____, State of _____.

ARTICLE VI: Term of Existence

The term of existence of the association shall be perpetual.

ARTICLE VII: Directors

Each member cooperative shall elect on of its members to serve on the Board of Directors of the Federation. The names and addresses of those directors who are to serve until the first annual meeting of the members of the association or until their successors are elected and qualified are:

NAME	COOPERATIVE	ADDRESS

ARTICLE VIII: Open Membership

There shall be no discrimination on the basis of race, creed or color by this association or by any of its member cooperative.

ARTICLE IX: Membership

This association is organized without shares and its membership shall consist of the incorporating cooperatives and such other cooperatives as may be admitted to membership in accordance with the by-laws of the association.

ARTICLE X: Dissolution

The association may, at any regular or special meeting legally called, be directed to dissolve by a vote of two thirds of the cooperatives which belong to the association, after its debts and expenses have been paid, shall be distributed to any consumers' cooperative association or nonprofit enterprise or enterprises designated by the Board of Directors at the time of dissolution.

In witness whereof, we have subscribed our names this _____ day of _____ 1967.

Signatures of Incorporators

Association

_____	_____ President	_____ Secretary
_____	_____ President	_____ Secretary

State of _____

County of _____ SS.

Before me, a notary public, within and for said county and State on this _____ day of _____, 1967, personally appeared _____, known to me to be one of the identical persons who executed the within and foregoing instrument, and he acknowledged to me that he had executed the same as his free and voluntary act and deed on behalf of the cooperative which he represents for the uses and purposes therein set forth.

Witness my hand and official seal the day and year above set forth.

_____
Notary Public

In and for the County of _____, State of _____.

My commission expires _____.

State of _____ SS.

County of _____

Before me, a notary public, within and for said county and State on this _____ day of _____, 1967, personally appeared _____, known to me to be one of the identical persons who executed the within and foregoing instrument, and he acknowledged to me that he had executed the same as his free and voluntary act and deed on behalf of the cooperative which he represents for the uses and purposes therein set forth.

Witness my hand and official seal the day and year above set forth.

_____
Notary Public

In and for the County of _____, State of _____.

My commission expires _____.

State of _____
SS.
County of _____

Before me, a notary public, within and for said county and State on this _____ day of _____, 1967, personally appeared _____, known to me to be one of the identical persons who executed the within and foregoing instrument, and he acknowledged to me that he had executed the same as his free and voluntary act

and deed on behalf of the cooperative which he represents for the uses and purposes therein set forth.

Witness my hand and official seal the day and year above set forth.

_____
Notary Public

In and for the County of _____, State of _____.

My commission expires _____.

Bylaws of the Southern Federation of Cooperatives

Article I. Purposes and Powers

The purposes for which this association is formed and the powers which it may exercise are set forth in the articles of incorporation of the association.

Article II. Membership

Section 1. Qualifications. Any cooperative association chartered or doing business in Maryland, the District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Missouri or Kentucky which agrees with the objectives of the federation and which pays such membership fees and meets such other conditions as may be prescribed by the board of directors, may become a member of the association. This association shall issue a certificate of membership to each member which shall be in such form as may be prescribed by the board of directors but shall not be transferable. No cooperative shall be admitted to the association except by the approval of 2/3 of the directors present when there is a quorum.

Section 2. Suspension or Termination. If, following a hearing, the board of directors shall find that a member has ceased to be an eligible member or has not, for a period of two (2) years, paid such membership fees and met such other conditions as may be prescribed by the board of directors or as may required in these bylaws or has moved out of the territory in which the association is operating, it may suspend the rights of said association as a member or terminate its membership. Upon termination of membership in the association, all rights and interest of such member shall cease and such members shall be entitled only to payment or credit for the equitable appraised value of its property rights and interest in the association, as conclusively determined by the board of directors. No action taken hereunder shall impair the obligations or liabilities of either party under any contract with the association, which may be terminated only as provided therein.

Article III. Meetings of Members

Section 1. Annual Meeting. The annual meeting of the members of this association shall be held in the town of _____, State of _____, at _____ o'clock a.m., on the day of _____ of each year, or on any date which the board of directors shall designate at least 30 days in advance of the date specified above.

Section 2. Special Meetings. Special meetings of the members of the association may be called at any time by order of the board of directors, and shall be called at any time upon written request of at least ten percent (10%) of the member associations by the president of the member association or individual elected by the membership of said member association to act on its behalf.

Section 3. Notice of Meetings. Written or printed notice of every regular and special meeting of member associations shall be mailed to the last known post office address of each member association not less than 20 days before such meeting. Such notice shall state the object or objects thereof and the time and place of the meetings. No business shall be transacted at special meetings other than that referred to in the call.

Section 4. Voting. Each member of the association shall be entitled to two votes and one additional vote for each additional 100 members or fraction thereof over 100, but no member association shall be entitled to more than 5 votes. Voting by proxy shall not be permitted. Absent members may vote on specific questions other than the removal of directors by ballots transmitted to the secretary by mail, and such ballots shall be counted only in the meeting at the time which such vote is taken, provided that all members have been notified in writing, pursuant to action by the board of directors, of the exact wording of the motion or resolution upon which such vote is taken, and the copy thereof is forwarded with the absentee ballot.

Section 5. Quorum. One or more individuals representing twenty per cent (20%) of the member associations shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting of the association except for the transaction of business for which a different quorum is specifically provided by law or by these bylaws; but in the event a quorum is not present, such meeting may be adjourned from time to time by those present until a quorum is present.

Section 6. Order of Business. The order of business at the annual meeting shall be:

1. Roll call.
2. Proof of due notice of meeting.
3. Reading and disposal of minutes.
4. Annual reports of officers and committees.
5. Unfinished business.
6. New business.
7. Election of directors.

Article IV. Directors and Officers

Section 1. Number and Qualifications of Directors. The association shall have a board of directors of _____ (_____) members.

Section 2. Election of Directors. At the first annual meeting of the members of this association directors shall be elected to succeed the incorporating directors. _____ (_____) directors shall be elected for 1 year; _____ (_____) directors shall be elected for 2 years; and thereafter each director shall be elected for 2 years. At least two nominees shall be nominated for each directorship. All directors shall be elected by secret ballot and the nominee receiving the greatest number of votes shall be elected.

Section 3. Election of Officers. The board of directors shall meet within _____ (_____) days after each annual election and shall elect by ballot a president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer (or a secretary-treasurer), each of whom shall hold office until the election

and qualification of his successor unless earlier removed by death, resignation, or for cause. The president and vice president only need be members of the board of directors. Vacancies in such offices shall be filled by the board of directors through election by ballot.

Section 4. Vacancies. Whenever a vacancy occurs in the board of directors, other than from the expiration of a term of office, the remaining directors shall appoint a member to fill the vacancy until the next regular meeting of the members.

Section 5. Board Meetings. In addition to the meetings mentioned above, regular meetings of the board of directors shall be held at such times and at such places as the board may determine.

Section 6. Special Meetings. A special meeting of the board of directors shall be held whenever called by the president or by a majority of the directors. Any and all business may be transacted at a special meeting. Each call for a special meeting shall be in writing, signed by the person or persons making the same, addressed and delivered to the secretary, and shall state the time and place of such meeting. On the signing of a waiver of notice of a meeting, a meeting of the board of directors may be held at any time.

Section 7. Notice of Board Meetings. Oral or written notice of each meeting of the board of directors shall be given each director by or under the supervision of the secretary of the association not less than 48 hours prior to the time of meeting, but such notice may be waived by all the directors, and appearance at a meeting shall constitute a waiver of notice thereof.

Section 8. Compensation. The compensation, if any, of the members of the board of directors and of the executive committee shall be determined by the members of the association at any annual or special meeting of the association. No member of the board of directors shall occupy any position in the association on regular salary.

Section 9. Quorum. A majority of the board of directors shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the board.

Section 10. Removal of Directors or Officers. A director or officer may be removed by a vote of two thirds of the representatives of member associations voting at a regular or special meeting.

Article V. Duties of Directors

Section 1. Management of Business. The board of directors shall have general supervision and control of the business and the affairs of the association and shall make all rules and regulations not inconsistent with law or with these bylaws for the management of the business and the guidance of the members, officers, employees, and agents of the association. It shall have installed an accounting system which shall be adequate to the requirements of the business and it shall be its duty to require proper records to be kept of all business transactions.

Section 2. Employment of Manager. The board of directors shall have power to employ a manager, define his duties, fix his compensation, and to dismiss him with or without cause at any time. The board shall employ or authorize the employment of such employees, agents, and counsel as it from time to time deems necessary or advisable in the interest of the association, prescribe their duties, and fix their compensation. The manager shall have charge of the business of the association under the direction of the board of directors.

Section 3. Bonds and Insurance. The board of directors shall require the manager and all other officers, agents, and employees charged by the association with responsibility for the custody of any of its funds or negotiable instruments to give adequate bonds. Such bonds, unless cash security is given, shall be furnished by a responsible bonding company and approved by the board of directors and the cost thereof shall be paid by the association. The board of directors shall provide for the adequate insurance of the property of the association, or property which may be in the possession of the association, or stored by it, and not otherwise adequately insured, and in addition adequate insurance covering liability for accidents to all employees and the public.

Section 4. Audits. At least once in each year the board of directors shall secure the services of a competent and disinterested publis auditor or accountant, who shall make a careful audit of the books and accounts of the association and render a report in writing thereon, which report shall be submitted to the members of the association at their annual meeting. This report shall include at least (1) a balance sheet showing the true assets and liabilities of the association; (2) an operating statement for the fiscal period under review which shall show the cost of, and receipts from, sales and the gross margins or loss from each of the major commodities handled during the period; and a statement of all expenses for the period under review.

Section 6. Depository. The board of directors shall have power to select one or more banks to act as depositories of the funds of the association and to determine the manner of receiving, depositing, and disbursing the funds of the association and the form of checks and the person or persons by whom they shall be signed, with the power to change such banks and the person or persons signing such checks and the form thereof at will.

Article VI. Duties of Officers

Section 1. Duties of President. The president shall (1) preside over all meetings of the association and of the board of directors, (2) call special meetings of the board of directors, (3) perform all acts and duties usually performed by an executive and presiding officer, and (4) sign all membership certificates and such other papers of the association as he may be authorized or directed to sign by the board of directors: Provided, however, that the board of directors may authorize any person to sign any or all checks, contracts, and other instruments in writing on behalf of the association. The president shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the board of directors.

Section 2. Duties of the Vice President. In the absence or disability of the president, the vice president shall perform the duties of the president.

Section 3. Duties of Secretary. The secretary shall keep a complete record of all meetings of the association and of the board of directors and shall have general charge and supervision of the books and records of the association. He shall sign all membership certificates with the president and such other papers pertaining to the association as he may be authorized or directed to sign by the board of directors. He shall serve all notices required by law and by these bylaws and shall make a full report of all matters and business pertaining to his office to the members at the annual meeting. He shall keep the corporate seal and all books of blank certificates, complete and countersign all certificates issued, and affix the corporate seal to all papers requiring a seal. He shall keep complete membership records. He shall act as secretary of the executive committee. He shall make all reports required by law and shall perform such other duties as may be required of him by the association or the board of directors. Upon the election of his successor, the secretary shall turn over to him all books and other property belonging to the association that he may have in his possession.

Section 4. Duties of Treasurer. The treasurer shall perform such duties with respect to the finances of the association as may be prescribed by the board of directors.

Article VII. Executive Committee and Other Committees

Section 1. Powers and Duties. The board of directors may in its discretion appoint from its own membership an executive committee of three (3) members, determine their tenure of office and their powers and duties. The board of directors may allot to such executive committee all or any stated portion of the functions and powers of the board of directors, subject to the general direction, approval, and control of the board. Copies of the minutes of any meeting of the executive committee shall be mailed to all directors within seven (7) days following such meeting.

Section 2. Other Committees. The board of directors may, in its discretion, appoint such other committees as may be necessary.

Article VIII. Duties of Manager

Section 1. In General. Under the direction of the board of directors the manager shall have general charge of the ordinary and usual business operations of the association, including the purchasing, marketing, and handling of all products and supplies handled by the association. He shall, so far as practicable, endeavor to conduct the business in such a manner that the members and patrons will receive just and fair treatment. The manager shall deposit all money belonging to the association which comes into his possession in the name of the association in a bank selected by the board of directors, and if authorized to do so by the board of directors shall make all disbursements by check therefrom for the ordinary and necessary expenses of the business in the manner and form prescribed by the board of directors. Upon the appointment of his successor, the manager shall deliver to him all money and property belonging to the association which he has in his possession or over which he has control.

Section 2. Duty to Account. The manager shall be required to maintain his records and accounts in such a manner that the true and correct condition of the business may be ascertained thereform at any time. He shall render annual and periodical statements in the form and in the manner prescribed by the board of directors. He shall carefully preserve all books, documents, correspondence, and records of whatever kind pertaining to the business which may come into his possession.

Section 3. Control of Employees. Subject to the approval of the board of directors, the manager shall employ, supervise, and dismiss any or all employees of the association but not agents or counsel specifically employed by the board of directors.

Article IX. Membership Certificates

The board of directors shall cause to be issued appropriate certificates of membership.

Article X. Patrons and Patrons' Net Margins

Section 1. Patrons. Each patronage transaction between this association and each patron shall be subject to and shall include as a part of its terms each provision of this Article X, whether it be expressly referred to in said transaction or not; and no person shall have any authority to transact any business for this association with any patron on any terms inconsistent with this Article X. Upon selling or consigning or otherwise delivering any product to this association or contracting to do so, and upon buying or otherwise receiving any supplies or equipment from this association or contracting to do so, each patron, with or without then executing any writing or doing any other act, thereby:

(a) Shall, as further consideration due him from this association on account of such transaction, become entitled to have paid to him such proportion of the Patrons' Net Margins received by this association as his patronage bears to the aggregate patronage of all patrons, all as more particularly hereinafter defined and provided; and

(b) Shall, in consideration of similar agreements by others in the same fiscal year, promise and agree to invest in the capital of this association (revolving fund) as requested by the board of directors _____ of the products sold, consigned or otherwise delivered to the association, which amount is hereby made deductible from the sales proceeds otherwise payable to the patron, and, in addition, such further sum or sums of money as the board of directors may specify: provided, however, That his obligation to invest in said capital in any fiscal year of this association in addition to the rate prescribed above shall be limited to an amount equal to his share of the Patrons' Net Margins for the fiscal year next preceding the fiscal year in which such investment is required of him and shall be proportionate to the investments required of other patrons; it being the intention and agreement of this association and each patron and of its several patrons with each other that as the board of directors shall deem the capital of this association to be inadequate, or deem additional capital to be necessary to repurchase or retire previously issued certificates of indebtedness or capital interests, then its several patrons shall, subject to the foregoing limitations, furnish such additional capital as may be required, and shall do so substantially in proportion to their respective patronage in the prededing fiscal year.

Section 2. Computation of Patrons' Net Margins. The Patrons" Net Margins, calculated upon the basis of each fiscal year, shall be computed as follows:

(a) Gross Receipts. All proceeds of all sales of products marketed for patrons, plus all sums received for supplies and equipment procured for patrons, plus all sums received from all other sources except loans or contributions to this association or investments in its capital, shall be deemed to be the "Gross Receipts".

(b) Patrons' Net Margins. This association shall deduct from such Gross Receipts the sum of the following items:

(1) all costs and expenses and other charges which are lawfully excludible or deductible from this association's Gross Receipts for the purpose of determining the amount of any net margin of this association; and

(2) an amount equal to _____ percent (_____%) of the balance of the Gross Receipts which remain after first having deducted therefrom the items referred to in clause (1) above.

If in any fiscal year this association shall incur a net operating loss which is recognizable for tax purposes, the board of directors shall have full authority to charge off such loss either against net margins of future years or against revolving fund credits or in such other manner as will afford the association the maximum benefit for tax purposes.

The balance of said Gross Receipts which remain after the foregoing deductions shall be deemed to be the "Patrons' Net Margins."

The amount deducted pursuant to clause (2) above shall be set aside in a reserve and apportioned to patrons in accordance with their patronage during the fiscal year: Provided, however, that when such reserve shall reach the sum of $_____ the board of directors in its discretion may either (a) make no further deductions; or (b) retire such amounts of such reserve as it considers may be in excess of the association's reserve needs. Such retirement shall be accomplished by paying off in full or pro rata patrons' apportioned interests by years, the oldest being paid first.

All of the Patrons' Net Margins shall, as received by the association, belong to and be held by the association for its respective patrons, and shall be distributed to them at the close of each fiscal year on a patronage basis. There shall be no discrimination between member and nonmember patrons in either the computation or payment of the Patrons" Net Margins: provided, that if a nonmember patron is eligible for membership, the amount of his share of the Patrons' Net Margins shall be credited to his individual account, and when such credit shall equal the amount of the required membership fee, a membership certificate shall be issued to him.

The patrons' respective shares of the Patrons' Net Margins shall be computed upon the basis of their respective patronage of, and the net margins resulting from the operations of, the various pools or departments of this association and shall be in proportion to the quantity or value of the products delivered by, or supplies or equipment procured for, such patrons.

Section 3. Payment of Patrons' Net Margins. Each patron's share of the Patrons' Net Margins shall be payable to him in cash at the close of each fiscal year, but the legal offset of the payments due a patron against the obligation of such patron to subscribe for capital, as provided in section 1(b) of this Article X, shall constitute full and complete discharge of the obligation of the association to make payment as herein provided.

Article XI. Revolving Fund

Section 1. Purpose. This association shall establish and maintain a revolving fund for the purpose of acquiring and maintaining adequate capital to finance its business.

Section 2. Investment in Fund. This association may require investment in its revolving fund as provided in Article X, Section 1(b) of these bylaws. Proper entries shall be made in the books and records of this association so that the net credit to each holder of an interest in the revolving fund in each year can be ascertained at any time. This association may issue revolving fund certificates to evidence credits in such fund, and the certificates may be in such form and contain such terms and conditions not inconsistent with this Article XI as the board of directors may prescribe.

Section 3. Operation. Investments in the revolving fund need not be segregated from, but on the contrary may be invested in or commingled with, any other assets of this association. No dividend, interest, or any other income shall be declared or paid on account of any net credits in the revolving fund. This association shall have a first lien on each revolving fund credit for all indebtedness of the holders thereof to this association.

Section 4. Repayment. If and when in the judgment of the board of directors the net balance in the revolving fund shall exceed the amount of capital reasonably needed by the association, it shall apply such excess to the retirement, in full or pro rata, of any or all the net credits in the revolving fund; provided, that such certificates shall be retired in the order of issuance by years and there shall be no discrimination between investments received in the same fiscal year. Notwithstanding any other provision of this section the board of directors, in its discretion, may retire any net credits at any time when the holder shall either (a) die, or (b) otherwise cease to be a producer, or (c) remove from the territory served by the association.

Section 5. Transfer. No assignment or transfer of any revolving fund shall be binding on this association without the consent of the board of directors nor until it shall have been entered in the books of this association.

Article XII. Dissolution

Upon the dissolution of this association, all debts and liabilities of this association shall first be paid according to their respective priorities. The holders of credits in the revolving fund shall then be paid any remainder of such property shall be distributed to any consumers cooperative association or nonprofit enterprise or enterprises designated by the board of directors at the time of dissolution.

Article XIII. Unclaimed Money

A claim for money against the association shall be subject to the provisions of this section whenever the association is ready, able, and willing to pay such claim, and has paid or is paying generally claims arising under similar circumstances, but payment of such claim cannot be made for the reason that the association does not know the whereabouts or mail address of the one to whom it is payable or the one entitled to payment. If such claim be not actually paid within a period of _____ years after it became payable as herein provided, the association shall remove the claim as a liability on its books; provided that no such removal shall be made unless at least 30 days prior thereto the association shall have sent by registered United States post, with the return receipt requested, a written notice of the proposed removal, addressed to the person appearing from the association's records to be entitled to payment of such money at the last address of such person shown by the records of the association. If any such claim be removed of record after giving such notice, the claim shall be deemed extinguished but the association shall continue to maintain a memorandum record of such claim and shall pay the principal amount thereof without interest to any claimant who subsequently establishes to the satisfaction of the association his right to receive payment. Any and all amounts recovered by the association pursuant to this Article, after deducting therefrom the amount of any taxes payable thereon, shall be placed in the reserve account of the association established under Article X, Section 2(b) (2). Any claim paid after the expiration of the period of years herein specified shall be deducted from such account.

Article XV. Development Fund

The board of directors may create a special development fund which shall not be commingled with the revolving fund or other assets of the association. Contributions to development fund may be solicited from any party or parties wishing to make a contribution thereto. Loans or grants from the development fund may be made with the approval of a majority of the board of directors for any purpose or purposes which said board believes will strengthen the cooperative movement in the South.

Article XVI. Miscellaneous Provisions

Section 1. Bylaws Printed. After adoption, these bylaws, preceded by the articles of incorporation, shall be printed in pamphlet form and a copy thereof shall be delivered to each member and to each person who later becomes a member of the association as shown on the books of record.

Section 2. Seal. The corporate seal of this association shall have inscribed on it the name of the association,_____, and the year of incorporation,_____.

Article XVII. Amendments

If notice of the character of the amendment proposed has been given in the notice of meeting, these bylaws may be altered or amended at any regular or special meeting of the members by the affirmative vote of a majority of the members present or voting by mail.

We, the undersigned, being all of the incorporators and members of the _____ Association, do hereby assent to the foregoing by-laws and do adopt the same as the bylaws of said association; and in witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names, this _____ day of _____, 19 _____.

_____

_____

_____

Radical Education Project

510 EAST WILLIAM STREET • ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48108 • 313 761-1320

An independent education, research and publication program, initiated by Students for a Democratic Society, devoted to the cause of democratic radicalism and aspiring to the creation of a new left in America.

Dear Friend:

Our planet is bursting with existence. People who have lived too long in the shadow of official Western history are discovering that they exist. The catastrophe of our time is that our system and its leadership oppose this insurgency of birthright. The purpose of the Movement, called the New Left, is to change this system to one that will be an invitation to every man to share with his brothers the fruits of abundance and the possibility of freedom. The Movement exists and will grow.

It will grow because more and more of us are finding it impossible to create a science that is used to murder; impossible to study the nature of society while ignoring our own deeds; impossible to accept a cultural standard that avoids the blood in the streets and the hunger-infested shelters of more than half of our brothers; impossible to enjoy the fruits picked by those who must drop all of them into our laps; impossible to find bearable a language of hope that is used to justify murder; impossible not to accept our responsibility to be radicals. And to be so effectively we must be educated to the reality of what is, to the possibility of what ought to be, and to an analysis which enables us to get there.

The Radical Education Project (REP), initiated by Students for a Democratic Society, has been organized as an intellectual center for the New Left Movement in America. Its primary functions are to document and to analyze and to discover new perceptions. Where our system causes injustice we must document it. Where there is corruption and privilege we must expose it. How change has been created elsewhere must be analyzed. Politics is persuasion and strategy and perception of a goal. Analysis is the beginning of persuasion, the beginning of strategy, and a light on the future.

REP is in urgent need of scientific, social, and artistic skills, and in urgent need of money.

REP asks you to turn your skills and your affluence to the awesome job of remaking America.

The REP Staff

THE RADICAL EDUCATION PROJECT: An Introduction and An Invitation.

REP is an effort by activists and intellectuals to develop a research, education, and publication center designed to strengthen the movement toward a new left in America.

REP invites the participation of all people who identify with the forces of radical democracy in America and abroad. We seek everyone who can make a contribution to the intellectual and educational work of research, speculation, writing, and speaking, which is a necessary precondition for effective politics.

REP sees three central needs, and from them it defines three objectives:

1) The need for competent research on the issues of left program and theory. It is no recent revelation that the theoretical framework of the left needs development in terms of the contemporary character of imperialism, capitalism, mass culture, technology, abundance, and in terms of the experience of socialist revolutions and American reforms. Nor is it a new discovery that the left is starved for the hard data, documentation and concrete proposals necessary for effective political action. REP seeks fact and theory and program.

2) The need to educate the student activists who are now drawn toward the radical movement on "single issues" such as Vietnam or poverty, or on "gut reaction" against the whole of American society. Unless action is supported by education youthful recruits are soon lost. A chief job of the student movement is to provide activists with the intellectual equipment and tools of social analysis necessary to sustain radical value commitment once away from the campus. REP seeks to develop needed educational resources.

3) The need to extend the movement beyond students and the most dispossessed. While we can lament the obvious fact that a politically significant left does not exist in America, it is clear that to build such requires striking roots in the professions, among university faculties, in the arts and in many of the "mass organizations" like churches, unions, etc. Not only must the radical sympathies that lie in these diverse social locations be mobilized, but these people must be included and engaged in developing a radical program for the transformation of the particular conditions of their own life and work. REP will try to broaden the scope of the movement.

The narrowness of the movement prevents it from describing tasks which can define for a teacher radical work, as a teacher, for a researcher or a doctor or lawyer, or artist or writer, radical work that draws on his particular talents and affects his particular part of society. The consequence is that most people support occasional protests and otherwise withdraw into cynicism.

We believe that radicals must make their politics manifest in their daily life and work. There is no politically neutral activity. The use of one's talents, the direction of one's energies has effect. The greatest moral and political challenge facing leftists is how both to live in America, to work in the institutions which provide income and status--and yet to change America. We don't have simple answers. And we approach this problem humbly, as one which affects and torments all of us.

REP seeks to create a framework in which people can create for themselves radical vocations which both affirm their individual talents and training and infuse their

work with a moral and political purpose.

Our Politics:

REP does not start with a political line. It recognizes that ideology, theory, is essential for a political movement. But ideology is not an intellectual overlay. It must develop organically out of the interaction between political experience and continual analysis. REP hopes to contribute to this process by encouraging analysis, by checking old theory against current fact and experience, and by distilling from experience new theory and new implications for action. We seek clarity of values, precision in social criticism, concreteness in projecting both utopian alternatives and immediate reforms. We seek, by using all the tools of intellect and intuition, a view of the dynamics of history and social change which points to the forms of human intervention which can transform the present into a future fit for man.

While we do not start with a prepackaged ideology, we do begin with political convictions. Formulations are tentative, if only to avoid retreat to the slogans and cliches that have too long dominated the left and impeded self-analysis. Yet, the need for continual refinement of analysis does not imply permanent agnosticism, the postponement of assertion or the retreat from action.

We identify with a community and vision of democratic radicalism, humanistic, committed to individual freedom and the general welfare. These are beliefs shared by this community:

--that the great promise of American abundance is perverted and thwarted by the functioning of contemporary capitalism.

--that privilege, exploitation, inequality as components of class division of labor are no longer necessary, if they ever were, as conditions for abundance.

--that the possibility of still greater wealth for some Americans can not justify a political economy based on the exploitation of other countries and the continued poverty and oppression of their populations.

--that the forms of democracy cannot be judged in the abstract, apart from the actual freedom and humanness which they allow and the actual accountability of the holders of power to those affected by the decisions of power.

--that in America, where formal democracy is highly developed, the important decisions governing the course of social development and the quality of individual life and opportunity are not democratically made or accountable.

--that America is held in political and moral stalemate not only by sheer economic and political force, but also by a deadening ideology of national chauvinism, celebrating the American Way of Life, the American Dream, the American Century.

--that anti-communism is a central element in this ideological manipulation of belief, of what is true, what is good, what is possible, what is necessary. It provides the cover to "rationalize" the most brutal applications of military and economic power.

--that violent revolution is to be recognized and deplored for its high human cost; but that where the oppressed lack political power violent overthrow may be the necessary, though not sufficient, precondition to economic and political freedom.

--that issues such as the war in Vietnam or the oppression of the American underclass cry out for action. The work for long-term research, education, organization, theory, does not relieve the obligation for immediate, passionate protest.

These statements are certainly no catechism. They do begin to define a political perspective. If your disagreements are marginal--questions of qualifiers, semantics, omissions, implications, emphases--then we consider you a colleague and associate. We invite your participation in REP and in the collective work of clarifying belief and infusing action with analysis. If your disagreements are central and substantive, then we consider you audience and antagonist. We invite your participation in political debate.

REP is non-exclusionist. We reject the rhetoric of anti-communism and the myth of human affairs as a morality play between the forces of good and evil, capitalist freedom and communist slavery. We are open to all those who would feel comfortable in our company. Our criteria of judgment in matters of politics and belief will be facts, argument, and values.

The Scope of REP:

The REP staff has prepared a prospectus for the project which describes in detail the range of subject matter which we see as relevant and for which we are recruiting competence. If you are interested in the project, we will send you this prospectus. Here we want simply to indicate the scope of our concern.

I. Values and Utopias: The foundation of a movement is its moral position, its aspiration, its assertion of the possible and the desirable. The value issues of democracy, individual freedom, and general welfare in industrial society and in revolutionary ferment are complex, but that does not make them less important. Political judgments are ultimately value judgments. But more than clarity about values in the abstract, we need to develop concrete models of the structure of institutions and social relations that would embody our shared ideals--the nature of work and income, the control of production, the process of education, the styles of family life, the political institutions necessary for participatory democracy.

II. Analysis of Myths and Realities: The major part of REP work, and the major intellectual and educational need of the movement, is the analysis of what exists, of the myths through which people understand or misunderstand reality, and of the contradictions between myth and reality which provide leverage for change. Special studies will be organized on:

**the American Ideology (pluralism, corporatism, anti-communism, etc.)
**the world reality: international political economy, western Europe, the third world, global conditions and issues.
**problems and structures of the national political economy.
**cultural institutions in tension.
**mass media and the arts.

III. Strategies for Change: The movement must analyze not only the targets of change and the forces of motion in society, but also how to orient and develop its own resources in terms of those forces. REP projects five types of studies in this area:

- **an analysis of social movements and revolution, both in America and elsewhere in terms of their relevance to the contemporary situation.
- **articulation and debate between various theoretical conceptions of political strategy.
- **analysis of the movement itself and identification of current strategic issues.
- **an analysis of agents of reform and potential agents of change in America.

Finally we will try to identify the current issues of struggle in America and make concrete proposals which are relevant to the immediate aspirations of those in struggle, but which expose the institutional blocks to significant change. Such issues requiring specific analysis and proposals include (besides the War and poverty): university education, urban planning and renewal, automation and employment, income, welfare, collective bargaining, economic development, etc.

We are seeking people who have interests and competence in these areas to work with REP.

Activities:

In the few months since its initiation, REP has drawn together a nucleus of people and begun work on a wide variety of activities. Some of these programs are described below. Details and other programs are elaborated in the REP prospectus. The fulfillment and expansion of these programs depend on the intellectual commitment and financial contribution of supporters.

Seminars and study groups: The establishment of an ongoing program of self-education in local chapters and projects of the movement is a high priority of REP. A first step is the aid and encouragement of seminars and the establishment of a speakers bureau. We are collecting and preparing seminar guides, speakers lists, papers, bibliographies, literature packets, and other educational tools on a wide range of topics: imperialism, relationships between foreign and domestic policy, the American economy, socialism, democracy under capitalism, Vietnam, poverty, community organization, South Africa, etc. Study guides now available include ones on decision-making in America, Marxism, the New Left, history of American radicalism, U.S. foreign policy and imperialism, urban politics. A film catalogue which includes a guide on how to set up a local film program is also available. While most of the seminars will be run informally and independently, an effort will be made to cooperate with "Free University" programs and, where possible, to get programs introduced into the regular college curriculum. At a later stage we hope to be able to develop "traveling workshops" that would bring teams of people with complementary areas of competence to a locale for intensive programs of coordinated education. Resources permitting, we plan to make our educational services available to any group willing to entertain a radical perspective.

Reconstruction of academic theory and teaching: We have begun to prepare pamphlet guies to introductory liberal arts courses in Economics and Anthropology. These outlines will try to expose and analyze the biases and limitations of conventional undergraduate teaching and textbooks: the values implied in accepted theory, the assumptions hidden in canonized methodology, the questions unasked, the data and

theories neglected, the conditions of the real world overlooked, the history untold, the indoctrination accomplished. Outlines will include "scenarios" of questions and answers to help the student introduce relevant material and become an innovator in the class room, and keep the instructor from getting off the hook. There is need for similar work in Sociology, Political Science, History, Philosophy, the Humanities--indeed in every department of professional knowledge on the advanced as well as introductory level. What is needed, in fact, is a concrete and documented critique of the academic disciplines as a whole, showing how their structure and content reinforce the dominant interests and prejudices of the society and stifle relevance and social innovation. The course pamphlets are a beginning toward this work.

Papers from the New Left: REP is currently working on a book, to be published by Doubleday-Anchor, including more than a dozen essays of original analysis. These papers are attempting to systematize both the empirical foundation and theoretical orientation from which the movement looks at such issues as corporatism, imperialism, the welfare state, planning, education, the war on poverty and alliance for progress, race, work and leisure, electoral politics, mass culture, participatory democracy, liberal reform.

International Intelligence network: REP is beginning to develop a network of people, in the U.S. and abroad, closely tuned to international events, who will serve the movement as quick, incisive sources of intelligence on issues as they develop--and before. Such a network, including scholars, journalists, leftist youth leaders, government officials, guerrilla leaders, etc., can provide us with first-hand reports and analysis of the action of insurgent movements, the workings of the foreign policy apparatus, hints of impending developments. Already we have contacts in Japan, most European countries and Canada, Vietnamese rebels and neutrals, African nationalists, and others. These contacts are being extended, and to them we must add American scholars with specialized knowledge and contacts. One former staff member has recently returned from Guatemala where he has made extensive contacts with Guatemalan guerrillas. He will be publishing an account of his trip in the next month or two. On the basis of such contacts we can greatly improve our ability to produce documented political analysis, to make independent judgments, to challenge "official truth" and to base political opposition.

As a first major step in this direction, REP is presently consulting with the University Christian Movement, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and SNCC about the establishment of a Latin American institute. This institute will coordinate research, monitor information, and maintain contacts between radical student, church, and academic groups in this hemisphere. In the near future the institute would put out a magazine on Latin American problems.

Nations series: REP is undertaking to prepare a series of pamphlets summarizing information about other countries: the nature of their politics, parties, factions, contending positions, economic structure and development, character of the democratic opposition, their international relations, the role of U.S. business, political and military interests in the country, the position in the cold war and third world power contexts, etc. These will include annotated bibliography and a guide to primary source material. Research for pamphlets of this sort is nearing completion on the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, South Africa, Algeria, Vietnam, China. We will try to search out work of this sort that has already been done and make it available.

Issues of strategy in the movement: REP will undertake analysis of various strategic-theory myths that are current on the left: reform coalitions, third party organization, permeation, non-violence, independent insurgency. Two of these studies are now under way: a pamphlet examining the "black power-black consciousness" idea which has come to the forefront of the Negro movement and a series of papers on community organizing.

Class in America: REP is undertaking a number of studies on the nature of class structure in America, its relationship to political power, economic and social aspirations, belief in the American ideology, etc. An exploratory study is under way reexamining a range of existing data on political consciousness of blue collar workers, with the hope of developing a new view of working class politics and laying out new areas of research. We have produced a paper outlining the nature of class division between the underclass and the affluent with particular reference to the war on poverty and the viability of welfare state reforms.

The professions: REP is attempting to set up organizing conferences of radicals in, or preparing for, the various professions. Work has begun to set up planning groups in social work, medicine, law, school teaching, the ministry. The aims of these conferences will be to bring together from dispersed geographical locations people sharing political perspective and professional location; to discuss ways to influence the service quality and social impact of the profession; to plan pamphlets and speaking programs aimed at intervening in the process of professional education, making values explicit; to formulate programs that could improve professional practice; to organize (or support existing) professional associations or caucuses committed to radical social involvement.

The arts and mass media: REP seeks to understand the ideological functioning of art and the mass media, the relationship between aesthetic and political consciousness, and the potential of the arts and mass media as instruments of change. Research will examine the way in which art and the mass media are created and controlled, how they are perceived by their publics, and the role they actually play in forming taste, thought patterns and opinions. Studies will seek to locate and encourage elements within the arts and media favorable to radical change. To initiate these studies, REP plans to organize three conferences: on the mass media and leisure, on social values and city planning, and on education in the arts. These conferences will aim to bring together people of different disciplines whose interests converge around these areas, to clarify problems and research needs, and to translate theory into tasks. The working papers for these conferences might later be edited into a book on the arts and society.

Development of research techniques: we are planning two small conferences on methodology of power structure analysis. One will deal with domestic power and the other with American power internationally. Both will be concerned with alternative research strategies, sources of data, access to privileged information, techniques of prediction, measurement of coalitions, interlocking interests, ideological constraints on action, etc. We are now completing research guides to aid students and others in the analysis of community power structure, national decision-making, foreign policy formation, etc.

The REP Bulletin: REP will publish a Bulletin distributed to SDS members, REP associates, and other subscribers. It will contain original research, issue analysis, book reviews, short papers, seminar outlines, bibliography, abstracts

of articles from other publications, letters and discussion, conference notes, etc. In conjunction with the Bulletin, the products of REP research will be published as a series of pamphlets. Bulletin and pamphlet publication will begin as editorial work is completed, and as we have money. As a temporary measure, until resources and staff for a Bulletin are available, a newsletter, giving current information about REP activities, is now being published.

Work and Money: REP will complete its ongoing program and expand into other areas as people volunteer to do the work and provide the money. We are now recruiting staff for the REP national office in Ann Arbor, and coordinators, anywhere, to take on responsibility in promoting particular content areas of analysis. A fifteen person committee of directors will be appointed in December. Job descriptions for staff and more detail on the tasks for which coordinators are needed are available from the REP office. We have also worked out a tentative set of editorial guidelines and procedures for the initiation of program and research which we hope will insure the REP work is of high quality and in fact relevant to the needs of the movement. These procedures are also available from the office. The types of jobs we are asking people to undertake include: research, writing, editing, speaking, consulting with students and activists in the movement. We hope that people who share the political ideals of the movement will find in these jobs a way to make effective use of their particular talents, competences and experience.

If you want REP to survive and to fulfill its promise, your intellectual commitment is necessary.

Funds: REP is incorporated as a non-profit, educational organization, with its tax-exempt status pending. Of course it has no money. Of course it freeloads where it can. Of course, the staff is starving. Of course it will seek support from foundations and private donors. ULTIMATELY, though, the project will depend on the small contributions and monthly pledges of those individuals who support its objectives and participate in its activities.

If you want REP to survive and to fulfill its promise, your financial support is essential.

Associates and advisors: Supporters of the project will be considered associates of REP. We are inviting a number of associates to help as "advisors" in promotion, criticism of research, program organization, fundraising and other tasks. A partial list of advisors to this time is:

Ralph Andreano; Fr. Philip Berrigan, SSJ; Julian Bond; Robert S. Browne; Richard A. Cloward; Stanley Diamond; Douglas F. Dowd; Hal Draper; Barrows Dunham; Robert Engler; Jules Feiffer; W.H. Ferry; Dr. Philip S. Foner; Norm Fruchter; William A. Gamson; John Gerassi; Ernest Goodman; Paul Goodman; Nat Hentoff; David Horowitz; Leo Huberman; Raghavan Iyer; Paul Jacobs; Julius Jacobson; Gabriel Kolko; Andrew Kopkind; William Kunstler; Paul Lauter; Richard Lichtman; Staughton Lynd; Herbert Marcuse; Seymour Melman; Jack Minnis; Barrington Moore, Jr.; Linus Pauling; Victor Perlo; Bishop James A. Pike; Marcus Raskin; Kenneth Rexroth; Sumner M. Rosen; Richard Shaull; Robert W. Spike; Sol Stern; Harvey Swados; Michael Walzer; Arthur I. Waskow; Harvey Wheeler; William Appleman Williams; Marshall Windmiller; Howard Zinn.

The REP staff is currently: Michael Locker, Evelyn Goldfield, Michael Goldfield, Jim Jacobs, Steve Weissman, Steve Johnson, Peter Henig, and Rita Sutcliffe.

Radical Education Project
510 East William Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48108

File

THE CHURCH PEACE MISSION
4102 Brandywine St., NW.
Washington, D. C. 20016

THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT: LABORATORY IN NONVIOLENCE?

Some Provisional Appraisals*

1. Where have all the lovers gone?
   -Vincent Harding, Spelman College
   (published in The New South)

2. Violence in American Life
   -Victor Walters, University of Mass.

3. The Dynamics of Nonviolence in the Freedom Movement
   -E. James Lieberman, National Institute of Mental Health

4. Coercion, Moral Suasion, and Effectiveness: An Appraisal
   -Howard Zinn

5. Changing Men / Changing Structures
   -Bayard Rustin

6. Violent Revolution and Genuine Change
   -Robert Parris

7. The Freedom Movement: Questions to the Churches
   -Dwight L. Dumond

8. Nonviolence and the International Problem
   -James Holloway
   -Stewart Meacham

9. Nonviolence and Christian Love: Some Theological Questions
   -John H. Yoder

*This is a tentative outline of background studies to be developed in connection with a forthcoming conference (November 20-22, 1966) co-sponsored by the Church Peace Mission and the Fellowship of Reconciliation on: "The Freedom Movement: Progress of a Decade; What have we learned about nonviolence:" These papers are to be published eventually. Several of the above writers have consented to serve; others are only now being contacted. Hence the listing of a name obligates no one, and the outline is circulated only for this purpose.

orf

File

Atlanta Chapter-at-Large
SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
Box 15474
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The Right Honorable Lester G. Maddox
State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Governor Maddox:

We as Georgians, students and citizens of the new South are vitally concerned about our state and region. In uncompromising affirmation of "the right of each person to speak out," in affirmation of the "right of dissent," we are compelled to speak to a crucial issue facing all of us - the future of education in Georgia.

In your Inaugural Address, you pledged to build a "system of education adequate to the needs of the twenty-first century...and available to every youth capable of profiting by it." By severely cutting education expenditures you have reversed your position of political and economic progress.

We demand that you be faithful to your pledge.

As long ago as 1963, the Governor's Commission on Higher Education completed their survey of the University System of Georgia. They called for a state expenditure of $103,000,000 for the 1967-1968 school year. This amount was needed simply to keep the System's head above water. An additional $13.6 million per year was called for if higher education were to advance. Governor Sanders cut this back to $10 million per year; you cut it still further to $5 million. Higher Public Education in Georgia looks almost a lie.

> 451,000 Georgians are college age, less than 80,000 can go.
>
> In the Armed Forces Qualifying Test to determine "eligibility" for military service, 41.2% failed, against a national average of only 20.2%.
>
> The average white Georgian has no more than 10.3 years of school. The average black citizen has no more than 6.1 years of school.

Georgia education is in a crisis.

Our primary concern in writing is not with the impact of educational stagnation on business and scientific interests, great though that impact will be. We are politically motivated students working toward the establishment of a freer intellectual and cultural climate in the South. The necessary and long overdue social changes called for in the South cannot be accomplished outside the development of enlightened centers of unfettered inquiry and active criticism. The movement for progressive social change in Georgia must fight to protect and improve the University System if that movement is to grow and prosper. The simple restoration of the Commission's proposal is not enough. We will not be bought off. Our vision for education is larger than the construction of a few classrooms, new science libraries and business administration buildings. We work for the time when

all people in the state - no matter their race, creed, or economic class - will have free and equal access to as many years of education as they might want. The future demands tuition-free state colleges and universities and scholarships for any high school students who otherwise could not stay in school.

We demand more money for education. The leaders of our society do not have this vision; they are not prepared to allocate the needed funds. So in an economy of lavish, if not sickening abundance, we escalate defense spending and make even more problematic the question of whether there is much to defend.

Even an unlimited amount of money, wrongfully given and improperly spent, will not build the New South. If money is given to silence rather than to free the university, the students, Georgia, and the South will lose. If students think education is a privilege to be conferred on a select few, instead of a right to be provided for all, they have been bought off. Southerners, students and workers alike must learn from the Black Power Movement that the only way people achieve justice and freedom is by working for it and demanding it.

We trust that students all over the state will take whatever action they feel appropriate to demonstrate their solidarity in opposition to your educational cutback. To be in good faith you must meet such demonstrations with approval, for we want to build a New South.

Unless Georgia education gets the money it deserves, beginning with the restoration of the $8.6 million cutback, we will call for Georgia students to mount a continuing campaign of pressure by whatever means necessary.

We await your response.

Respectfully,

Robert Sprinkle
Emory University

Carol Stroupe
Georgia State College

Jody Palmour
Regional Staff, Atlanta

ACIV
ATLANTA COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL VISITORS
ATLANTA BILTMORE HOTEL, 817 W. PEACHTREE ST., N. W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30383
TELEPHONE (404) 875-2474

File

PA ✓
AU
SA
Return PW
Anybody want to go?

You are cordially invited to participate in a Regional Conference on short-term international visitors to be held in Atlanta, at the Biltmore Hotel, on Thursday and Friday, November 11 and 12.

The Conference is being sponsored by COSERV (National Council for Community Services to International Visitors) and the committees of Atlanta, Huntsville, and Miami.

Interested citizens from six states are invited to participate in this Conference on CITIZEN DIPLOMACY IN THE SOUTHEAST. Distinguished representatives from the State Department, the Agency for International Development (AID) and other agencies will address the Conference and take part in the program. The role of the volunteer will be highlighted and the sessions will provide an opportunity for all volunteers to share their experiences in dealing with international visitors.

Please reserve the dates of the Conference now, and return the Advance Registration Form to the Atlanta Committee for International Visitors before October 1st, so that suitable conference space can be arranged. A registration fee of $12.00 covers attendance at all sessions, the Conference banquet, and two luncheons.

We look forward to welcoming you.

Cordially yours,

Mrs. Joseph Haas
Conference Chairman
Mrs. Philip E. Brock
Mr. Joe C. Morris
Mr. John Barfield

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

Nov-Dec.

File Orgs

Interrogation Tech students:

14... [redacted]
called in to Dean's office... (Dean Dell)
2 atty's... Rep Bd of Regents... Terrell Johnson
sent to Coach's office...

How mixed up in?
Who orgs?
No threats...
They shoots up...

Eric Peterson
Rick Stevens → TRS-2076

Cecil Alexander!

#

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

All a.m. conf w 8 pple...

Tom Hall = asst. alumni dir. = kept him informed allalong

1. Bd of Reg - ques - to Harrison affiliation + involvement + who + are they aware concerg w - scal + city offic if viol of law...

2. Harrison met w Atty Gen + CBI + campus secur pol... Discussed Varsity sit-in... Precautions on explosive situations -

Police = Monies of demonstr - this where got names

3. Blacked X - what control - if students noticed - Faculty infl -

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

~~BL-G~~

H = guess at atty gen -
BL = no - attys... Dean of
Stu office...
Atty gen rep a.f. & bd of reg -
He asked same ques...
Got out of hand...
a.b. man didn't realize
implications - and that
not interrogations...

—

Line of ques not to Harris:
Known Commys -
Trying SACC
Wh assoc stu have with...
Tied link with directly

our influence w SACC...
" increasing " ...

4 or 5 now seek meet w pres-
if appl - ...

#

No anch. stu. involved...
Profs are making calls...

Stu has appt. w dean at 1 p.m.
Will try to talk to Pres. first...
Faculty irritated...

Expect no endors...

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

statement made last week...

Close to 400
thru
coand Cx...

NEGRO SHOPPERS AND FRIENDS!

The Jackson Boycott Goes On -

Supported By Many, Many Thousands

We Shall ALL Win: 1. EQUALITY in Hiring and Promotion

2. END of Segregated Drinking Fountains - Restrooms - Seating

3. Use of COURTESY TITLES: "MRS.", "MISS" & "MR."

4. SERVICE on a FIRST-COME, FIRST-SERVED basis.

WIN FREEDOM FOR ALL!

DON'T BUY ON CAPITOL STREET

(State St. To Mill St.) or at the following other businesses, wherever they may be located in JACKSON:

Hall-Holmes (Bagby Hall), Jitney Jungle grocery stores, McRae's dept. stores, Wilkinsons 555 tire & appliance stores, and STAR ("Lucky-Super") Groceries.

WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?

STAND UP FOR *FREEDOM!*

✣ JACKSON BOYCOTT MOVEMENT ✣

Introducing the . . .

Bring The Troops Home Now

NEWSLETTER

The NEWSLETTER OF THE ANTI - WAR MOVEMENT

SUPPORT THE BRING THE TROOPS HOME NOW NEWSLETTER

★ The NEWSLETTER is a bi-weekly publication established by members of local independent anti-Vietnam-war committees. Its supporters are for the formation of a national organization of independent committees based on the demand of immediate withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam.

★ The NEWSLETTER believes that the Vietnamese people should be allowed to decide their own future without interference from the United States. We are therefore the voice within the anti-war movement which demands that the troops be brought home now.

★ The NEWSLETTER carries reports of anti-war activities, articles on the war itself, and helps build new Committees to End the War in Vietnam. We are building a broad movement to bring the troops home now.

★ The NEWSLETTER believes that the independent committees are the most dynamic section of the anti-war movement and should form a national organization based on the demand for bringing the troops home now. To this end, individuals and committees can become Supporters of the NEWSLETTER, which will act as an organizing group to promote the formation of this new national organization. To join, just fill out the blank on the opposite page.

AVAILABLE FROM THE NEWSLETTER

★ NEWSLETTER bundles, for sale or distribution in anti-war committees. Essential in building the anti-war movement. 10-50 copies, 7¢ each. Over 50 copies, 5¢ each.

★ "American Atrocities in Vietnam," a pamphlet by Eric Norden. 25¢ each. 10 or more, 15¢ each.

★ "Immediate Withdrawal vs. Negotiations" Questions and Answers on which way for the anti-war movement. A pamphlet by Caroline Jenness. 15¢ each. 25 or more. 10¢ each.

★ "How the United States Got Involved in Vietnam," A pamphlet by Robert Scheer, Essential reading on America's role in Vietnam. 60¢ each.

★ A button in green—saying "BRING THE TROOPS HOME NOW!" in the center and "READ THE NEWSLETTER" along the lower rim. 25¢ each; 20 or more—15¢ each.

★ Further information, literature, buttons, speakers, and other means to build anti-war committees.

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☐ I want to become a NEWSLETTER Supporter. Dues are $3.00 per year. For this I will receive a button, membership card, the pamphlet by Caroline Jenness, and a year's subscription to the NEWSLETTER.

☐ I want to receive 13 issues of the NEWSLETTER for $1.00.

☐ Enclosed is a $..... donation to the NEWSLETTER.

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

State ..... Zip Code.....

Committee .....

Clip and Mail to: The NEWSLETTER,
P. O. Box 544, Central Square
Cambridge, Mass. 02139

BRING THE TROOPS H

For twenty-five years the people of Vietnam have fought for their independence against foreign powers — against Japan, France, and the United States. They are fighting for the right to run their own country, the same right that the American people fought for in 1776. But today the United States government stands in opposition to the vast majority of the Vietnamese people, and to the very same principles upon which our own country was founded.

President Johnson has landed 200,000 American men on Vietnamese soil in order to "settle" the affairs of the Vietnamese, and his perspective is to double that number by the end of the year. The U. S. troops, however, do not bring "freedom and democracy" to Vietnam. On the contrary they are engaged in a horrible campaign of destruction against the Vietnamese people and their country.

Daily bombing raids are conducted against both South and North Vietnam and they often spill over into Cambodia and Laos as well. Over 700,000 refugees have been left homeless by this destruction.

SCORCHED EARTH POLICY

President Johnson approves the use of the most horrible weapons of warfare — the indiscriminate napalm bombing of the civilian population, the torture of men, women, and children, the employment of gas and other chemicals, and the adoption of a "scorched earth" policy. A recent A.P. dispatch headlined "Yanks Scorch Earth To Cripple Viet Foe" (Boston Globe, Jan. 6, 1966) reported that U. S. paratroopers from the 173rd airborne brigade "crept stealthily down high dikes, and pushed through thick brush. Every house they encountered they burned to the ground. Most were of thatch but some were large with heavy wooden frames and neat gardens. Every cooking utensil was smashed, every banana tree severed, every mattress was slashed."

Since the 1954 Geneva conference the United States government has been building military bases and strategic highways on Vietnamese soil. Millions of dollars are spent on these areas which James Reston (editorial staff of the "New York Times") claims are "being constructed on a scale far larger than is necessary to care for the present level of American forces. Therefore, it is assumed that the build-up will continue well beyond what has been announced so far." (N.Y.T., Aug. 27, 1965).

The U. S. base at Camranh in South Vietnam is one of the best natural ports in Asia and is being developed into another Okinawa.

LIES AND DISTORTION

It is no wonder that President Johnson cannot tell the truth about the real character of the war — about its horrors and its violation of Vietnamese freedom. L. B. J., like Presidents Kennedy and Eisenhower before him, has had to lie and distort the real nature of the war. A new language has been developed to make things appear to be something they are not. The hated dictator General Ky is portrayed as a gallant defender of freedom. Gas warfare and chemical destruction of crops are described as humane methods of warfare. A program designed to destroy villages and relocate villagers in armed camps was called "Operation Sunrise." American combat troops were called "advisors" when the war was still considered a "police action." The peasants who are fighting to protect their homes and families against American intervention are reported to be enemies of the people. Even the war itself is presented as a means to peace.

Another aspect of this lying is the distortion of casualty figures by the government. Two Australian journalists pointed out a couple of months ago that the job of the U.S. military police in Saigon was "... to dilute casualty figures

TROOPS HOME NOW!

sary to care for the present level of American forces. Therefore, it is assumed that the build-up will continue well beyond what has been announced so far." (N.Y.T., Aug. 27, 1965).

The U. S. base at Camranh in South Vietnam is one of the best natural ports in Asia and is being developed into another Okinawa.

LIES AND DISTORTION

It is no wonder that President Johnson cannot tell the truth about the real character of the war — about its horrors and its violation of Vietnamese freedom. L. B. J., like Presidents Kennedy and Eisenhower before him, has had to lie and distort the real nature of the war. A new language has been developed to make things appear to be something they are not. The hated dictator General Ky is portrayed as a gallant defender of freedom. Gas warfare and chemical destruction of crops are described as humane methods of warfare. A program designed to destroy villages and relocate villagers in armed camps was called "Operation Sunrise." American combat troops were called "advisors" when the war was still considered a "police action." The peasants who are fighting to protect their homes and families against American intervention are reported to be enemies of the people. Even the war itself is presented as a means to peace.

Another aspect of this lying is the distortion of casualty figures by the government. Two Australian journalists pointed out a couple of months ago that the job of the U.S. military police in Saigon was "... to dilute casualty figures in smaller American units by measuring them against the total force involved in an engagement even though much or in many cases most of the total force had not fired a shot or been fired at." (N.Y.T., Dec. 7, 1965)

PHONY PEACE OFFENSIVE

The resumption of bombing against North Vietnam after Johnson's latest "peace offensive" indicated the sheer hypocrisy of his "peace" talk. While he was talking about "unconditional negotiations" he stepped up the bombing raids and attacks in the south. He called the United Nations into special session while convoking a council-of-war in Hawaii to discuss new plans for annihilation and destruction and to bolster the regime of General Ky. He flew his ambassadors around the world while increasing the deployment of troops to Vietnam.

WE HAVE NO STAKE IN WAR

Americans have no more right in Vietnam than the British had in America at the time of our own revolution. Johnson and his administration have consistently pursued a policy designed in effect to assure that the U. S. would determine the future of Vietnam rather than the Vietnamese, and this had led the U. S. into a war whose sole purpose is to prevent the people of Vietnam from choosing their own way of life. That is why the war is so brutal and oppressive. It is a war against the Vietnamese people.

The majority of Americans have no desire to intervene in other countries. They have no stake in supporting a brutal and unjust war against the Vietnamese people. Neither South nor North Vietnam have attacked or committed any other act of aggression against the U. S. What do Americans have to gain by killing thousands of Vietnamese and creating hundreds of thousands of refugees? What does the ordinary American win by backing up a military dictator whose self-proclaimed hero is Adolph Hitler?

The American youth who die in Vietnam are victims of Johnson's policy as much as the Vietnamese. To prevent the slaughter of thousands of innocent Americans and Vietnamese, the U. S. must get out of Vietnam and bring the troops home now.

File

SOCIETY NOTE - - - Luci Johnson is to be married on August 6, which also happens to be Hiroshima Day. If you are disgusted with this and the other unbelievably insensitive, horrible and gruesome activites of the Johnson clan, then be sure to attend the next meeting of

The Atlanta Committee to End the War in Vietnam

Tuesday, May 24 8:00 P. M. (sharp)

5 Forsyth Street (Across from the Journal-Constitution Building)

Second floor meeting room

Partial list of topics to be discussed:

Hiroshima Day demonstration and other summer activities.

Possible actions other than leafleting at the final two draft exams.

Activities for next Fall.

This will be the last meeting of the Committee before the end of the school year. It is therefore VERY IMPORTANT that you come with suggestions about what we should do during the next few months. A special invitation is extended to students.

N. B. More people are needed to pass out leaflets at the draft deferrment examination centers this Saturday (May 21). If you can help, call: Jim Gehres (3737121) or John Reiman (525-9054).

Members of the Atlanta CEWV distributed copies of this exam and answer sheet at each of the four draft deferment test centers in the city last Saturday. We plan to be there each time the test is given. We felt you might like to test your knowledge of the war, even if you are not potentially a participant in it.

NATIONAL VIETNAM EXAMINATION

Distributed by: Students for a Democratic Society and Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy

Instructions: This examination has been prepared to allow you to check your understanding of the war in Vietnam. For each question, indicate the correct answer or correct answers in the space provided. We believe in the importance in a democracy of putting the facts in the hands of every citizen to enable him to participate in decision-making. This is particularly true where the question is war and peace, and where the citizens are the young men who are called upon to fight.

1. The following statements were made by leading figures involved in the Vietnamese conflict. Match the quotations below with the author (more than one quotation can be attributed to the same individual).

__A) "I would like to see American students develop as much fanaticism about the U. S. political system as young Nazis did about their system during the war."

__B) "For years now in Southeast Asia, the only people who have been doing anything about the little man at the grassroots -- to lift him up -- have been the Communists."

__C) "The C.I.A. has employed some South Vietnamese and they have been instructed to claim they are Vietcong and to work accordingly . . . Several of these executed two village leaders and raped some women."

__D) "Do you think those (American) demonstrations were organized by some fine little social club? They were organized by an international apparatus; 95 per cent of the demonstrators are no more Communists than you and I, but the international Communist movement organized it and masterminded it."

__E) "The fever chart of every successful revolution . . . reveals a rising temperature of terrorism and counter-terrorism, but this does not of itself invalidate the legitimate goals that fired the original revolution. Most political revolutions--including our own--have been buoyed by outside aid in men, weapons and ideas."

__F) " . . . The Communists are closer to the people's yearning for social justice and an independent life than (my) own government."

G) "The major part of the U. S. military task can be completed by the end of 1965, although there may be a continuing requirement for a limited number of U. S. training personnel."

__H) "I have only one (hero): Hitler "

1) John F. Kennedy
2) Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge
3) Premier Nguyen Cao Ky
4) Barry Goldwater
5) Senator Stephen Young of Ohio
6) Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara
7) Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey
8) President Lyndon B. Johnson
9) Ho Chi Minh

2. Free elections are a major issue in South Vietnam today. The earliest time at which free elections were (are) supposed to take place was (is):

__(A) August, 1945
__(B) July, 1956
__(C) January, 1959
__(D) November, 1963
__(E) sometime in 1966

3. Which of the following accurately describe(s) the cause(s) of unrest in South Vietnam after 1956?

__(A) Saigon dissolved elected village councils and replaced them with appointed, often corrupt officials, many of whom were not from the villages they administered.
__(B) Saigon took land from farmers who had seized it during the war with the French (1946-54), and returned it to the former landlords who restored land rents.
__(C) Saigon cracked down on political dissidents.
__(D) From 1954 to 1956, the Saigon government gained substantial support and restored the economy to prosperity. Seeing no other way to gain control of South Vietnam, the North Vietnamese government ordered its agents in the South to begin a campaign of terror.

4. Which of the following statements about military operations in Vietnam, is (are) true?

__(A) American counter-insurgency forces arrived in South Vietnam as early as 1955.
__(B) South Vietnamese and American soldiers have infiltrated North Vietnam.
__(C) About three-quarters of the infiltrators from North Vietnam into South Vietnam from 1959 through 1964 were native Southerners.
__(D) In South Vietnam "anti-Diem guerrilas were active long before infiltrated North Vietnamese elements joined the fray."

5. According to Mike Mansfield, majority leader of the Senate, there are 230,000 Viet Cong troops inside South Viet Nam--of whom 73,000 are main force regulars including 14,000 North Vietnamese people's army men. Using these figures, what percentage of the total Viet Cong force is made up of North Vietnamese People's Army men?

__(A) 2%
__(B) 6%
__(C) 20%
__(D) 100%

6. There were approximately 540,000 South Vietnamese in all branches of the Saigon government's fighting forces in 1965. About how many South Vietnamese deserted during 1965?

__(A) 57
__(B) 500
__(C) 20,000
__(D) 82,000
__(E) 113,000

7. The statement below is part of an editorial entitled "What Kind of War is This?":

"It is hard to disagree with President Johnson's announced aims in Vietnam. He has proclaimed those traditional goals for which Americans have always been prepared to fight . . . yet something new and ugly is happening in the way we fight for those goals. It began perhaps, with the decision to drop bombs and napalm on communist dominated peasant villages, killing and maiming the people we profess to defend from aggression . . . A Buddhist monastery wrecked by bombs . . . at least two monks killed, 10 injured . . . South Vietnamese troops beat and torture prisoners . . . U. S. Marines, under sniper attack, set a number of peasant villages afire with grenades and flame throwers . . . In one case, a woman and four children are found burned to death in the wreckage . . . It used to be axiomatic that there could be no victory in Vietnam without the support of the Vietnamese people . . . Our commitment to the people of South Vietnam is a commitment to protect them, not to destroy them in the name of the 'Free World.'"

This statement appeared on the editorial pages of:

__(A) The Communist "Worker"
__(B) "The Marine Reservist"
__(C) The Students for a Democratic Society "New Left Notes"
__(D) "The Saturday Evening Post"

8. American planes on bombing missions in South Vietnam are sometimes unable to drop their bombs on specified targets. However, before returning to base, they must jettison their bomb loads. They are authorized to drop these bombs in a "free bomb zone." A free bomb zone is:

__(A) Sufficiently far out in the ocean so that noncombatants will not be injured
__(B) An unpopulated jungle area where ample warnings have been posted
__(C) An area in which any structure or movement can be bombed because the population is presumed to be "hostile" and therefore destroyable

9. The number of South Vietnamese civilian deaths caused by American and South Vietnamese military operations is:

__(A) 109 (from August 1, 1965 through March 1, 1966)
__(B) about 14,000 in January-February 1966 alone
__(C) none since only "hard-core Vietcong" are killed by American military operations
__(D) probably twice the number of Vietcong killed

10. Chemical crop destruction will have the following predictable effects on enemy-held territories:

__(A) Enemy military operations will be severely hampered by logistic shortages
__(B) Death from starvation will occur--first of all in young children and the elderly
__(C) Adult men are the least likely and last to suffer disease and death

11. The war in South Vietnam is supposed to be part of our policy to contain Communist Chinese aggression. How many Communist Chinese troops are actively engaged in combat in Vietnam?

__(A) None
__(B) 1,000
__(C) 50,000
__(D) 100,000
__(E) 500,000

12. The American Government claims that a main legal basis for fighting in Vietnam is our obligation under the mutual security clause of the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). The co-signees of the SEATO Pact are France, Pakistan, Phillipines, New Zealand, Britain, Thailand, and Australia.

Of the approximately 850,000 troops fighting on the side of the Saigon government, how many come from SEATO countries other than the U. S.?

__(A) More than 100,000
__(B) About 75,000
__(C) About 45,000
__(D) Less than 5,000
__(E) None

13. The American government often denounces Communist terrorism. This terrorism is given as a reason why the U. S. must never accept a Communist government in South Vietnam.

In recent months, three hundred thousand persons have been slaughtered in one of the following countries, yet the U. S. has failed to make a public statement opposing this violence. Which country?

__(A) North Vietnam
__(B) Indonesia
__(C) Soviet Union
__(D) Communist China
__(E) Cuba

14. Which of the following American military heroes has, in the past, warned against committing a large number of American troops to a land war on the Asian mainland:

__(A) Gen. Douglas MacArthur
__(B) Pres. Dwight D. Eisenhower
__(C) Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway
__(D) Gen. Maxwell Taylor
__(E) Gen. James Gavin
__(F) Gen. Omar Bradley

15. One of the main obstacles to negotiations has been the American disagreement with Hanoi's insistence that the Vietnamese settle their internal affairs "in accordance with the program of the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam (Viet Cong)." Which of the following points are contained in the NLF program?

__(A) The establishment of "a government of national and democratic union . . . composed of representatives of all social classes, of all nationalities, of all religions . . ."
__(B) "Implement essential democratic liberties: freedom of opinion, of press, of assembly, of movement, of trade unionism; freedom of religion without discrimination; and the right of all patriotic organizations of whatever political tendency to carry on normal activities."
__(C) "Elect a new National Assembly through universal suffrage."
__(D) "Support the national bourgeoisie in the reconstruction and development of crafts and industry."
__(E) "By negotiation and on the basis of fair prices, repurchase for distribution to landless peasants or peasants with insufficient land, those surplus lands that the owners of large estates will be made to relinquish if their domain excedes a certain limit, to be determined according to regional particularities."
__(F) "Overthrow the camouflaged colonial regime of the American imperialists . . ."

16. Which of the following statements about the willingness of the North Vietnamese to negotiate are accurate?

__(A) The North Vietnamese only began to show some interest in negotiation after we began bombing them
__(B) There have been seven documented offers to negotiate by the North Vietnamese since September, 1964
__(C) "I must say that candor compels me to tell you that there has not been the slightest indication that the other side is interested in negotiations or in unconditional discussion although the United States has made some dozen separate attempts to bring them about." (President Johnson's speech, July 13, 1965)
__(D) The North Vietnamese have maintained that any negotiations must include the prior recognition of the Communist Chinese regime by the American government
__(E) The North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front have maintained that the ultimate withdrawal of foreign troops be accepted as the basis of negotiation, but that such withdrawal does not have to precede negotiations

17. If the approximately $13 billion the U. S. is expending this year to prosecute the war in Viet Nam were distributed equally among the South Vietnamese people, how much would each receive?

__(A) $85
__(B) $200
__(C) $500
__(D) $850

18. In order to be a conscientious objector (C.O.) to military service in the United States, you must:

__(A) Believe in God
__(B) Belong to a recognized church
__(C) Be against the use of force in any situation
__(D) Serve two years in a civilian hospital
__(E) None of the above

ANSWERS TO NATIONAL VIET NAM EXAMINATION

1. (A)-8, public statements
   (B)-2, **New York Times**, Feb. 27, 1966
   (C)-5, **New York Herald-Tribune**, Nov. 21, 1965
   (D)-7, speech before Detroit Economic Club, Oct. 22, 1965
   (E)-1, then-Senator Kennedy in speech on the Senate floor speaking of the Algerian War, July 2, 1957
   (F)-3, an admission to James Reston, reported in the **New York Times**, Sept. 1, 1965
   (G)-6, White House Statement, Oct. 2, 1963
   (H)-3, **London Daily Mirror**, July 4, 1965

2. (B) As provided for by Article 7 of the Final Declaration of the 1954 Geneva Conference. Article 6 provided that "the military demarcation line (between North and South Vietnam) is provisional and should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary." Free elections for national reunification were to be held **in both zones** in July 1956, but they were not held because the American-supported South Vietnamese Premier, Ngo Dinh Diem, unilaterally abrogated the Geneva Agreements, and decided instead to hold a referendum **in the South only**. The only choices on this ballot, held in October 1955, were Diem himself and the fading Emperor, Bao Dai, and Diem won overwhelmingly. At the time of the referendum, the London **Economist** pointed out that the number who voted in the Saigon-Cholon area exceeded the number of registrants by 150,000. For the details, see the book by an Indian representative to the Geneva-established International Control Commission (which was to supervise the nation-wide election), B. S. N. Murti, **Vietnam Divided** (1965), pp. 125-162, especially pp. 140-143, 157. For a discussion of explicit American support of Diem's refusal to prepare for the 1956 elections, see Robert Scheer, **How the U. S. Got Involved in Vietnam** (1965).

3. (A), (B), & (C) are all accurate. See B. S. N. Murti, **Vietnam Divided** (1965); Jean Lacouture, **Vietnam: Between Two Truces** (1966), especially pp. 67-68; Phillippe Devillers, "The Struggle for the Unification of Vietnam," in P. J. Honey (ed.), **North Vietnam Today** (1962). Specifically on (B), Bernard B. Fall gives these figures for land ownership in South Vietnam: 2% of the land owners hold 45% of the land, whereas 72% hold only 15%. See his **The Two Vietnams**, revised ed. (1964), p. 208. (D), the official U. S. position -- see the 1965 State Department White Paper, **Aggression from the North**, p. 26 -- is contradicted in Fall, pp. 289-315, and Lacouture, (above).

4. All are true according to leading authorities. (A) American counter-insurgency forces broke the Geneva agreements by entering South Vietnam in 1955 under the cover of numerous U. S. government agencies, including the CIA. (B) The facts on South Vietnamese infiltration of the North can be found in Bernard B. Fall, **The Two Vietnams**, p. 371. (C) can be calculated from the official American figures given in the 1965 White Paper. These were native Southerners who had fought against the French and only gone North in 1954 in accordance with the 1954 Geneva Agreements. The quotation in (D) is from Fall, **The Two Vietnams**, p. 344. Even the White Paper does not mention Northern infiltration before 1959, whereas South Vietnamese President Diem said in March 1959 that "at the present time Vietnam is a nation at war." (Devillers, in Honey, p. 37.)

5. (B), 6% is the correct answer. The small percentage of North Vietnamese troops compared to indigenous Viet Cong force belies the U. S. government's contention that the war in Viet Nam is not a **civil war** but aggression from North Viet Nam. The figures used in this question can be found in the article by Bernard B. Fall in the **New York Times Magazine**, March 6, 1966. Fall states that in 1965 "in spite of losses, the enemy had more than doubled its strength from within. It is the realization of this fact that led Senator Mansfield's study group to conclude that Communist forces escalated right along with the American troop increase."

6. (E) According to official sources (**New York Times**, 2-24-66), 113,000 South Vietnamese soldiers (or approximately 20 per cent of their armed forces) deserted in 1965, **an increase of 50 per cent** compared with the previous year.

7. (D) **Saturday Evening Post** of September 11, 1965.

8. The correct answer is (C).
   According to an article by Bernard Fall, internationally known expert on Viet Nam and former consultant to the U. S. Government, American pilots flying missions in South Viet Nam can drop their unused bombs anywhere -- "any target, any structure, any movement at all" -- in free bomb zones. "The free bomb zones in South Viet Nam change constantly, so it is difficult to give any accurate acreage for them - anyone living in these areas is presumed to be the enemy, or at least, presumed to be 'hostile' and therefore destroyable." --- (**Ramparts**, Dec., 1965)

9. (B) and (D) are correct, according to a report of the House Foreign Affairs Committee released March 17, 1966 by Rep. Clement Zablocki (D., Wis.). Zablocki added that "some recent search and destroy operations have resulted in six civilian casualties to one Viet Cong." (A) is the official figure, as released by Assistant Secretary of Defense John McNaughton on March 18. According to the **Washington Star** of August 19, 1965, the official figures "apparently are based on claims for civilian damages filed with the Vietnamese government." Peasant casualties have a hard time filing their claim with a remote and unpopular government. Against the official claim can be cited innumerable newspaper stories, including this Saigon dispatch on the American bombing raids in the South: "This is strategic bombing in a friendly allied country. Since the Viet Cong doctrine is to insulate themselves among the population and the population is largely powerless to prevent their presence, no one here seriously doubts that significant numbers of innocent civilians are dying every day in South Viet Nam."
   (Charles Moore **New York Times**, Sept. 5, 1965)

This examination was prepared by Students for a Democratic Society
1103 East 63rd Street, Chicago, Illinois . . . Vietnam Exam Committee
Michael Locker, Todd Gitlin, Paul Booth

by the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy . . .
Executive Board: Douglas Dowd, Julien Gendell, Thompson Bradley
Robert Browne, Stanley Diamond, Charles Haynie, Arnold Kaufman

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and other consultants: Richard Barnet, Julian Bond, Kenneth Boulding, William Sloane Coffin, Jr., James Dixon, W. H. Ferry, D. F. Fleming, Edgar Z. Friedenberg, Paul Goodman, Michael Harrington, H. Stuart Hughes, Abraham Heschel, Irving Howe, Edward Keating, Denise Levertov, Stewart Meacham, Barrington Moore, Linus Pauling, Anatol Rapoport, Benjamin Spock, Arthur Waskow, Howard Zinn.

10. (B) and (C) are correct.

Jean Mayer of the Harvard School of Public Health writes: "I can say flatly that there has never been a famine or food shortage, (whether from natural causes, or by disruption of farming operations due to wars) . . . which has not first and overwhelmingly affected the small children. In fact, it is very clear that death from starvation occurs first of all in young children and in the elderly . . . I have already said that adults, and particularly adult men, survive much better than the rest of the population . . . destruction of food thus never seems to hamper enemy military operations, but always victimizes large numbers of children . . . to state it in other words, my point is not that innocent bystanders will be hurt by such measures, but that only bystanders will be hurt . . ." -- (**Science**, April 15, 1966)

11. The correct answer is (A) None. Neither the U. S. Government or Saigon claim Communist Chinese troops are involved in the war.

12. The correct answer is (D) -- Less than 5,000 troops (or 0.6 per cent of the total forces). Australians recently committed 4,500 men, while New Zealand has 200 troops stationed in Viet Nam. The other five countries -- France, Pakistan, Philippines, Britain, and Thailand have failed to recognize what the U. S. Government thinks is their obligation.

13. (B) About three hundred thousand "**real or suspected Communists**" in Indonesia have been killed in the past few months by the army and by anti-Communist mobs. This has been abundantly documented, e.g. in **U. S. News and World Report**, 4-25-66.

14. All have made such warnings.

MacArthur's, Eisenhower's, Taylor's, and Bradley's statements are summarized in **U. S. News and World Report**, April 25, 1966. Gen. Ridgway's statement can be found in the same magazine, January 3, 1966. Gen. Gavin's comments appeared in a letter to the editor of **Harper's Magazine** in Feb., 1966.

15. All of them.

The program of the National Liberation Front may be found in **Viet Nam: History, Documents, and Opinions on a Major World Crisis**, Marvin E. Gettleman (ed.) 1965, pp. 254-6.

16. (B) and (E) are the correct answers.

For example, soon after Diem's assassination (in the Fall of 1963), Hanoi expressed willingness to discuss the establishment of a coalition neutralist government in South Viet Nam. (See **New York Times**, March 9, 1965) In Sept., 1964, U. N. Sec'y-General, U Thant, conveyed a North Vietnamese offer to send a representative to Rangoon to meet with a U. S. representative. (See Eric Severeid in **Look Magazine**, Nov. 26, 1965.)

On the last day of the bombing lull in mid-May, 1965, Hanoi asked the French to convey to the U. S. their willingness to negotiate without prior withdrawal of U. S. troops. (See Joseph Kraft, **Philadelphia Bulletin**, Jan. 5, 1966) For further documentation of these and other four instances of Hanoi's willingness to negotiate, see **Peace in Vietnam**, a report prepared for the American Friends Service Committee, Hill and Wang, 1966. As for the prior withdrawal of American troops see William Warbey M. P. letter to the **Times of London**, April 1, 1965. Also see **New York Times**, July 20, 1965

17. The correct answer is (D), since there are approximately 15 million South Vietnamese. By the prevailing theory that Communism feeds on poverty and misery; which is more likely to become a Communist -- a Vietnamese subject to military harrassment, or a Vietnamese with $866 living in peace? This figure is about six times the Vietnamese per capita income.

In contrast, according to official U. S. figures, it costs the U. S. about $300,000 for every captured or killed Viet Cong. (Bernard B. Fall, **The New York Times Magazine**, March 6, 1966.)

18. The correct answer is (E) None of the above.

The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled (in U. S. vs. Seeger, No. 50, October term, 1964) that a "religious agnostic" can be a conscientious objector if he sincerely holds a moral principle which "involves duties which . . . are superior to those arising from any human relationship," such as those imposed by the state. The beliefs must simply "occupy the same place in the life of the objector as an orthodox belief in God holds in the life of one clearly qualified for exemption." Thus, you do not have to believe in God in order to be a C.O., nor do you have to belong to a recognized church. As for the use of force, one may still be a C.O. if he makes clear his opposition to the use of organized, indiscriminate killing that occurs in war.

One may file for conscientious objection at any time -- even after being inducted. Finally two years of alternative service must be performed if you are granted your C.O. claim but the range of accepted activities extend into all aspects of American life. For more information, see **The Guide to Conscientious Objection** published by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

Further sources:
Bernard B. Fall and Marcus G. Raskin, eds., **The Vietnam Reader**, Random House.
I. F. Stone's Weekly, 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.,
Viet-Report, 133 W. 72nd. Street, New York, N. Y. 10023.

I would like to help organize nationwide opposition to the Vietnam War, and build a democratic America.

Send to Students for a Democratic Society
1103 East 63rd. Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637

Name

Current Address

Permanent Address

School

_____ I wish to join SDS and enclose $4 ($1 for subscription to New LeftNotes)

_____ Please send me more information

File

WOULD YOU SHOOT A BABY?

"MOM, I HAD TO KILL A WOMAN AND A BABY." from an American soldier's letter

Suppose tomorrow our government gave you a gun and told you to go out on the street and kill the first ten people you met. Or suppose they told you to get in a plane and drop bombs on Tifton, Georgia. Would you do it?

Wouldn't you at least want to understand why? And wouldn't you want to be pretty sure that you were killing--and risking your own life--for a good reason?

You may soon have a gun. Or be in a plane dropping bombs. You, or a friend, or a brother, or a husband. It will be thousands of miles away, in Vietnam. But in Vietnam, the men, women, and children are people--just as they are in Atlanta, or in Tifton.

WHY ARE AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN VIETNAM?

Our government tells us that we are protecting the people of South Vietnam from an invasion from the North, or from China. But it also tells us that most of the soldiers we are fighting--our "enemies"--the Vietcong--are themselves South Vietnamese.

Why are we shooting South Vietnamese to protect other South Vietnamese from Chinese who aren't even there?

Our government tells us that we are protecting the freedom of the people of South Vietnam. Yet we are destroying their rice crops. . . We are bombing their undefended villages . . . We are using gas against their helpless civilians. . . .We are killing their women and children.

How can we protect people's freedom by destroying them and their land?

Here is what a soldier wrote to his mother:

"MOM, I HAD TO KILL A WOMAN AND A BABY. . . . THE BABY WAS ABOUT TWO MONTHS OLD. I SWEAR TO GOD THIS PLACE IS WORSE THAN HELL. WHY MUST I KILL WOMEN AND KIDS?"

ARE YOU SURE WE ARE RIGHT? SURE ENOUGH TO KILL A BABY?

Would you like to know more about why so many people in this country and in friendly nations like England and France think we are not right? Why are American soldiers in Vietnam? Why may you go? Or your friend or brother or husband? If you have some questions about the war--if you want to learn more--if you know a group of people who would like to talk with someone who is opposed to the war, write to us at the address below.

NOTE TO YOUNG MEN: Do you know that not all young men are drafted? The draft law says that if you are opposed to war, you may not have to go into the army. This is called being a conscientious objector. If you think you may be a conscientious objector, or if you just want to talk with somebody about it, write to us.

Atlanta Committee to End the War in Vietnam
P.O. Box 9233, Atlanta, Georgia 30314

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File organization

PROPOSAL
CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE.

Robert C.McNamara 111
1810 N. Larrabee Street
Chicago Illinois
MO 4-8707

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

This project is an attempt to correct the major communication problems of the civil rights movement with a single effort, a single organization, that would operate as a clearing house for public information concerning the civil rights movement. Civil Rights Information Service addresses itself to the three major problems in this field with practical solutions and development of new techniques. It therefore is dedicated to efficient and economical satisfaction of need.

The three problems to which we commit our efforts are these. First that the area of dominant or "white" openion is in the main apathetic and poorly informed about the varied demands being made by Negroes today. The second problem is that the U.S. Negro, though aware of a growing sense of solidarity among his fellows, has no reliable source of information as to the progress of the civil rights movement, nor is he exposed to any detailed accounts of action in other communities. The third problem is in the present sources of information. Through an organized effort to reach editors, librarians, and writers, we will be able to keep these people informed and supplied with materials at times other than at the height of demonstrations. Also, we realize that part of this problem lies in the use of archaic techniques of news reporting. We shall continue our development of news gathering techniques more consistent with current social needs. It is hoped that the media themselves will adopt the practices that we initiate and refine.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF

CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

May 20, 1964

Civil Rights Information Service is now engaged in three projects: The first is increasing the quantity of information available to the American Negro while improving the standards of this information. The second is developing an intra-movement communications system. The third project is aimed at creating a better basic understanding of the rights guaranteed by existing laws and institutions. Each of these projects is an attempt to fill a need immediately. Furthermore, CRIS has produced each project to the point where success depends solely on sufficient financial support.

Each project is described fully below:

1. The Civil Rights Network

The Civil Rights Network instantanously distributes news of community civil rights action to a vast number of radio stations by playing tape recorded reports to conference call networks of twenty-five radio stations. This is done as often as is necessary. In addition there is a week-end roundup of stories and aspects of stories that were overlooked during the proceding week. Subscribers to this network, which is offered free, include twenty-one Negro radio stations in eighteen cities, United Press International, ABC-TV, CBS news, Radio Vatican. It is expected that suberibers will increase as fast as the facilities to serve them can be installed.

With the distribution of this material assured, the consern of the network becomes a procedure for accurate gathering of news. During the past two months movement sources and stringers were depended on. As activity increases over the summer these sources may dry up. For this reason we will need a staff of nearly a dozen reporters to travel around the south with lightweight tape recorders. The editors of several college daily papers and several journalism schools have agreed to supply interested workers on short notice.

Another aspect of this news service is that we will offer a teletype service to newspapers, concerned institutional groups and civil rights groups when the funds can be secured.

Needless to say, the major expense of network is in the communicating itself. Two Wide Area Telephone Service (watts) lines are needed in order to keep an unlimited contact with the movement. The rental of teletype equipment could be carried by the charges made for the service, but money is needed to get it going. For the reporters in the south for the summer subsistence salaries, expenses and a small amount of money to modify inexpensive recorders to our standards are needed. In addition there are small amounts needed for office staff and equipment maintenance.

NBC has promised a substanial equipment contribution which should relieve the need for expansion capital. We are trading services with several existing press organizations so that keeping track of ordinary civil rights coverage will be no expense.

The attached budget carefully outlines the expense of this project for the summer. It is assumed that the coming of fall will cause a great reduction in the information that needs circulation.

2. The Movement Letter

After considerable research into past efforts at establishing an interior communications system for the movement, several points were established. They are that it must be inexpensive for all civil rights workers to participate, it must be circulated in a simple fashion and it must avoid developing a particular point of view. The first issue of the Movement Letter is being prepared and will be distributed before June. It has nearly twenty short statements of the particular status of various local movements and a few personal articles of interest, each written by someone involed with the situation described. It will be distributed to a growing list of those actively participating in the movement; including slightly over 500 field offices of action groups, 230 community movement leaders, and the action orientated agencies of churches and foundations.

(more)

The cost of the Movement Letter is minimual. The only additional equipment needed is an Addressograph machine and an electric postage meter. Both can be rented for about $200 a month. Also needed are funds for two subsistance salaries, paper stock and postage.

It is possible for activsts on all levels to be aware of each other's efforts. leaving this possibility undeveloped would be a mistake.

3. The Freedom Hour

The Freedom Hour is a weekly radio show that will be a top quality radio show, offered to broadcasters at a small charge for use as public service broadcasting. The FCC requires stations to program a certain number of hours of public service material each week. The opportunity of partially meeting this requirement with attractive material is rare. The format of the program will be somewhat unusual. It will be recorded in one "take" with nearly half of the hour spent playing gospel and blues music. During the breaks between music, short takes of the week's new will be played which the disc jockey and quest performers will discuss in terms of fundamental freedoms. It will be spontaneous and unscripted.

This will be recorded in a studio early friday morning. The studio will then immediately reproduce 200 copies which will be mailed special delivery to the subscribing stations. After a station uses the program for three weeks, it will be required to cooperate in bearing production which will be on the order of twenty dollars a week per station. Again, as with the news network, capital is required to get the venture under way.

Negro radio stations in fourteen cities representing most of the Northeast will use this program. However, radio station owners contacted concerning this project felt that if several hundred copies were made of the show and they were to be mailed around for a free trial period the initial subscription would be well over a hundred.

This project can begin production as soon as the funds are available. The production staff has been assembled, the talent is available, and several recording companies have offered studio facilities and special prices on tapex duplication and mailing.

THE BUDGET FOR THESE PROJECTS IS ATTACHED

BUDGET FOR THE CIVIL RIGHTS NETWORK OF CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

Budget Per Month for June 1 through August

a.	Communications Costs	
	2 WATS (unlimited use) telephone lines	$ 3,000.
	Other telephone	400.
	Teletype rental & maintenance	250.
b.	Reporters support	
	Automobile lease	
	8 cars	640.
	Gas & Oil	350.
	Air travel	400.
	Salaries for 8 Reporters	1,600.
	Equipment	600.
c.	Administration	
	Salary for Desk Editor & secretary	600.
	Supplies (tape, teletype, paper & printing(	200.
		$8340.

FOR MOVEMENT LETTER (4 issuses a month)

a.	Expenses	
	Paper stock, ink, etc.	150.
	Addressograph, postage meter rental	230.
	Postage	240.
	Telephone, telegraph	120.
	Travel	200.
	Photographic plates	40.
b.	Salaries	
	2 people at $75 per week	600.
		$ 1580.00

FOR FREEDOM HOUR
(it is assumed that after 1 month it will be self-supporting)

a.	Production costs	
	Studio time (Cost-20 hours of professional engineering)	200.
	Tape duplication (200 tapes including tape stock for 4 weeks or 800 tapes)	1440.
	Mailing (includes production of special box & special delivery mailing of 800 tapes)	420.
b.	Salary for producer	300.
		$ 2360.00

FOR NEW NETWORK	$ 8340.
FOR MOVEMENT LETTER	1580.
FOR FREEDOM HOUR	2360.
	$ 12,180.00

Cattle prods = rest - owners = axe handles...

teach students

A CALL TO PRAYER

Org -

During Lent all Atlanta is called to make a sacrifice. A sacrificial Easter will cause us to face, as religious people, before God, the moral and spiritual issues involved in segregation.

Before God we are called to "Love one another" and "Do unto others as we would have them do unto us." Yet, in our hearts, we know that Negroes have been systematically and selfishly degraded. For years our worse elements have thwarted their hopes and ambitions.

During the past few weeks our silence has condoned police brutality, the use of burning cattle prods on human beings, the misuse of common legal procedures in municipal court, and excessive bail.

Our state courts have designed laws to keep Negroes in subservient roles. Segregation daily imposes misery on Negroes.

Our common sins before God call us to sacrificially suffer with those that suffer. All citizens are asked to buy only nesessities such as food and medicine until after Easter.

A LENTEN PRAYER

Our Father, forgive me for bowing before the obvious evils of segregation. Forgive me for silently participating in the defeat of men, women and children to obtain dignity and worth.

Teach me, Father, to fulfill our brotherhood and overcome the brokeness. Use me to redeem this community. Lift me to accept truth, to love nobly, and to work for justice. Amen.

NEGRO INSURANCE

By A. T. SPAULDING,
Actuary and Assistant Secretary,
North Carolina Life Insurance Company, Durham, N. C.

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NEGRO INSURANCE

By A. T. SPAULDING,
Actuary and Assistant Secretary,
North Carolina Life Insurance Company, Durham, N. C.

THE genesis and evolution of life insurance among Negroes in the United States has its counterpart in the beginning and development of life insurance abroad. In both instances, its origin and/or birth can be traced to cooperative efforts to meet the elemental and primary socio-economic needs of the unfortunate and/or underprivileged.

Just as in the days of ancient Rome "the Roman Collegia, which were unions of a religious nature, had, amongst their other features, provisions for burial of their members," and the Collegia Tenuiorum, associations among the lower classes, as early as 136 A.D., for "An entrance fee of one-hundred sesterii (say $3.50), an 'amphora (about six gallons) of good wine,' and a contribution of 'five asses (about five cents) monthly,'" provided payments for "Burial expenses," three-hundred sesterii ($10.50), with no distinction made in the contributions according to age,[1] so can the history of life insurance among Negroes in the United States be traced.

Two Classes of Negroes

In passing it might be well to mention that as early as 1787 two distinct classes of Negroes were present in this Country: the slave class and the free Negroes. The slave class, of course, comprised the majority and lived largely in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. The free Negroes lived in every section of the Country. It is stated that there were as many free Negroes in North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia, at one time, as there were slaves.[2] The free Negroes, however, tended to mass and set up distinct neighborhoods in such northern cities as Philadelphia, New York, and Newport, Rhode Island.

With the increasing migration of free Negroes and the escaping of slaves, many of whom were destitute, through the Underground Railway to the northern cities in the early eighteen hundreds, serious social and economic problems were created. The church attempted to cope with the problem of relief but found it too enormous and, according to Trent,[3] "organizations for the bearing of burdens incidental to poverty and want sprang from the church."

The Free African Society and the First Negro Insurance Company

The Negro in the United States has always been sensitive to his environment and quick to attempt suitable adjustments to disturbing elements, sometimes by trial and error and sometimes by imitation. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Free African Society was formed by free Negroes in Philadelphia as early as April 12, 1787.[4] Trent calls it "The first attempt at anything like independent, economic organization among Negroes," and says, "It was organized for the purpose of looking after the sick and poor among them." It was the forerunner of what seems to have been the first real insurance company organized by Negroes in this Country—the African Insurance Company organized in Philadelphia in 1810 with a capital of $5,000.[5] The organizers copied the Free African Society pattern of organization.

Other Benevolent Societies

While the African Insurance Company, 1810, seems to have been the first real insurance company organized by Negroes in this Country, Trent says: "Two mutual aid groups sprang into being in Charleston, South Carolina in 1790, one being the Brown Fellowship Society" (of free mulattoes and quadroons) "to aid one another in distress and also to promote social relationships among themselves." In 1815 in the City of Richmond, Virginia, the Burying Ground Society of Free People of Color of City of Richmond was formed with total subscribers of 743 free Negroes. The Philadelphia Ledger, in March, 1831, published a notice from a group of Negroes who desired to cooperate in aiding worthy charitable cases in the city (Philadelphia) by "forming institutions for mutual relief." The early part of the nineteenth century witnessed an extensive formation of local secret societies among free Negroes with memberships of 16 to 120 each. But these groups were compelled to meet clandestinely due to stringent laws prohibiting the assemblage of Negroes for any purpose unless a white person was present. In 1838 one hundred such groups had a

[1] Hutcheson, W. A., *The Evolution of Life Insurance*, T.A.S.A., Volume 21, pp. 331 and following.

[2] Trent, W. J., Jr., *Development of Negro Life Insurance Enterprises*, p. 1.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 1.

[4] Wright, R. R., *Negro in Pennsylvania*, p. 30.

[5] Dubois, W. E. B., Atlanta University Publication # 12, *Economic Cooperation Among Negroes*, p. 96.

membership of 7,448 with Paid in Dues for the year of $18,831. They paid out benefits totaling $14,172 and had a cash balance of $10,023.

The period from 1784 to 1846 was marked by a rising growth of fraternal orders among Negroes and they aided and stimulated the organization and development of the mutual aid groups of the period; the Masonic Order and the Odd Fellows were particularly influential. As a matter of fact, the fraternal benefit societies laid the foundation for the old line legal reserve life insurance companies among Negroes.[6]

Growth of Business

The fifty-year period from 1865 to 1915 witnessed the most rapid growth of these societies. By 1925, however, most of them had lost their identity, notable exceptions being the Supreme Camp of American Woodmen, Denver, Colorado, and the Independent Order of St. Luke, Richmond, Virginia.

The larger white Industrial insurance companies of this Country began writing Negro risks as early as 1875 and as a matter of fact "vied with each other for the business."[7] It was written on the same basis as the white risks. The Prudential Insurance Company of Newark, New Jersey and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York were the two leading companies in the writing of Negro business.

Prudential Changes Attitude

According to the "History of the Prudential," during the early part of 1881 a new problem presented itself which the company dealt with as in all other matters, solely on the basis of facts as they were available for the purpose of aiding the company in arriving at an equitable decision. The problem was that of writing Negroes on the same basis as whites. Under date of March 10, 1881, the company issued a release to superintendents and agents setting forth the changes made "with respect to colored persons (Negroes) applying for insurance . . ." and stated that, "These changes are made in consequence of the excessive mortality prevailing in the class above named." The communication was signed by John F. Dryden, Secretary. It was further stated that, "The action of the Prudential is fully justified by the available statistical information on the subject. Reference to any health report of a southern or northern city covering the years 1880–1881 will clearly prove that the general death rate of the colored population was about 50% in excess of the death rate of the white population."[8] Under the adult policies, the sum assured was one-third less than previously granted for the same weekly premium. Under the infantile policies the amount assured remained the same but the weekly premium was increased. The Prudential subsequently closed the door to all Negro risks. The action of the Prudential did at least two things: (1) resulted in State legislation forbidding discrimination on the basis of *color only*, and (2) had a tremendous effect upon the organization and expansion of Negro insurance enterprises later.[9]

The True Reformer

On April 14, 1883, the Circuit Court of the City of Richmond, Virginia granted the charter of the Grand Foundation of the United Order of True Reformers as a joint stock company. The chief purpose of the incorporation was to provide an endowment or mutual benefit fund in connection with the fraternal order. The success of this organization was remarkable as long as its organizer lived. The benefits paid by all departments to 1907 amounted to $2,856,989.25, and according to Trent, "The True Reformer's history can be marked out as a distinct phase in the development of Negro insurance enterprises —it was in this organization that some cognizance was taken of life contingencies—it was here that the first attempt was made to charge adequate rates for the protection—and, finally, it was the success of this Company that inspired other Negroes to attempt life insurance organization on a sound basis."[10] And Virginia seems to have been the birthplace of Negro life insurance enterprises insofar as insurance on a sound basis is concerned.

National Negro Insurance Association

When we consider the fact that the very poverty of the Negro was the mainspring finally leading to the organization and development of life insurance within the group, that Negroes entered this highly scientific and competitive field mostly without previous insurance training or experience, that as late as 1933 there were only two trained, qualified and practicing Negro actuaries in the Country, that neither the companies nor the officials were admitted to membership in the existing white insurance organizations, it is not surprising that the Company officials soon sensed the need of an organization of their own, for the need for trained insurance personnel and the exchange of ideas on management problems of all types had long been consummated.

In October, 1921, at Durham, North Carolina, the permanent organization of the National Negro Insurance Association was consummated. The general purpose of the Association was stated as follows: "(1) To advance the best interest of insurance among Negroes in America. (2) To publish a journal for circulation between the companies. (3) To recommend courses of study in insurance in various Negro colleges and universities, and (4) To drive from the business all unworthy agents and employees.[11]

At the 1931 Convention of the Association there were 28 companies represented. At that time these companies had Insurance in Force of approximately $300,000,000, and Admitted Assets approximated $15,000,000. This insurance in force and these accumulated assets had come from the "crumbs" left by the white insurance companies, for the best Negro risks were being accepted by and were taking most of their insurance with contemporary white companies. According to Trent, as early as 1930 "one large white com-

[6] Stuart, M. S., *Economic Detour.*
[7] Trent, W. J., Jr., Development of Negro Life Insurance Enterprises, p. 15.
[8] *History of the Prudential*, p. 137.
[9] Trent, W. J., Jr., *Development of Negro Life Insurance Enterprises*, p. 18.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

pany was reported to have at least $900,000,000 of insurance on Negro lives." [12]

Just as the satisfying of the socio-economic needs of people generally through the institution of life insurance, and the development of the resources of America, have not been independent of each other, the co-operative efforts of Negroes to mitigate their problems of poverty and want gave them their first and most substantial foothold in the field of commercial ventures.

Negro's Greatest Achievement

Next to his faith in God, the Negro's faith in his own life insurance companies has been one of the greatest contributing factors toward his progress. These two great faiths are the foundation stones upon which are laid his spiritual and financial security and provide his closest unity and his greatest strength. The volume of business transacted annually by the member companies of the National Negro Insurance Association is larger by far than that of any other corporate business thus far established by members of the Negro group. It represents the greatest achievement of the group in this Country in a financial way and is a shining example of the fact that the Negro does have a stake in America which is worth fighting for.

Present Scope

The report of the Statistician of the National Negro Insurance Association for the year ending December 31, 1942, showed the following for 39 of the 42 member companies:

Insurance in force	$474,226,628.00
Premium income	22,571,068.71
Total income	24,532,560.64
Payments to policyholders	6,161,213.82
Admitted Assets	37,882,046.44
Liabilities (Excluding contingency or special reserves of $2,242,224.48)	28,324,219.44
Capital and unassigned funds	7,308,602.52

[12] Trent, W. J., Jr., *Development of Negro Life Insurance Enterprises*, p. 53.

These companies are largely Industrial. The 1942 premium income was distributed as follows:

Sick Benefit	40.42%
Industrial	44.56%
Ordinary	14.93%
Group	.09%

The insurance in force was divided as follows:

Industrial	80.18%
Ordinary & Group	19.82%

The total payments to policyholders were 27.3% of the premium income. The actual mortality was well under the expected. One of the larger companies using the Standard American Experience Table and 3½% Interest for its Ordinary and the Substandard Industrial Table and 3½% Interest for its Industrial has had an actual to expected mortality ranging from 66.1% to 49.5% over the past five-year period.

Companies Operated and Owned by Negroes

The following companies owned and operated by Negroes made up the membership of the Association as of December 31, 1942.

All but three of the present Negro life insurance companies were or-

Member Companies of the National Negro Insurance Association

Name of Company	Date Organized	Stock or Mutual	Territory Covered
[a] Afro-American Life Insurance Co., Jacksonville, Florida	1901	Stock	Ga. and Fla.
[j] American Woodmen, Supreme Camp of Denver, Colorado	1901	Fraternal	Ala., Ark., Cal., Colo., Del., D. C., Fla., Ga., Ill., Ind., Kans., Ky., La., Md., Mich., Mo., N. J., N. C., Ohio, Okla., Pa., S. C., Tenn., Tex.
[b] Atlanta Life Insurance Company, Atlanta, Georgia	1916	Stock	Ala., Fla., Ga., Kan., Ky., Mo., Ohio, Tenn. & Tex.
[i] Booker T. Washington Burial Ins. Co., Birmingham, Alabama	1923	Stock	Ala.
[i] Bradford's Funeral System, Inc., Birmingham, Alabama	1923	Stock	Ala.
[g] Central Life Insurance Company, Tampa, Florida	1922	Stock	Fla.
[i] Commonwealth Burial Association, Chicago, Illinois	*	Stock	Ill.
[b] Domestic Life & Accident Ins. Co., Louisville, Kentucky	1920	Stock	Ky. and Ohio
[b] Dunbar Mutual Insurance Soc., Cleveland, Ohio	1935	Mutual	Ohio
[c] Excelsior Life Insurance Company, Dallas, Texas	1932	Stock	Texas
[e] Federal Life Insurance Company, Washington, D. C.	1923	Stock	D. C.
[d] Fireside Mutual Insurance Co., Columbus, Ohio	1916	Mutual	Ohio
[e] Gibraltar Industrial Life Ins. Co., Indianapolis, Indiana	1920	Mutual	Ind.
[f] Golden State Mutual Life Ins. Co., Los Angeles, California	1925	Mutual	Cal., Ill.
[g] Good Citizens Mutual Benefit Assoc., New Orleans, Louisiana	1936	Mutual	La.
[e] Great Lakes Mutual Ins. Co., Detroit, Michigan	1927	Mutual	Mich.
[b] Guaranty Life Ins. Company, Savannah, Georgia	1904	Stock	Ga.
[i] Jackson Funeral System Assoc., Chicago, Illinois	1932	Mutual	Ill.
[g] Keystone Life Ins. Co., New Orleans Louisiana	1940	Stock	La.
[g] Louisiana Industrial Life Ins. Co., New Orleans, Louisiana	1920	Stock	La.
[g] Mammoth Life & Acc. Ins. Co., Louisville, Ky.	1915	Stock	Ky., Ind. and Ohio

Name of Company	Date Organized	Stock or Mutual	Territory Covered
[i] Metropolitan Funeral System Assoc., Chicago, Illinois	1926	Mutual	Ill. (Cook Co. only)
[a] North Carolina Mutual Life Ins. Co., Durham, North Carolina	1898	Mutual	N. C., S. C., Ga., Va., D. C., Md., Tenn., Ala. & Penna.
[e] Peoples Industrial Life Ins. Co., New Orleans, Louisiana	1922	Stock	La.
* Peoples Life Insurance Company, Mobile, Alabama	*	*	Ala.
[b] Pilgrim Health & Life Ins. Co., Augusta, Georgia	1905	Stock	Ala., Ga. & S. C.
* Protective Industrial Life Ins. Co. of Alabama, Birmingham, Alabama	1923	Stock	Ala.
* Provident Home Beneficial Soc., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	1929	*	Penna.
[b] Richmond Beneficial Life Ins. Co., Richmond, Virginia	1894	Stock	Va. & D. C.
[g] Safety Industrial Life Ins. & Sick Ben. Assoc., New Orleans, La.	1921	Mutual	La.
[b] Southern Aid Society of Va., Richmond, Virginia	1893	Stock	Va. & D. C.
[g] Southern Life Ins. Co., Baltimore, Maryland	1906	Stock	Md.
[e] Standard Industrial Life Ins. Co., New Orleans, Louisiana	1924	Stock	La.
[g] Supreme Industrial Life Ins. Co., New Orleans, Louisiana	1941	Stock	La.
[h] Supreme Liberty Life Ins. Co., Chicago, Illinois	1919	Stock	D. C., Ill., Ind., Kan., Ky., Md., Mich., Mo., Ohio, Tenn., W. Va.
[g] Union Protective Assur. Co., Memphis, Tennessee	1933	Stock	Tenn.
[b] United Mutual Benefit Assoc., New York City	1933	Fraternal	N. Y.
[b] Universal Life Ins. Co., Memphis, Tennessee	1923	Stock	Tenn., Mo., Miss., Ark., Tex., La. & Okla.
* Victory Industrial Life Ins. Co., New Orleans, Louisiana	1927	*	La.
[a] Victory Mutual Life Ins. Co., Chicago, Illinois	1933	Mutual	Ill., D. C., Ohio., Ind. N. Y.
[g] Virginia Mutual Benefit Life Ins. Co., Richmond, Virginia	1933	Mutual	Va.
[b] Winston Mutual Life Ins. Co., Winston-Salem, North Carolina	1906	Mutual	N. C .

Writes: [a] Ord., Ind., H. & A., Group; [b] Ord., Ind., H. & A.; [c] Ord., Ind.; [d] H. & A.; [e] Ind.; [f] Ord, H. & A.; [g] Ind., H. & A.; [h] Ord., Ind., Group; [i] Burial insurance; [j] Fraternal.

* Information not available.

ganized since 1900, and those three since 1890; 939 persons were employed in the home offices of 36 of these companies and 8,751 in the field by 35 of them; 98.9% of the insurance carried by Negroes in Negro owned and operated companies is carried with members of the National Negro Insurance Association and no member of this Association has failed.

Fair Supervising Authorities

Although most of the Negro companies are located and operate in the South and East mostly below the Mason and Dixon line where prejudice and discriminations are thought of as being most concentrated, may it be said to the credit of the personnel of the various state insurance departments that I have found no record of charges of discrimination against these companies because of color. On the other hand, the state supervising authorities have seemingly recognized the difficulties under which these companies have had to operate and for the most part have been cooperative and helpful in suggestions and advice to the end that the companies might operate in a manner that would guarantee their solvency and perpetuation.

White Companies Writing Negro Risks

According to the findings of a survey of 260 companies, just completed, the following white companies write insurance on the lives of Negroes also:

[c] American United Life Ins. Co., Indianapolis, Indiana
[c] Amicable Life Insurance Co., Waco, Texas
[d] Baltimore Life Insurance Co., Baltimore, Maryland
[b] Central Life Ins. Co. of Ill., Chicago, Illinois
[d] Colonial Life Ins. Co. of America, Jersey City, N. J.
[c] Connecticut General Life Ins. Co., Hartford, Connecticut
[f] Continental Assurance Co., Chicago, Ill.
[c] Credit Life Insurance Co., Springfield, Ohio
[d] Durham Life Insurance Co., Raleigh, N. C.
[c] Eastern Life Ins. Co., New York City
[a] Empire Life & Accident Ins. Co., Indianapolis, Ind.
[c] Equitable Life Assur. Society, New York City
Equitable Life Ins. Co., Washington, D. C.
[d] Eureka-Maryland Assur. Corp., Baltimore, Maryland
[c] Expressmen's Mutual Life New York City
[g] Farm Bureau Life Ins. Co., Columbus, Ohio
[c] General American Life Ins. Co., St. Louis, Mo.
[a] Gulf Life Insurance Co., Jacksonville, Fla.
[h] Home Beneficial Life Ins. Co., Richmond, Va.
Home Life Ins. Co., New York City
[b] Home Life Ins. Co. of America, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
[b] Home Security Life Ins. Co., Durham, N. C.
[h] Illinois Bankers Life, Monmouth, Ill.
[d] Imperial Life Insurance Co. Asheville, N. C.
[a] Interstate Life & Accident Co., Chattanooga, Tennessee
[i] Liberty Life Insurance Co., Greenville, South Carolina
[b] Liberty National Life, Birmingham, Ala.
[h] Life & Casualty Ins. Co., Nashville, Tennessee
[h] Lincoln Income Life Ins. Co., Louisville, Kentucky
[c] Manhattan Life Ins. Co., New York City
[c] Massachusetts Mutual Life Springfield, Massachusetts
[i] Metropolitan Life Ins. Co., New York City
[c] Midwest Life Ins. Co., Lincoln, Nebraska
Mutual Benefit Life Ins. Co., New Jersey
[c] Mutual Life Ins. Co., New York City
[a] National Life & Accident, Nashville, Tennessee
[c] Phoenix Mutual Life Hartford, Connecticut

[d] Pilot Life Ins. Co., Greensboro, North Carolina
[e] Presbyterian Ministers Fund, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
[e] Protective Life Ins. Co., Birmingham, Alabama
[j] Provident Life & Accident, Chattanooga, Tennessee
[i] Prudential Ins. Co., Newark, New Jersey
[e] Reliance Life Ins. Co., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
[e] Security Life & Trust Co., Winston-Salem, N. C.
[e] Shenandoah Life Ins. Co., Roanoke, Virginia
[b] Southern Life & Accident, Birmingham, Alabama
[e] Southland Life Ins. Co., Dallas, Texas
[e] Southwestern Life Ins. Co., Dallas, Texas
[k] The Travelers, Hartford, Connecticut
[e] Union Central Life Ins. Co., Cincinnati, Ohio
[h] Union Life Ins. Co., Richmond, Virginia
[e] United Life & Accident, Concord, New Hampshire
[a] Washington National Ins. Co., Evanston, Illinois
[e] West Coast Life Ins. Co., San Francisco, California

Insure Negroes on these types of policies: [a] H. and A., Ind. and Ord.; [b] Ind.; [c] Ord.; [d] Ind. and Ord.; [e] Group; [f] Ord. and Group; [g] H. and A., and Ord.; [h] H. and A., and Ind.; [i] Ind., Ord. and Group; [j] H. and A., and Group; [k] Ord., H. and A., and Group.

On the basis of a recent survey, insurance on the lives of Negroes in the United States as of December 31, 1942 was approximately as follows:

Number of Policies, *9,420,289; Amount of Insurance, *$1,685,024,-434; Annual Premiums, *$67,919,-273.

According to the above figures, the average-size policy was approximately $179.00. If the 9,420,289 policies were carried by 4,710,144 persons, the average coverage per person would be $358.00. For many families this coverage represents their principal item of protection and/or investment, and in many instances a degree of thrift commensurate with their financial abilities.

According to Milton Gilbert, Chief National Income Unit, Washington, D. C.: "For 1942, the total national income was 119.8 billions, and the per capita income $890.00." While the per capita income of Negroes for 1942 is estimated at approximately $462.00, the insurance premiums paid by Negroes amounted to a minimum of 1.1% of their per capita income. The per capita insurance coverage for the entire population in 1942 was approximately $1,050.00,* but for the Negro, approximately $125.00.*

* These are minimum figures based on the best information available from questionnaires to practically every white company operating in the United States, and from the report of the Statistician of the National Negro Insurance Association for colored companies. Many of the white companies writing Negro risks do not keep separate statistics, consequently the information was not available; considering the companies involved, it might not be unreasonable to conclude that the total insurance on Negroes would exceed 2¼ billion dollars.

Future Possibilities

In my opinion, the future possibilities of growth and expansion of Negro insurance in the United States is as good as, if not better than, the possibilities of growth and expansion of the white insurance business. The insurance needs of the Negro are far from satisfied.

Because of, as well as in spite of, the geographic location of most of the Negro insurance companies, and of the major portion of the Negro population, with certain economic, social and political limitations and restrictions, I believe the future possibilities of Negro insurance in the United States are brighter than they have been before.

There are evolutionary forces at work which will gradually bring about many economic, social and political changes, national and international. This is inevitable, no matter how we may feel about these changes at present. Then too, no longer will a greater development of all the resources of the South be overlooked. This too will improve the status of the Negro. As his economic status is bettered, his educational opportunities increasingly improve, and his living standards raised, his insurance requirements will be greater and his insurability more satisfactory. Furthermore, Negro insurance companies came through the last world war and the subsequent depression successfully and are now better equipped to handle the business available to them. They now have trained and experienced personnel in executive, administrative, supervisory and operating positions with degrees from the leading white and Negro universities and colleges of the Country such as Atlanta, Chicago, Fisk, Harvard, Howard, Lincoln, Michigan, Morehouse, New York and Pennsylvania. They now have such technically and professionally trained people as actuaries, accountants, auditors, bookkeepers, claims adjustors, investors, lawyers, physicians, salesmen, statisticians, underwriters, etcetera; that is, experts in every field.

* The per capita wealth of the United States population in 1938 was approximately $2,480 according to an estimate of the national wealth at that time, by the National Industrial Conference Board.

Management generally has a better knowledge of the business and how to make suitable adjustments to changes in internal and external conditions. There is increasing cooperation and exchange of experiences and ideas between white and Negro companies—the Metropolitan probably being the most outstanding along this line. Then too, Negro companies are gradually gaining admission to membership in the leading white insurance organizations and access to much beneficial information not previously available.

In passing, it might not be amiss to mention that some standard white risks are now knowingly taking insurance with Negro companies.

"Cradle to Grave" Social Security Program

Inasmuch as the Negro would probably be the greatest beneficiary under the proposed "Cradle to Grave" social security program, if passed and administered without discrimination, judging by the temper of the present Congress, it is doubtful that this program has any more chance of enactment now than did the Education Bill to provide federal aid to schools, which was recently killed aborning.

Should the program, or some parts of it, finally be enacted into law, however, it is my opinion that the "expansion of the wants" of the Negro for more security and a higher standard of living will offset other impediments.

Finally, the good public relations work now being done by the insurance business is resulting in a greater recognition of and appreciation for the importance, value, and services of insurance and the insurance business.

The prospects of the future growth and development of Negro insurance in the United States are far from discouraging.

Weekly analysis of economic developments and tendencies prepared by the staff of PRESS ASSOCIATION, Inc.

for

TRENDS

AMERICAN TRUST COMPANY

CHARLOTTE, N.C.

Member of Federal Reserve System • Largest Unit Bank in the Carolinas

Washington

Vol. 20, No. 17
Thursday, January 20, 1944

CONGRESS: The lawmakers have definitely shelved the White House proposal for a National Service Act. In recent years, few recommendations have been given such short shrift on Capitol Hill.

On war contract renegotiations, however, President Roosevelt may have his way—with a time limit. The Senate Finance Committee voted to end war contract renegotiations at the end of this year. Senate Majority Leader Barkley, who usually acts for the Administration, accepted the principle of a definite termination date. He offered a further amendment permitting the President to continue renegotiations until the end of the following June "if the competitive price situation warrants such action." Congress may approve the compromise to save the tax bill.

Any compromise on food-price subsidies will come on the Senate floor. The Banking Committee decided to report out the Commodity Credit Corporation bill, carrying the subsidy funds, without making the final decision.

There will be a new price-rationing bill, probably carrying plenty of election-year loopholes for higher prices. The O.P.A. will be continued, but efforts will be made to put definite time limits on its rationing-price control powers.

TAXES: Congress virtually ignored President Roosevelt's request for legislation raising an additional $10 billion in taxes. The lawmakers are standing pat on their own measure, which will raise less than a fourth of what the President requested. The President, in his budget message, said the national debt will reach $258 billion on June 30, 1945. Repudiation of his tax program may push the debt even higher—unless the European war comes to a sudden end, permitting curtailment of war expenditures.

Before most Americans begin wrestling with their March 15 returns, Congress will start work on tax simplification. Probably never again will the Treasury distribute such complicated forms. One proposal, introduced by Rep. Robertson of Virginia, would merge the Victory Tax, the normal tax, and the first surtax into one minimum rate, to be fully collected from wages and salaries, freeing 30,000,000 Americans from filing returns.

WAR SURPLUSES: On a recent day, according to Rep. Wright Patman of Texas, the Army sold thousands of items of chinaware—unused and packed in the original wrappings—to salvage companies at 8 cents per item, average price. On the same day, Patman says, the Navy awarded a contract to a pottery manufacturer for 110,000 pieces of the same items at a price of 18 cents each. The Congressman says these "haphazard" methods brought near chaos to our economic structure after the last war. He proposes that all authority to dispose of surpluses be vested in the R.F.C., with due regard for private enterprise.

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Foreign

EUROPE: Twice during the past week, publication was given to rumors that the British were seeking peace in Europe. Out of Bern came one dispatch, credited to sources in Axis-dominated Hungary. It said British agents had parachuted to earth in Rumania and offered peace (presumably to all Europe) if Rumania would cede to Russia the frontier areas of Bessarabia and Bukovina (thus stopping the westward Russian advance on the line of the River Prut). That item, coming from an Axis source, attracted little comment. It may, however, have found some belief in Moscow, because early this week there was another story in Pravda, the official Communist newspaper.

The Pravda story was headlined "Rumors from Cairo"—but actually it was an unofficial Russian accusation of double-dealing by the British. Nothing gets into Pravda unless the Kremlin approves. The story said two British officials had met secretly in the Pyrenees with German Foreign Minister Von Ribbentrop to determine the conditions for a separate peace with the Germans. Pravda then added: "It is understood the meeting did not remain without results." As the world knows, Britain promptly, officially, and categorically denied the allegations, and the Russians broadcast the denial. Superficially, the incident was thereby closed, but observers of world affairs dug deeper, seeking some logical explanation.

We and the British and the Russians have solemnly agreed to fight the war together until Hitlerite Germany surrenders unconditionally. Each of the Big Three has pledged itself to make no separate peace.

However, there are other provisos in the Big Three understanding. America, Britain, and Russia have pledged themselves to seek no territorial aggrandizement from the conflict and to respect the sovereignty of the small nations.

There is no scintilla of evidence that we and the British have any notion of making a separate peace with Germany. Yet it might be argued we could honorably do so without apology to Moscow if the Russians were to violate the terms of the Alliance by turning aggressor, and unilaterally fixing European boundaries. In international law, as in civil law, violation of any essential part of a contract invalidates the entire contract.

Wisely or not, we and the British promulgated the Atlantic Charter. Hundreds of millions of people in scores of nations are counting on us to make good on it. It is argued that unless we stand firm today to uphold the rights of all nations, great and small, we'll have few friends after the war. Weaker nations in the Old World, and perhaps in the New World as well, might look elsewhere for leadership and protection.

As seen by the smaller nations, the issue is clear-cut. Soviet Russia has subscribed to the principles of the Atlantic Charter. They say we must hold her to it unwaveringly. Circumstances dictate methods. The test case is the Polish boundary question. Beyond a doubt, this lies at the bottom of recent unpleasant events. In Moscow there may be a case of bad conscience. Fear may have been father to the thought.

Another angle: From time immemorial, British foreign policy has been based on maintaining a balance of power in Europe. Whatever nation threatens to rule the entire continent automatically menaces Britain. Russia already has made an alliance with Czechoslovakia, which learned in 1938 at Munich not to count on the western democracies for protection. Obviously, it behooves Britain now to take a strong stand and to bring into the British orbit as much of Western and Central Europe as possible. That Britain is wasting no time is indicated by Churchill's parley with DeGaulle and the increasing reports that Spain may come into the war on the Allied side.

There is absolutely no reason to doubt for a moment that the Anglo-American Allies still fully intend to march into Berlin. There is no factual basis whatever for hope that the Germans, fearing Russian occupation of the Reich, above all things, will reinforce their lines in the east and leave the Atlantic Wall lightly defended.

PACIFIC: With Allied troops pushing slowly into Burma, there are indications that the Japs will soon feel strong blows from several directions. Stubborn resistance by Jap troops on New Britain Island delays the Allied grand assault on Truk, the Jap Pearl Harbor. However, our side is using the time to accumulate striking power.

Business

POST-WAR PLANNING: An Army-Navy size-up of American mass psychology blocks immediate large-scale reconversion of American business. The Armed Services do not deny that the ingredients of a substantial revitalization of civilian business are available as of today, over and above the needs of war-making. Arthur Whiteside, directing the Office of Civilian Requirements, has argued long and loudly that our surplus energies and materials should be used immediately—to cushion the post-war unemployment problem, to fight inflation by providing goods for which people may spend dollars, and to lay the groundwork for the economy of plenty which will be a post-war necessity. Whiteside may continue to fight for an early green light for non-military production, but the chances are that he won't get far.

Rightly or wrongly, the Army and the Navy feel it would be psychologically bad to return a large part of the American home front economy to a peacetime business-as-usual basis while a major military effort is pending against Germany. The Army-Navy argument is that if controls were relaxed now the public would become complacent. Scattered reconversions will continue to be authorized from time to time, but they will be relatively minor ones. The big reconversions will have to wait for "D-day plus X"—the day when the success of our European operations has been assured. Looking ahead toward that day, fourteen top business executives met in Washington Monday with the War Production Board. Labor leaders were to meet with the W.P.B. later.

Held back for discussion some time in the future was the Whiteside proposal that civilian goods production be allocated among manufacturers for three years after the war in Europe ends, with strong government controls continued throughout that period. In principle, business men in general oppose any such lengthy continuance of government controls and pull for a rapid return to free competition. In practice, however, it is not that simple. A free market for firms no longer busy with war work might put at a competitive disadvantage those concerns which will continue with war work until the fall of Japan.

One of the reasons why the War Production Board agreed with the Army and Navy against immediate reconversions: Some manufacturers had been hedging on renewal of their war contracts, hoping for a chance to plunge right into production of consumer goods for a market bulging with scores of billions of unspent dollars. Such hedging was reported by W.P.B.'s Henry A. Dinegar. He did not name names.

MORTGAGES: The U. S. Savings and Loan League predicts that home mortgages will be cut by $4 billion during 1944. "Several hundred thousand" families will free themselves completely from mortgage debt. On the other hand, there apparently is another side to the picture. The Mortgage Bankers Association says there may be an abnormally high foreclosure rate in the post-war period. The Association says a survey indicates that, with new construction out, money easy and new business scarce, some lenders have turned to making high appraisals merely to get the financing. The result is "excessive loans which borrowers may not be able to pay off in the future." The statement added that conservative mortgage bankers cannot and will not meet the terms of those who appraise real estate at abnormal wartime values.

SIGHTS-RAISING: Nobody can predict with certainty what the country's annual national income will average during the five years following the war. During the depression it dropped to around $500 per capita. This year it will be in the vicinity of $1,200 per capita. One figure now frequently mentioned for the post-war era is $125 billion per year—roughly $900 per capita. Even after allowing for heavy taxes and for other more or less permanent additions to living costs, such a national income would contain considerable velvet. Most of the big industrialists are counting on it and are preparing to serve richer markets. Before the war, the automobile industry possessed all the capacity it needed to serve the then existing demand. After the war, the auto makers will expand their capacity so they can make 40% to 50% more cars. Similar expansion plans lie on the desks of top executives in the fields of building materials, home appliances, radios and many other products.

Finance

BOND MARKET: Tax-exempts scheduled for public sale this week aggregate only $4,210,000, as compared with $20,639,545 last week. The only issue amounting to $1 million or more is a Rochester, N. Y., offering of $2,225,000 of refunding bonds.

New corporate bonds may be withheld from the market entirely until after the Fourth War Loan drive has gone over the top. Heading the list awaiting action are the $3.5 million Elastic Stop Nut Corp. debentures which failed to reach the market last week and $2,220,000 Pere Marquette Railway Equipment Trust Certificates on which public reoffering may be delayed until February.

STOCK MARKET: The condition to which TRENDS called attention last week—the marked upswing in bonds—continued after we went to press. Wall Street observers are watching closely to see whether stocks will follow the bond curve upward as they usually have done in the past. A real bull market would be in progress right now if buying of selected issues were matched by similar buying of stocks in the same groups. However, demand continues to center on shares of individual corporations on the strength of their position and prospects. Important money apparently is not yet betting on the post-war prospects of entire industries. Despite the rising trend of the market the past few weeks, some financial counselors are advising their clients to sell now and maintain a cash position while awaiting developments.

Commodities

HOUSING: Most firms selling merchandise will have to start nearly from scratch to rebuild their sales organizations after the war. No such problem plagues one of the leading companies building prefabricated houses. It will market its product through department stores. Already it is exhibiting quarter-scale models in key department stores and claims that the first three exhibits produced more than 7,000 potential post-victory sales. All the buyer has to do is get a plot of land and arrange to have the parts assembled and the utilities connected.

SHOES: Have wartime shortages produced any substitute materials that will still be demanded when leather is again plentiful for shoemaking? Neither tanners nor shoemakers will commit themselves definitely. However, the consensus appears to be that leather still is without a peer as a footwear material. Nevertheless, makers of plastic shoe products have their champions and hope to hold part of the market after the war.

In the field of style, shoemakers frankly don't know what women buyers will want. During war, style has been sacrificed for comfort. When peace comes, will women sacrifice comfort for style? The industry wishes it could get the answer without going through the trial-and-error process.

GOLDEN WEST: Electric power harnessed from the great rivers of the Far West promises a golden post-war era for industry on the Pacific Coast. Aluminum is the key metal. When ore is cheaper—and there may be plenty of it in the clay of Utah and Oregon—the price of aluminum will drop to a new low. Even now, although much of the ore is carried 2,200 miles across country from Alabama to the Northwest, aluminum sells for 15 cents a pound. Of that, the power cost represents only about 2 cents per pound in the Northwest and little over 3 cents per pound in California. The Northwest can spot the East $40 a ton on production cost.

With an expanded economy based largely on cheap aluminum, the West Coast hopes to keep productively employed most of its war-enlarged population, drawn in large part from the Dakotas, Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas. The East, looking to the West, sees a budding industrial empire based on aircraft, lightweight streamlined railway equipment, and automobiles and household appliances built in reconverted aircraft factories. The primary markets should include many of the forty-eight states, Alaska, the Philippines and China.

Extension Division Publication

NEW DOMINION SERIES

No. 47 Charlottesville, Virginia March 1, 1944

ELECTRICITY DOWN ON THE FARM

The Northern Neck Finds New Ways of Living and Earning a Living

Published monthly January-June, twice monthly July-December.
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ELECTRICITY DOWN ON THE FARM

"Let the current be turned off for a single day and see how you miss it" is a modernized version of an old adage in that part of Virginia known as the Northern Neck.

The adage is only a minor example of things modernized. More important are the water systems, electric brooders, canneries, oyster houses, washing machines, garden sprinklers, lighted poultry houses, egg coolers, ice-making machines, milking machines, farm shops, and hammer mills that transform ways of living and means of earning a living for farm families. A mild kind of revolution in the family itself has occurred in some instances. The wife with hours saved by washing machine, iron, and other household appliances is able to help her husband in place of that hired hand made scarce by the labor shortage. At least one husband has been enabled successfully to perform a task that formerly only his wife's skill was equal to. Their electric brooder, he reports, is "the finest thing there is for turkeys. I was even able to handle the blamed things myself when my wife was called away by the death of a member of the family."

A bulletin published locally claims these sweeping transformations: "Houses have been transformed into modern homes, darkness into daylight, poverty into plenty, water into ice, water pumps into water systems, eggs into chickens, labor into leisure, hard earned dollars into easy money."

Result of Community Action

The instrument of this revolution is the Northern Neck Electric Cooperative. It came into existence seven years ago as a result of community action. Now its 349 miles of power lines take current to the most isolated and remote areas in six counties.

Its lines do not follow the main highways. For the most part they follow the curves and indentations of the Potomac and Rappahannock which separate the "Neck" from the rest of Virginia. They go to those farms to which it was not profitable for power companies to build their lines. They serve farmers who could not afford the hundreds of dollars they would have had to pay to have regular lines extended to their homes. Indeed, they have served many of these farmers to such good purpose that a few hundred dollars would no longer be an insurmountable obstacle to them.

In answer to a question as to the importance of the Northern Neck Cooperative, one man replied that it had made a "tremendous difference." If someone came along, he continued, and said the line was to be taken away, the farmers would probably say, "All right." But there would be an ominous note in the word for the sensitive ear. And just let anyone start up a pole to tear down the lines! Well, he wouldn't even get a start while there was a single shell left for a gun. When one considers that this is the region that produced both Washington and Lee, the determined attitude carries conviction.

How It Started

Less than ten years ago, a federal agency, the REA, was established for the purpose of encouraging rural electrification. Agricultural Extension workers everywhere were interested. In the four counties that make up the Northern Neck, the county agents told people about the possibilities. After the usual amount of talking, a few people were ready for action. They held meetings. They finally drew up a petition to take to Washington asking that a federal loan be granted to a cooperative they proposed to form. A house-to-house canvass got enough signatures to make an impressive showing. Then there followed a brief period of dissension. The cooperative plan was favored by those who signed the petition, but others urged that the project be entrusted to private profit enterprise. Washington administrators suggested a local mass meeting where public sentiment might be tested. The mass meeting left no doubt as to the people's choice.

A Leader Is Found

The next step was to find a sound business man who knew the problems of rural electrification and who was committed to the cooperative idea. Mr. R. R. Denison who had worked on a similar project in a nearby county was invited to take the job of establishing the Northern Neck Electric Cooperative "to make electric energy available to its members at the lowest cost consistent with sound economy and good management." This was in 1937. Until his death in 1943, Mr. Denison worked toward the stated aim of the Cooperative. Evidence of his success is to be found in the satisfaction of the 984 members with the cost of their in-

valuable service and in the sound financial condition in which Mr. Denison's successor found the organization when he took over the duties of manager.

The "business and affairs" of the Cooperative are managed by a board of nine men elected by and from the members at their annual meeting. Several of these directors have served throughout the life of the organization giving unstintedly of their time and energy. Thus continuity of policy and program has been assured.

The REA granted a loan for twenty-five years. The interest was to be deferred for two years and then added to the principal. At the end of two years the Cooperative was expected to be in a position to begin amortization. It was. And it has continued to make its payments regularly in spite of a flood which necessitated rebuilding of lines, a sleet storm which destroyed the work of months, and the present war which has restricted the use of essential materials.

Sound and Steady Growth

The first lines were energized in April, 1938, with 200 members ready for service. At the end of that year membership had grown to 376. The second year ended with 518 members. By its fourth birthday, the Cooperative had 934 members. That was 1942. Since that time it has been possible to accept only 50 new memberships because of war restrictions.

The financial statement at the end of each year shows the same steady progress. By the end of the fourth year after paying interest, amortization, depreciation, and operating expenses, the Cooperative was able to claim a net income—$1,611.40. The year just ended shows this net income increased to $4725.85 in spite of the fact that it has been possible to extend the service to only 36 new members during the year. Sound planning and careful management have been necessary to this achievement for, as one resident pointed out, "the Cooperative got only the skimmed milk after the power companies had the cream of the farms along the main highways." The scattered farms average only 2.8 to the mile of lines instead of the 3 considered a safe minimum when plans were being made.

The 349 miles of line now bring current to remote farms, oyster houses, tomato canneries, and airplane beacons. They

serve not only the four counties originally interested (Westmoreland, Northumberland, Lancaster, and Richmond) but also parts of two others (Stafford and King George) adjacent to the Northern Neck. Plans for extending the lines await the end of the war.

Electricity Not a Luxury

Of course all this was not done without hard and persistent work. Habits are not changed overnight even when the change promises easier and more satisfying living. When the manager was first appointed, a few farmers had paid their five-dollar membership fees and agreed to use the service as soon as lines could be built. Others had to be persuaded. Electric lights, they pointed out, were a luxury. Their fathers and grandfathers had done very well without them. Electricity had to be interpreted in terms of the many services it offered. Figures had to be produced to prove the actual saving in time and increase in earning power on an electrified farm. Through home visits, small group meetings, and correspondence, the early members were won over to a willingness to try this "new farm hand." Seeing the results for those who had tried the experiment convinced others. Finally applications began to come in without solicitation.

No "Letting George Do It"

People interested in a new extension gradually learned that they could get it if they were willing to go to work. The government had put money at the disposal of the Cooperative, but neither the government nor families that already had service would spend time and energy in working up new lines. The members of the Cooperative were willing to share their facilities, but there was no "George" to whom the work could be left. Gradually neighbors began getting together on their common interest and agreed to forget temporarily their too-rugged individualism. The Cooperative's outstanding example of not "letting George do it," is the family who had to get seventeen miles of line built if they were to have service. They went from house to house explaining what electricity and cooperation might mean to them all. They had meetings in their own home. They got membership applications signed whenever they could. The signers of these applications, fired with the enthusiasm of the first family, persuaded others. At last enough applications were signed to assure the desired 3 families to a

mile, the REA approved the loan, and the line was completed in the fall of 1941. Because one family at the end of a seventeen-mile stretch wanted an extension enough to work for it, more than fifty other families along the way are now enjoying the service.

Making Service Yield Returns

The manager did not stop his "educational" campaign as soon as farmers signed on the dotted line. He wanted them to get the best possible returns from their service. In June, 1941, the *N.N.E.C. Transformer* began publication. Its purposes were to furnish information about the Cooperative, to give general suggestions about the use of electricity on the farm, and to report personal items about uses of electricity along the N.N.E.C. lines. This little mimeographed sheet of local news has proved popular and helpful. Last fall when the power was to be turned off on a certain date for work on the lines, it was announced in the *Transformer*. On that day *only three* members called the office to ask why the power was off, indicating that news in the *Transformer* reaches about 99.96 per cent of the members either through their own reading or their neighbors' reporting it. The reason is obvious. The news is personalized and of a locally practical nature.

From the News Noted

One member, it reported, had put lights in his poultry house and within a few weeks had doubled his production of eggs. Another had installed a hammer mill that could grind all the feed for his chickens and livestock at a great saving in money and in time consumed in hauling it to and from the mill. He did not even have to stand by while his mill was grinding the feed. He had arranged it so he could fill the hopper, turn on the motor, and go about his chores while the mill did the work. Someone else had found that the motor of his washing machine could operate the churn and that the wringer could turn the sausage grinder and shell peas. A fish- and oyster-packing house that had spent $300 a month for ice installed an ice-making machine. In three months it had saved enough on cost of ice to pay for the machine. Now its current to run the machine costs about $40 a month.

More pretentious undertakings were described in detail and interested members were invited to inspect them. There

was a model machine shop on one farm. A complete repair job had been made possible by installation of electrical equipment. Lights enabled the farmer to do repair jobs at night or on dark rainy days, and thus save valuable time.

"The finest water system in the world," was the boast of another member. His spring was 2000 feet from his house and was at the foot of a hill making a lift of about 100 feet necessary. It took careful planning on the part of the Cooperative personnel, equipment makers, and plumbers. The installation of a special meter right at the spring was recommended in order to avoid a long carry of electricity at low voltage. The results were reported as perfect. There were no more daily trips of almost half a mile to the spring and no more arguing with the old gasoline motor on cold winter mornings. This farmer now gets all the water he wants for his house, his tenant's house, his livestock, and his poultry at a cost of ten cents a days. And he has to walk to the spring only once a month to read the meter!

In another family it was a tight race between a refrigerator and a water system. The husband wanted one, the wife the other. They finally compromised on both. Now each insists the other's choice was the indispensable one. They could part with neither. They end their report: "Hurrah for REA! Hope you will go into many more homes and make them as proud as I am of my REA service. Again, Hurrah!"

Saving Money for Themselves

The N.N.E.C. was one of the first companies (perhaps the *very* first) to ask consumers to read their own meters and report by mail. An occasional check-up is made by the working personnel. No instance has been found of any member's ever trying to misrepresent his consumption. Moreover, more than 90 per cent of the simply-devised cards are checked and returned *on time*. Some counties have achieved a perfect record at times. This reading of meters by members effects a saving of 9 cents a meter or a total of about $80 a month for the Cooperative. Members realize it is *their own money they are saving*. If they make the staff work overtime, it is money out of members' pockets.

It has taken a long time to get members to understand that the business is *theirs*. At first the Cooperatives was to most of them merely another corporation they made use of. The response to a call for help after last spring's sleet storm

indicates that the majority now have a sense of proprietorship. The lines were almost entirely cleared by members and their neighbors. Not only was considerable money saved, but taking into consideration the shortage of labor and the experience of nearby places, it is estimated that service was restored at least two weeks earlier than would have been possible otherwise.

The service furnished farmers by the N.N.E.C., it is found, is an important war-time asset. Food production has been increased by use of electrical brooders, lighted poultry houses, garden sprinklers, and other appliances that can be made at home for small cost. Food preservation for both home consumption and shipping has been made possible. (The eleven tomato canneries, alone, which are served by N.N.E.C. lines in one year marketed more than a million cans, most of them going to the armed forces.)

"Wired hands" are helping to meet the labor shortage. The women, freed by household appliances, have many more hours for poultry and chores. Some men have cut down their hours of labor to such an extent that they have time to spare to help their less fortunate neighbors.

Recognizing the importance of all this to the war effort, the government has made available essential materials so that more farmers may get electrical service. Those having sufficient production merely have to qualify with the County War Board. What was once considered a peace-time luxury is rapidly becoming a war-time necessity.

FACING POSTWAR NEEDS

As I see it, we are standing on the threshold of a very considerable development in the whole field of education in this country. The adult education base must be broadened and expanded if it is to meet the needs of postwar situations. Returning soldiers everywhere are demanding increased opportunities for general education. We have an important job before us, and we must get ready to be of more effective service in the postwar era.—*President John Lloyd Newcomb*

To receive without cost the issues in the *New Dominion Series* describing experimental approaches to democratic living that are being tried effectively in various communities, send your name and address to the Extension Division, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

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Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
412 Ave Alegre
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April 18, 1944

Nominations to individual membership are open subject to approval by Board. Fairly certain that affiliation by organizations will be worked out by Board on April 28 but until this is done we can not state conditions of affiliation. In the meantime any resolution expressing sympathy with the Council's aims and desire to cooperate with Council would be helpful.

GUY B. JOHNSON

PAID
Chg. Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building

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WESTERN UNION

(06)

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THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

May 25, 1944

Miss Gaynell Hawkins
Temporary Chairman
Dallas Council on Human Relations
2817 Routh Street
Dallas, Texas

Dear Miss Hawkins:

I promised to write you further concerning the question of affiliation of local groups with the Southern Regional Council. Our Board of Directors has clarified this matter, and I am now able to give you the following information.

Our relation to state and local organizations will be one of cooperation, but not affiliation in the strict sense of the term. We are organized as a corporation with individual memberships, and in order to have state or local affiliates other than in the informal sense, we would have to amend our charter and change the whole basis of membership in the Council.

We are compiling a list of cooperating agencies. Any organization whose aims and purposes are reasonably similar to ours may become a cooperating agency. I am sure that we would welcome the Dallas Council on Human Relations as a cooperating agency. Could you send me for our records a copy of your constitution or by-laws or whatever document you have which sets forth the structure, purposes, and program of the Dallas Council?

Although membership in the Southern Regional Council would remain on an individual basis, each cooperating agency could designate an official representative or liaison member in our Council. We would serve as a coordinating and consultative agency, and we would endeavor to supply cooperating organizations with literature at special quantity rates. We are also contemplating the holding of annual or biennial strategy conferences of delegates from our cooperating agencies.

I trust that the Dallas Council on Human Relations is progressing satisfactorily. I hope that you will keep us posted on developments there.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

WAR FOOD ADMINISTRATION
OFFICE OF DISTRIBUTION

2817 Routh Street
Dallas, Texas
April 20, 1944

AIR MAIL

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
703 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Johnson:

There has recently been organized in Dallas a Council on Human Relations, the membership of which is Negro and White, and which has as its primary purpose the promotion of more satisfactory relationships between the races. This Council is the outgrowth of a year's study on the part of two bi-racial groups in Dallas and is in no way a duplication of other organizations in the city. Its members are leaders in the community and include the former chairman of the non-functioning Interracial Commission.

The parent organizations of the Council instructed it to give consideration to an affiliation with the Southern Regional Council. We meet on Tuesday, April 25, to formulate the structure and working plan of the Council and would greatly appreciate having from you by air mail material which could be used as a guide. We particularly need a statement of purposes and objectives of the Southern Regional Council and the basis on which affiliation from a local group may be had.

Very truly yours

Gaynell Hawkins

Gaynell Hawkins
Temporary Chairman
Dallas Council on Human Relations

April 21, 1944

AIR MAIL

Miss Gaynell Hawkins
Temporary Chairman
Dallas Council on Human Relations
2817 Routh Street
Dallas, Texas

Dear Miss Hawkins:

Your letter of April 20 has reached our office today. Dr. Johnson is out of the city for a few days, but I am sure that he will communicate with you as soon as possible after his return.

Enclosed you will find a copy of the March issue of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER which contains information as to the organization, program, and methods of the Southern Regional Council. As to the conditions for affiliation by a local group, I regret that we cannot give you any definite information in time for your meeting on April 25. Although the Council by-laws provide for affiliation by organizations, the actual conditions for affiliation must be prescribed by the Board of Directors. There is to be a meeting of the Council Board of Directors on Friday, April 28, at which time this matter will be acted upon.

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the by-laws and the charter of the Southern Regional Council. We are glad to know of your interest, and shall be looking forward to hearing from you further.

Sincerely yours,

Jane T. Martin

Enclosure
Separate cover

May 17, 1944

Dr. John C. Granbery
3305 West Ashby
San Antonio 1, Texas

Dear Dr. Granbery:

Thank you for your letter of May 13. I have not heard from Mr. Brown yet, but I suppose he will be writing me soon.

I hope that the Texas Interracial Commission will continue to function. At least, I see no reason why it should not. I understand that they had a pretty good meeting at Fort Worth in February.

The relation of the Southern Regional Council to state and local interracial committees will be similar to the relation which the Commission on Interracial Cooperation had with such groups. Undoubtedly, many people thought that the state committees were formal branches or affiliates of the Commission, but such was not the case. The Commission simply advised and assisted them and cooperated with them in every way it could.

We do not contemplate having branches or affiliates in the strict sense of the term because we are organized as a corporation with individual memberships, and in order to have state or local affiliates in the legal sense, we would have to amend the charter and change the whole basis of membership. We are, however, compiling a list of cooperating agencies—local, state, regional, and national. Any organization whose aims are reasonably similar to ours may become a cooperating agency. Although membership in the Council would remain on an individual basis, each organization could designate an official representative in the Council. We would supply the cooperating agency with literature and consultative services, and we would serve as a sort of clearinghouse or coordinating organization.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

3305 West Ashby,
San Antonio 1, Texas,
May 13, 1944.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Exec. Dir.,
Southern Regional Council,
710 Standard Bldg.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

In reply to your letter of the 8th the memoranda you enclose give me the information I want, tho I should have been glad to have an article directly from you.

At a recent meeting of a local interracial commission the question was raised as to affiliation with some larger body. We have no official relation with the Texas Commission or with any other body. The Secretary, Jas. W. Brown, a Negro in St. Philip's Junior College, was instructed to write to you to ask about the policy of the Southern Regional Council as to local councils such as ours. I am not now writing officially, as he has that responsibility.

Faithfully yours,

John C. Granbery.

John C. Granbery

P.S. Will the Tex. Com. continue? What is its relation to your set-up? I was a member of the Bd but when my term expired I refused reelection.

Cooperating - b

June 16, 1944

Mrs. Winthrop Pennock
Executive Secretary
Association of the Junior Leagues of America, Inc.
The Waldorf-Astoria
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Pennock:

Mrs. Ames, who has retired from active work, has sent me your letter of June 8.

The Southern Regional Council has absorbed the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and will carry on the work of the Commission as one phase of a comprehensive program for the improvement of social, economic, political, and racial conditions in the South. The functions of the Council may be summarized as follows: (1) clearinghouse and coordinating work with numerous agencies working on Southern problems; (2) research and survey to determine the facts and the state of public opinion as a basis for sound social action; (3) educational and propaganda activities through a monthly paper (THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER), pamphlets, press, radio, conferences, and private contacts; (4) consultative services to private or official agencies; (5) constructive action at every possible point on the social, economic, political, and racial problems of the South.

I am enclosing copies of two issues of our monthly paper, THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, which will serve to give you some further information concerning the work of the Council. We now have in press a pamphlet entitled "The Southern Regional Council - Its Origin and Purpose", and I shall be glad to send you a copy of it as soon as it is ready. Also let me call your attention to my article in the summer issue of COMMON GROUND, which is a reply to an attack on the Council in the spring issue of COMMON GROUND.

As our Council is constructed, all membership is on an individual basis. Voting membership in the Council is limited to residents of the Southern states. However, persons living outside the South may become associates of the Council and receive its literature on payment of dues of one dollar a year.

Although organizations as such may not become members of the Council, they may become cooperating agencies. Such an agency makes a contribution of at least $2.50 a year and its top officers become individual members of the Council, one of the officers to be designated as the official representative of the organization. The cooperating agency would receive two copies of all literature issued by the Council, and if the agency wanted our monthly paper, THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, to go to a large number of its members, it could send us a list of subscribers and remit twenty-five cents a year for each person.

We would supply the organization with pamphlet literature at special quantity rates. We would, of course, serve in a consultative or advisory capacity—that is, we would point out projects which the organization might undertake and suggest methods of approach. For example, we have recently been urging various local cooperating agencies to make local investigations and recommendations on such problems as (1) the police and race relations; (2) inclusion of the Negro in post-war planning; (3) prospects for continued employment of qualified skilled Negro workers after the war; (4) ~~certain~~ fair standards in domestic service employment.

The Junior Leagues are in a position to do a great deal of constructive work, and we shall welcome their cooperation. I hope you will let me know your reaction to these suggestions.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJsm

ASSOCIATION OF THE JUNIOR LEAGUES OF AMERICA, INC.
THE WALDORF-ASTORIA
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
ELdorado 5-4380

MRS. WINTHROP PENNOCK
Executive Secretary

June 8, 1944

Mrs. Jessie D. Ames
95 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Ames:

I am interested in knowing more about the Southern Regional Council at Atlanta and how groups can cooperate with it in its work. Will you be good enough to send me information concerning it? With thanks,

Sincerely,

Clarice L. Pennock

Mrs. Winthrop Pennock

CHLP:am

RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS

THE FEDERATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATIONS
TELEPHONE MIDWAY 8820
1230 EAST 63RD STREET
CHICAGO

JULY, 1944

66

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FOREWORD

The Federation of Neighborhood Associations is composed of seventy property-owner and improvement club groups in the Chicago community. It cooperates in the solution of neighborhood problems, assists in the handling of any civic problem which is common to the majority of the membership and supports movements for the elimination or prevention of depreciated areas.

The Federation criticizes as undemocratic, partial and not representative that part of the statement of the Chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations which concerns race restrictive covenants. That statement voices no concern about the rights, instincts and welfare of the vast majority of Chicago's citizens. It seeks to advance only the desires of a part of 10% of the city's population. The realistic aspects of negro housing were by-passed.

The Committee chairman for several years has been associated with The Rosenwald Foundation, a philanthropic organization whose principal purpose is to improve the welfare of negroes. We commend that goal as worthy but believe that, because of his present and past employment, he is not disposed to view restrictive agreements without prejudice. The five committee members who are negroes probably would have found impolitic any admission as to the propriety of the covenants. These six members, constituting 54% of the total committee membership (11), represent a disproportionate balance in favor of the desires of a limited number of Chicago citizens. We assert that this section of the report does not reflect the unanimous opinion of the committee. As to those white members whose opinion it may reflect, we question the sincerity of persons who, while denouncing these covenants, continue to live in white neighborhoods and, indeed, in areas covered by such agreements.

The Committee held meetings described in the press as "public" on

February 1, 8, 15 and 21, 1944. The February 8 meeting (on housing) was attended by many negroes, with a scattering of social workers and public workers. Admission to the floor of the City Council Chambers at that meeting was "by invitation" and observers without invitations had difficulty in securing admission. To the best of our knowledge, no explanation of restrictive agreements was invited.

The Committee set as one of its tasks—"to present conditions clearly to those people who are in position to do something about them." The conditions as to housing are not properly presented in the chairman's report and it contains nothing to inspire towards constructive action those who are in position to do something about conditions.

Chicago is sick. It is pockmarked with violations of the spirit of the zoning law. It is weighted with the dropsy of heavy taxes and halt with the handicap of tax delinquency. It has the paralysis of blight, which is creeping to its very edges. Its heart has been weakened by decentralization. It has been undernourished for years because of a deficiency in new assessable property for the tax rolls. Is it now to receive the lethal blow prepared by the Chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations in his proposal to "work earnestly with other effective agencies to rid the city of arbitrary restrictions on the living space of any group"?

Some may find in these statements an assault against the name of Chicago. But the fealty to Chicago is not to be questioned of those who have attempted to preserve its economic base and neighborhood stability by remaining in the city and who through taxes have so generously supported its public institutions. Before ignoring the rights of these citizens, thought should be given to the words of Plato, "Men do not love a city because she is great. She is great because men love her."

THE FEDERATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATIONS.

A BIASED VIEW

"At present negroes are confined to restricted areas with bad houses and exorbitant rents. They are confined to these districts by an atmosphere of prejudice and specifically by conspiracies known as restrictive covenants. This Committee has by formal vote declared itself categorically opposed to restrictions of race, creed or color on the place where any of Chicago's citizens may live. We propose to continue to work earnestly with other effective agencies to rid the city of arbitrary restrictions on the living space of any group."

The foregoing statements are contained in a summary dated February, 1944, and issued in March, 1944, by Edwin R. Embree, Chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations, after a series of meetings in the Chicago City Council Chambers in the early part of 1944. This Committee was appointed following the Detroit race riots of 1943 and racial disturbances elsewhere throughout the country, presumably to recommend precautions against similar outbreaks in Chicago and to improve race relations.

This intemperate language in the Committee's report will be resented by a majority of Chicagoans. It is a bald insult to depict as "conspirators" the thousands of Chicagoans who have entered into purely personal legal contracts in order to preserve their homes or to protect their investments.

Race restrictive covenants do not segregate negroes. They segregate whites. These covenants do not connote prejudice. They have been signed by persons in industrial and professional life whose activities provide employment for thousands of negroes. The living space of negroes is not confined by these agreements. A map was distributed at the February 8, 1944, hearing of the Committee which indicated that negroes' homes are widely distributed throughout Chicago. We disagree with some of the community boundaries shown on that map but it indicated that in 1940 negroes lived in 67 of Chicago's 75 communities.

For a better balanced and more practical view of this entire matter we invite attention to:

(a) The real purposes and value of restrictive covenants.

(b) The validity with which race restrictive covenants are clothed by court decisions, including those of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Supreme and Appellate Courts of the State of Illinois.

(c) The history and significance of legislative attempts in Illinois to nullify race restrictive covenants.

(d) The human and economic rights and factors involved in restrictive covenants.

THE REAL PURPOSES AND VALUE OF RESTRICTIVE AGREEMENTS

In 1749 restrictions were prepared by the son of William Penn which required the use of stone or brick in construction and designated as a qualification for deed issuance the time after purchase within which buildings were to be completed.

The building code of Chicago is a restrictive law. The city's zoning law is restrictive as to use and occupancy. Residential areas are divided by the zoning law into family residence, duplex residence, group house and apartment house districts. The law plats various districts for specific commercial uses.

Some residents of Illinois have elected to use the local option provision of the State law to vote their home communities dry.

Grant Park, Chicago's front lawn, is restricted against the erection of buildings.

Minimum values have been placed upon homes or buildings which may be erected in certain sections. Building setbacks, to provide maximum light and air, are restrictions on land use. Such standards were employed in the early development of Riverside, Illinois, by the requirements as far back as 1871 that homes cost at least $3,000 and be

located not less than thirty feet from the front building line.

These are among the limitations, established either by law or private agreement, which are intended to maintain neighborhood standards and to resist blight.

Blight is caused by factors too numerous to detail here. One is the occupation of living quarters in residential districts by inharmonious racial groups. The result of such occupancy usually has been evacuation by the resident owners, and in the wake of such evacuation has come a decline in neighborhood standards. Race restrictive agreements give protection to a neighborhood, encourage residents to remain in it, stimulate new construction and maintain community morale. They offer permanency of investments, safeguards against the deteriorating influence of undesirable neighbors and good environment for the establishment of homes. They are private contracts between the owners of private property in which the parties agree not to rent or sell such property to certain classes of people. They have been sanctioned by the highest courts of the United States and Illinois.

THE VALIDITY OF RACE RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS

The United States Supreme Court (Corrigan vs. Buckley) has held:

"The constitutional right of a negro to acquire, own and occupy property does not carry with it the constitutional power to compel sale and conveyance to him of any particular private property.

"The individual citizen, whether he be black or white, may refuse to sell or lease his property to any particular individual or class of individuals. The State alone possesses the power to compel a sale or taking of private property, and that only for public use. The power of these property owners to exclude one class of citizens implies the power of the other class to exercise the same prerogative over property which they may own. What is denied one class may be denied the other.

"There is therefore no discrimination within the civil rights clauses of the Constitution. Such a covenant is enforceable not only against a member of the excluded race, but between the parties to the agreement."

This decision followed Supreme Court decisions in Michigan, California, Louisiana, Kansas and other States declaring racial restrictive

agreements to be not against public policy and not unconstitutional. The Michigan court (Parmalee vs. Morris) said, among other things:

"The law is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions which some citizens do draw on account of racial differences in relation to their matter of purely private concern. For the law to attempt to abolish these distinctions in the private dealings between individuals, would serve only to accentuate the difficulties which the situation presents."

"The decree of the Circuit Court is affirmed." With these words the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois on October 10, 1939, passed upon the legality of race restrictive agreements in Illinois and sustained the decree entered August 19, 1938, in the Circuit Court of Cook County. That decree made permanent the temporary injunction prohibiting the leasing or sale to negroes of property in a restricted area. This injunction was issued in the Circuit Court on July 8, 1937. This order was affirmed by the Appellate Court on October 5, 1937. The Circuit Court had held, among other things:

"The Court further finds that said Restrictive Agreement is not against public policy, is not violative of any Article of the Constitution of the United States or of the State of Illinois, is not unconstitutional, is not against the public welfare, or in restraint of alienation, does not deprive the defendants of any of their civil rights guaranteed said defendants or negroes as a class by the due process clauses of the Federal or State Constitution, and it is therefore ordered that the objections of the plaintiffs to the amended answers of the several defendants in respect to the defenses described in this paragraph be and the same are now sustained."

Hansberry vs. Lee, before the United States Supreme Court, is a case frequently cited in reference to race restrictive covenants. These significant points in connection with that case should be borne in mind:

1. The decision does not invalidate restrictive agreements as such.
2. In a case properly brought and properly presented by members of a class of property owners, a decision can be obtained which will bind all property owners who are parties to the agreement.
3. The only requirement is that a fair hearing be given each class and that their representation actually and honestly represents the interest of the class.

"NEWS THAT 18

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Restrictions on Sale of Property to Negroes Stand

Court Thinks Intervening Ownership of HOLC Doesn't Cancel Out the Covenants

Washington, D. C., Dec. 12—(CCNS)—Upholding the validity of restrictive covenants prohibiting the sale of Washington real estate to Negroes, District Judge Matthews F. McGuire in a broad decision also ruled that intervening ownership of the property by the home owners loan corporation did not cancel the covenants.

The court sustained the view of plaintiffs in the action that Negro owners of the property in question should be barred from occupying it because of the restriction in the original deed.

Relied on HOLC Title

The defendants made much in their argument over the effect of the HOLC intervening ownership. They claimed this cancelled the restrictions because the HOLC was a governmental agency that could not be bound by a contract between private citizens.

Justice McGuire's answer to this argument was that when the HOLC became involved in a private transaction it lost its sovereign character and took on that of a private citizen, notwithstanding its stock was owned by the government.

Acts as Corporation

"A government never exercises its sovereignty in such a situation," he ruled. "It merely acts as an incorporator, and exercises no other power in the management of the affairs of the corporation than are expressly given in the corporating act."

He granted the injunction even though there had been previous Negro occupancy of the property, and in spite of the fact that defendants had spent upward of $2,000 in improving their home.

"The validity of covenants and agreements of this nature have been generally upheld," he added, "especially in this district. It is axiomatic that such restrictions constitute valid and solemn contracts which ordinarily will not be lightly set aside."

—Law Bulletin—

HISTORY OF LEGISLATIVE ATTEMPTS IN ILLINOIS TO NULLIFY RACE RESTRICTIVE CONTRACTS

The Federal Constitution provides (Article I, Section 10, Paragraph 1) that:

"No state shall pass any * * * law impairing the obligation of contracts * * *."

Despite this express provision in the Federal Constitution, legislation attempting to nullify race restrictive agreements in Illinois has been offered on several occasions to the Illinois General Assembly by colored members thereof. These measures have failed to pass, no doubt because the Assembly members recognized them as unconstitutional. Typical of these attempts was Senate Bill No. 33, introduced in 1941, which proposed to incorporate into Illinois statutes the following:

"Any provision in any deed, contract, lease or other instrument in writing pertaining to the lease, rental, sale, transfer, devise, occupancy or ownership of real estate, which prohibits the lease, rental, sale, transfer, devise, occupancy or ownership on account of race or color of such person or persons is contrary to public policy, void, unenforceable in any court and shall not afford any basis for the granting of legal or equitable relief by any court; provided, however, that the invalidity of such provision in any deed, contract, lease or other agreement in writing pertaining to real estate shall not affect the validity of any other provision contained in such instrument or instruments."

Another bill, House Bill No. 563, similar in purpose to Senate Bill No. 33, was presented to the Assembly in 1943 and did not pass. This included the language "hereafter executed" following the word "writing" and proposed on its face to deny citizens a legal right previously available to other citizens.

The Legislature probably recognized that thousands of pieces of real estate in Illinois and, for that matter, throughout the United States, have been recorded which contain racial restrictive provisions; that by attempting to invalidate such provisions, confusion and chaos would reign in thousands of real estate titles in the State of Illinois. Such legislation undoubtedly would affect the validity of existing contracts and certainly would be held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Illinois.

If such legislation is so patently unconstitutional, what motivates the attempts to pass it? Apparently, this motive is to subvert the law

and the rights of owners who apply the legal right of restriction to their private property, by invading restricted areas between the date the legislation is passed and the date it is declared unconstitutional. The corruption associated with attempts to enforce the 18th Amendment to the Federal Constitution should remind us vividly of the dangers inherent in legislation which is counter to the instincts and desires of a majority of our citizens.

Thousands of citizens opposed these measures and stated their objections to this type of legislation. Such a position was voiced before the 62nd General Assembly by a vice president of Oakland-Kenwood Property Owners' Association, in the statement which immediately follows. (NOTE—This has been annotated to provide current information, where possible.)

"Proponents of Senate Bill 33 stated at the February 25 (1941) hearing on this matter that approximately 300,000 negroes now reside in Chicago. We agree with this estimate, and at the same time call your attention to the fact that according to the Bureau of Census there were 109,000 negroes in Chicago in 1920 and 233,000 in 1930. Negroes always have had difficulty in securing employment in Chicago and the movement into the city of some 67,000 colored persons from the South during the past ten years of decline in private industry has made the employment situation for negroes long resident in Chicago more acute than it normally is.

"As a result, for the past several years approximately half of the city's negro population has been supported by relief or WPA. While Chicago has attracted these persons because of public assistance more favorable than that obtaining in the communities whence they came, it has lost to suburban areas almost a corresponding number of solvent, civic-minded citizens whose purchasing power and tax paying ability are sorely missed in the city proper. The State Legislature recognized the seriousness of this situation in 1939, when it passed a law requiring three years of residence in the state before application for relief could be made.

"The Oakland-Kenwood section of Chicago parallels a part of the so-called negro community on the South Side. Both the white and colored sections of the same general area were developed at substantially the same time with buildings of substantially the same construction. Following occupancy of some of these buildings by negroes for a number of years, public housing officials selected a large area in the colored section as a site which required slum clearance through the demolition of existing buildings and the erection of a public housing project.

"This action indicated either that negro occupancy destroyed the value for

living purposes of these properties or that public housing officials made a mistake in selecting the site. One block removed from the project is an area where the buildings continue to be occupied by whites, who pay local taxes to help support the public housing program in Chicago.

"It seems appropriate here to mention that this project contains 1,662 dwelling units and 6,901 rooms, all of which are likely to be made available for the use of negroes. There are three other public housing projects in Chicago, mostly white-occupied, which contain in the aggregate 2,414 dwelling units. Thus, we find that negroes, representing approximately 8.8% of Chicago's population, have more than 40% of the public housing facilities in the city.[1]

"Proponents of Senate Bill 33 have stated that enforcement in negro areas of laws with respect to zoning, building, gambling, liquor, health and social conditions is inadequate. The CHICAGO DAILY NEWS of February 17, 1941, contained an item which said plans were made to carry the matter to Washington if the city's law enforcing agencies did not correct the situation with respect to the policy racket. We agree that in colored communities in Chicago tolerance has been mistakenly extended to become license to break a variety of laws enacted to assure orderly neighborhoods.

"We are sympathetic to the problems with which high-minded, respectable negroes are confronted but do not believe that these problems will be solved by extending the present conditions to areas where owners, through the legal and orderly method available to them, have established the conditions under which they wish to live. As a matter of fact, the existence of conditions such as those about which proponents of this measure have complained is one of the reasons for placing upon property the restrictive condition which is assailed by this bill.

"Proponents of this measure have implied that most of Chicago is restricted against negro occupancy and that unless these restrictions are removed negroes in the city will have no place to move. If this is true, members of the Assembly should consider the consequences of disturbing the conditions under which the vast majority of Chicagoans elect to live. Personally, I do not think it is true; rather, I believe that owners generally have placed this restriction as to occupancy on property which is near the colored sections and that they have been prompted to do so by the disintegration in colored communities which has been admitted by proponents of this bill.[2]

"The affairs of this State are being administered by public officials who are tax-conscious and revenue-minded. Allow me to remind you that the assessed valuation of real estate, which pays a large part of the cost of gov-

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[1] *Negroes now represent about 10% of Chicago's population. They occupy 46% of the public housing facilities in the city (2,661 units out of 5,761). Indications are that upon completion, they will occupy the 1,500 units in Altgeld Gardens, 130th Street and Ellis Avenue, and the 250 units at 91st Street and Indiana Avenue. If so, negroes will occupy 58.7% of the local public housing facilities (4,410 units out of 7,511).*

[2] *The Chicago Urban League Report for 1938 included these statements: "The League is not a vice-crusading agency. But it cannot ignore vicious conditions in our communities. At present, Negro communities are completely demoralized. Gambling, in the form of "policy," is exacting a terrific toll in dollars and cents. Most drug stores and many groceries which are selling liquor are a menace to the morals, decency and health of the community. Disreputable characters make these places their hang outs, and laws relating to the sale of liquor and cigarettes to minors are flagrantly violated."*

ernment in Chicago, has declined more than 50% in the last ten years. It is not conceivable to me that this legislature will pass a measure which will create chaos in thousands of titles to property throughout the state and thus further unsettle values, with attendant loss of revenue so necessary for the maintenance of public service.

"We agree with statements made by proponents of this bill about the patriotism and sacrifice of colored men who have served the nation in time of war. I am reminded of these contributions as I pass a monument erected at 35th Street and South Parkway as a testimonial to them. What bearing has this on the matter at hand?

"I saw some time ago a news item which recalled the slogan of 'the greater good for the greater number.' It appeared in the CHICAGO TRIBUNE of October 10, 1940, and mentioned that President Roosevelt had approved a system for the expanded defense setup. The article said, among other things, 'The policy of the War Department is not to intermingle colored and white enlisted personnel in the same regimental organizations. This policy has been proven satisfactory over a long period of years, and to make changes would produce situations destructive to morale and detrimental to the preparation for national defense'. I submit that a condition which is applicable to military affairs in these ominous times is equally applicable to civil affairs."[3]

Significant facts were presented to the Illinois General Assembly in connection with Senate Bill 33 by an association of property owners on the Near North Side. Excerpts from that association's statement follow:

"The district which this Association covers is from Michigan Avenue, Randolph Street, west to La Salle Street and north to the Chicago River, thence west to Halsted Street, including Goose Island, North Branch to Diversey, east to Lincoln Park and Lake Shore Line to Randolph Street.

"The area covered comprises business real estate in Chicago and some of its finest residence streets, as well as many apartment buildings and hotels. Its tax-paying ability is possibly only second to that of the Loop.

"The district also includes a number of important civic institutions, the maintenance of the territory around which is vital to their welfare: Northwestern University, a coeducational institution, at which there are some 10,000 young men and women; the Holy Name Cathedral and important churches of many other denominations; the headquarters of the Episcopal diocese of Chicago; the residence of the Catholic Archbishop of Chicago; the Chicago

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[3] *The Chicago Sun of March 29, 1944, quoted Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy, Chairman of the Army's Committee on Minority Groups, on this matter. He said, in part, as follows:*

"We have taken as our basic policy that there will be segregation of Negro regimental units. This has been the policy of the Army ever since the Civil War and even before. We are fighting a tough war and our troops have to go up against seasoned champions. Therefore, we cannot trifle with morale. We have to go the tried way. In gaining the highest possible morale of the Army, you cannot make extreme experiments.

"Segregation makes difficulties but mixing units would create even more upheaval, and we cannot take such risks. The Army is not a social institution, and it cannot get too far ahead of the social structure in which it has its origin. We are in thorough sympathy with the Negro as a soldier, but nothing can be done to endanger the military value of our effort."

Historical Society; the Moody Bible Institute; the Lawson Y.M.C.A.; the Harriet Hammond McCormick Memorial Building on North Dearborn Street; the Salvation Army Central Headquarters and the Salvation Army Evangeline Home for Young Women.

"It must be recognized that the property owners of the district feel it important that the district should keep its character maintained in such a way as to appeal to the people patronizing or residing in the area, the varied nature of which we have just shown.

"Our Association recognizes the necessity of legislation for the welfare of citizens of every color and race and are sympathetic to any attempt to solve such problems. But it feels that what is contemplated in Senate Bill 33 will increase present difficulties, destroy property values and cause increased friction, rather than accomplish anything constructive in the matter.

"It is recognized everywhere in the country that the great problem in the city is that of blighted areas, the deterioration of property values and the consequent moving out of people to the suburbs. If any progress is to be made in rehabilitating these blighted areas or maintaining those which have not yet been adversely affected, it is essential that such districts should have their values stabilized and maintained, in order that numerous small businesses and institutions depending on local customers and patrons may be properly supported.

"It is not unfair to say, regardless of prejudice, that on the whole a mixed occupancy tends to lower the economic status of a district and its business in all districts with the possible exception of the central loop.

"We have no desire to make comparisons at the expense of any other district. But today Lake Shore Drive, which is restricted, notwithstanding general changes in value, is still a leading residential district. It would be interesting to see what happened to Grand Boulevard. * * * Lake Shore Drive has had an approximate depreciation in value of 8 1/3%. Grand Boulevard shows a decrease in valuation of approximately 60% between 35th and 43rd Streets.

"The intersection of 47th Street and Grand Boulevard shows an increase of approximately 20%. This particular location is one built up expressly for colored people and we believe figures show that when a district is built up expressly for colored people, such as the Rosenwald project, the property was not adversely affected as is the case when the population is mixed.

"North Michigan Avenue is protected by a colored restriction and business use restrictions of various kinds, without which encroachments would occur which would tend to deteriorate the neighborhood. * * * We believe it to be in the public interest to restrict various limited areas of the city, both as to race and type of business allowed. In the long run it will be better for every one concerned, as well as for property owners, because if neighborhoods are allowed to deteriorate and become blighted, constituting a slum, they become undesirable for residence for either white or colored."

The North Side association attached to its presentation the following statements of comparative land values as taken from OLCOTT'S BLUE BOOK OF LAND VALUATION:

Street	Area	Front Foot Values 1921	Front Foot Values 1938	Approximate Change
Lake Shore Drive	Goethe to Scott	$1200	$1200-$1100	— 8%
	Scott to Division	1200	1100	— 8%
	Division to Elm	1200	1100	— 8%
	Elm to Cedar	1200	1100	— 8%
	Bellevue to Oak	1200	1200	— 0%
	Corner of Oak	1200	1730	+50%
	Corner of North	2000	1750	—10%
Grand Boulevard (South Parkway)	35th-37th	102	40	—60%
	37th-39th	125	45	—60%
	39th-43rd	125	30	—75%
	Corner of 47th Street (northeast-southeast)	500	600	+20%
	Corner of 47th Street (northwest-southwest)	600	700	+17%
South State	26th-27th	250	40	—85%
	27th-28th	225	35	—80%
	29th-30th	225	40	—80%
	30th-31st	360	85	—75%
	31st-32nd	375	85	—75%
	32nd-34th	250	50	—80%
	34th-35th	350	90	—75%
	36th-39th	150	50	—66%
South Michigan	12th-13th	1875	375	Unrestricted; 85% Decrease in Values
	13th-14th	1600	200	
	14th-16th	1250	170	
	16th-18th	1050	150	
	18th-20th	1000	150	
	20th-21st	1000	175	
	21st-22nd	950	225	
North Michigan	Oak to Walton	1300	2550	Restricted; 100% Increase in Values
	Walton to Delaware	1200	2300	
	Delaware to Chestnut	1100	2100	
	Chestnut to Pearson	1100	2200	
	Superior to Huron	1125	2250	
	Huron to Erie	1150	2400	
	Erie to Ontario	1175	2400	
	Ontario to Ohio	1200	2700	

THE HUMAN AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND FACTORS INVOLVED IN RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS

Conflicting Opinions Held by Negroes

Certain negroes have fabricated resentment against, and attach odium to, the description "colored neighborhood". This sensitiveness does not extend to characterizations of neighborhoods occupied by other groups. Political representation is one very practical advantage to negroes in the existence of "colored neighborhoods". Another is that it gives negro leaders an opportunity to help their fellows overcome what is described in the report of the Chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations as the "trouble learning the discipline of modern industrial life".

Other negroes have expressed themselves as follows:

Charles C. Spaulding, President of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, largest business enterprise in the world operated by and for negroes, was quoted in the READER'S DIGEST for June, 1943, as follows:

> "Equality is a thing which should not be demanded, because it cannot be granted. It has to be earned. No utopian dreamer can achieve it for another man. You can't drink from the spring high up on the mountain unless you climb for the water. If the negro wants equality—except of opportunity—he must pay for it, and the unalterable price is character and achievement.
>
> "For a long time, possibly forever, there will be two distinct races in America, and instead of insisting on the forced recognition of so-called equality I give my time to bringing up the level of my own people. They can, by attainment, without being like white people, still be Americans of whom this country can be proud. The fact that our races are segregated does not prevent the negro from rising. It is idle and foolish to talk about granting equality, except equality of opportunity."

James Edward Shepard, President of the North Carolina College for Negroes, on TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR of February 17, 1944, said:

> "* * * social equality is too often used as a smoke screen to hide other things. The negro is not seeking social equality in America."

The economic need of rebuilding the older residential sections of Chicago, including parts of the colored communities, is generally recog-

nized. Yet in the 1943 session of the State Legislature a colored member of the Assembly introduced bills (which did not pass) to emasculate the Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation Law. This law offers the greatest incentive thus far created to stimulate large-scale rehabilitation by private capital of the blighted areas of Chicago.

The Attitude of White Home Owners

The resentment of white home owners in restricted areas to suggestions that restrictive agreements be nullified is expressed in the following excerpts from a letter written February 14, 1944, to Mayor Edward J. Kelly by the president of the Park Manor Improvement Association:

"Our membership consists primarily of small home owners and the owners of some small apartment buildings.

"We firmly believe in racial restriction agreements. As American citizens, property owners and taxpayers we have no apologies to make to you or to any other man, white or black, for our belief in and support of racial restriction agreements. Such agreements have been in use for many years and many homes have been built on the strength of them.

"We understand that some of the speakers at your Committee meeting (February 8, 1944) including one or more paid social workers, in extolling the virtues of the negroes dwelt at some length upon the fact that many negroes are in the armed forces. We agree that this is to the credit of the negro race, but as persons to whom the great privilege of American citizenship has been extended certainly nothing less should be expected of them, and it furnishes no foundation for the inference that because there are negroes in the armed forces, the members of that race are to be accorded rights and privileges not enjoyed by any other race.

"Incidentally, the families in Park Manor are also doing their bit. From one of our church parishes alone 834 young men have already gone to the armed services. Twelve other churches in Park Manor have also sent their young manhood to the services of our country in like proportion. In the light of these facts do you think we should be unduly impressed with the fact that there are negroes in the armed services? That, therefore, we should waive our restriction covenants and permit the negro to take over our homes!

"How do you think the boys who have gone forth to fight in this world war would feel when they return, or such of them as do return (the service flag of the church to which I belong already shows five gold stars) if they should find that their homes have been taken over by negroes and their "old neighbor-

hood" converted into a blighted area or slums while they were away fighting.

"The fact that the white people of Park Manor have some rights which they intend to maintain does not mean that we have any feeling against the negro. In fact our people have nothing but the kindest feeling toward the law abiding negro and have the greatest sympathy with his desire to progress.

"We believe he has shown remarkable progress in the comparatively short time since his release from slavery, but he has done so under sincere and sympathetic leadership. We have no sympathy with, and doubt the sincerity of, the radical or agitator or politician who attempts to convince the negro that the latter's progress can best be attained by berating and threatening the white people and by agitating for the taking of the latter's homes from them. This can only engender racial hatred and racial strife which all thinking persons must deplore."

Chicago's Aid to Negroes

There may be a city in the United States where negroes are better situated than in Chicago but we do not know where that place is. The colored belt on Chicago's south side occupies as fine a section, geographically, as there is in the city. It has all forms of public transportation, wide boulevards, a spacious park, recreational facilities, convenient shopping districts, numerous churches and residential buildings —homes and apartments—which were among the best in Chicago. This section has been described as the "best negro community in the world".

Herewith are statistics on Chicago's negro population:

Year	Source	Population
1900	Census	30,150
1910	Census	44,103
1920	Census	109,458
1930	Census	233,903
1940	Census	277,731
1944	Estimate of Mayor's Committee on Race Relations	335,000

A generous and tolerant Chicago has been liberal with its negroes. THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE of June 15, 1939, indicated that 147,500 (53%) of Chicago's negroes were living on WPA and relief at that

time. We do not contend that acceptable standards of living were made available through such public assistance. However, the 44,000 increase in Chicago's colored population in the 1930-40 decade called for a sizable financial contribution from the Chicago community. Since industrial activity was at an extremely low ebb it must be assumed that these negroes migrated to Chicago because of (a) curtailment in the production of cotton and farm products in southern states or (b) more advantageous arrangements in Chicago with regard to WPA and relief than existed in the communities whence these immigrants came. Whatever the reason for this movment to Chicago—then or thereafter—it does not embrace a requirement that long-resident Chicagoans should surrender their homes to these strangers.

We have heretofore noted that negroes, representing 10% of the population now occupy 46% of the public housing facilities in Chicago and by Fall probably will occupy 58.7% of such facilities. A recent spot check indicated that 40% to 45% of patients in the Cook County Hospital were negroes. In 1943, 20% of the referrals to the Behavior Clinic of the Criminal Court of Cook County were negroes.

The Chicago Board of Education recently reported as to the South Side negro district that between 1929 and 1943:

(a) Thirteen new school buildings and additions were built;

(b) The pupil membership of the 27 schools increased from 21,564 to 40,572, an increase of 88%—as compared to a decrease in other districts.

(c) 85% of the school population in this district was born outside of Chicago.

The Board has stated that it is not obliged to educate the children of other States and, ordinarily, such children would be required to pay tuition; yet, those migrating from the south have been enrolled without payment of tuition and have been provided with the same educational opportunities available to all other Chicago children. A comparison of

the facilities provided negro children now and before they migrated to Chicago is given below:

"OPPORTUNITIES" IN THE SOUTHERN STATES (AS GIVEN IN A REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND)	THE CHICAGO SITUATION
SCHOOL BUILDINGS	
"A visitor in a rural district is likely to find the school being taught in a church or a dilapidated shack." "Value of school plant and equipment in 15 Southern States averages $37.00 for each Negro pupil."	Chicago school buildings are built of brick, concrete and steel, with thermostat-regulated heat, forced ventilation, inside toilets, auditoriums, gymnasiums, libraries and other special rooms. The value of the Chicago school buildings is $660.00 per pupil.
TEACHERS	
"Tests recently given to hundreds of these rural school teachers brought in an average score equivalent by national standards to that of a seventh-grade child. Sometimes the teachers are 'almost illiterate.'"	Chicago teachers are college graduates from the Chicago Teachers College, and other colleges and universities, disregarding race, creed or color.
TEXTBOOKS	
"A scanty supply of second-hand books passed on to Negroes only after years of use by white children. If texts are not furnished by the State, one reader may serve a class of fifteen to fifty." One-fifteenth of a book per pupil.	Chicago provides an ample supply of the newest and best textbooks that money can buy, furnished free to the pupils. Ten books per pupil.
EXPENDITURES PER PUPIL	
In fifteen Southern States there is an average annual expenditure of only $12.57 per Negro pupil. (Only $5.45 per year in one State.)	When these children migrate to Chicago, we spend an average of $103.00 per elementary school pupil and $160.00 per high school pupil. These children are provided with penny lunches and milk — in many cases without charge and in no case more than 6 cents.

We are informed that the Board of Education plans for the South Side negro district ten new buildings and additions containing 10,596 new seats. The construction program of the past several years has cost Chicago taxpayers millions of dollars. That planned for the future will cost them several millions more.

Neighborhood Stability

The Master Plan of Residential Land Use of Chicago issued in March, 1944, by the Chicago Plan Commission, emphasizes the importance of Conservation Areas and Stable Areas. The Commission describes the Conservation Belt as an area containing 1,650,000 persons and over 55% of the dwelling units of Chicago, and the Stable Areas as housing (in 1939) almost 20% of the city population and containing nearly one-fourth of the total residential area of Chicago. With respect to these areas, the Commission says:

> "* * * the problem presented by the Conservation areas is that of gradual deterioration, and its arrest must be the objective of any immediate planning program for these areas. * * *
>
> "Certainly the Stable areas must not be permitted to become blighted during the next generation. * * * The principal planning problem associated with the Stable areas at the present time is not rebuilding, but maintaining high neighborhood standards and morale, so that the areas may be protected from potential sources of deterioration."

Aside from those limited areas in Chicago which are developed with expensive apartment buildings, the more stable residential communities are those where residents of like tastes establish themselves and where residents have a stake through home ownership. The City of Chicago is suffering now because so many of its former home owners have taken flight to the suburbs in recent years. One of the city's urgent needs, if it is to prosper in the future, is to make residence and property ownership within the city more attractive than it has been in the past. Do these conditions not suggest that prospective investors and home builders must have every available guaranty of stability?

Some Figures and Facts About Chicago

We direct attention to the following facts of prime importance:

	1930	1942	Change
Assessed value of real estate in Chicago	$2,849,000,000	$1,354,000,000	—52.47%
Tax rate per $100 of assessed value	$6.74	$10.42	+54.60%
Tax extension within Chicago borne by real estate	75%	72%	— 4.0 %

The reduction in assessed values may be traced to drastic curtailment in private building, the demolition of buildings, the depreciation of existing structures and the growth of blighted areas. It has been accompanied by a loss of valuable citizens, who have established homes beyond the city limits and benefited the suburbs by their purchasing power and taxpaying ability. These citizens were replaced by other persons who in the late 1930s became public charges and the burden of whose care will be renewed if there is much delay in the conversion of industry from wartime to peacetime activity.

The rise in the local tax rate occurred despite (a) the elimination of the local property tax for State purposes (39 cents per $100 assessed value in 1931 and 1932 and 50 cents in 1933) and (b) provision by the Federal government in many of the years between 1930 and 1940 of funds for municipal improvements and services which normally are financed by local taxes. Included in these were new schools and libraries, extension of the park and sewer systems, paving, sidewalks, etc. The grants which made these improvements and services possible may be non-recurring if after the war Federal receipts beyond those needed for normal purposes are used to reduce the huge national debt which then will confront our citizens.

"What of Postwar Chicago?"

On this broad subject, Milburn P. Akers of THE CHICAGO SUN said in "The Sun Looks Ahead to Postwar Chicago":

"What of Postwar Chicago? . . . Will the creeping decay that has left in its wake vast blighted areas—with consequent lowered values and resulting higher tax rates on other properties—remain unchecked? * * *

"Consideration of its problems cannot be based upon the wartime activity of industrial plants, or on the influx of people who currently tax the city's housing facilities. The return of peace, so the economists say, will be slow and in some cases altogether stop the industrial wheels. That decreased industrial tempo will probably cause the return from the city to the farms and the villages of a large part of the new population.

"A prewar perspective is necessary then in considering Chicago's postwar problems. From that perspective one can discern some important trends whose resumption will coincide with or soon follow the return of peace. * * *

"From 1830 to 1890 the growth of Chicago outstripped that of any other city in the world. The first 30 years of the present century witnessed a decided decline in the rate of population increase. And for a time in the '30s Chicago acutally lost population. But a recovery was made before the 1940 decennial census so that the city showed an increase, slight though it was, of about 20,000 over 1930. The recovery was made through a rise in Negro population, as the white population declined 23,458 during that decade. * * *

"It is apparent then that the basic principle on which to erect Chicago's postwar planning is an acknowledgment that the days of miraculous growth are long since ended. In fact, two trends, if resumed with the coming of peace, might result in a decreasing instead of merely a stationary Chicago population.

"THOSE TRENDS ARE (1) decentralization of industry and (2) the exodus to the suburbs. Both cause loss of population. Each changes the inherent nature of the city. And both, so many observers believe, may be accelerated instead of merely resumed in postwar days. * * *

"So Chicago's task, after the war is won, is to keep what it already possesses."

Thought for the Returning Service Man

Probably 350,000 white persons from the Chicago community have entered the armed forces. For the most part they are receiving moderate rates of compensation. In many instances, their jobs—and new ones in industry created by their service in the armed forces—have been taken over at high wages by the "influx of people who currently tax the city's housing facilities." A basic principle of Selective Service provides that, to the extent practicable, inductees shall be reemployed in the jobs from which they were taken. To be sure, those now in the armed forces will need their jobs. Their sacrifices will not end on the day when photographers' prints flash to an exhausted world the pictures of frock-coated gentlemen signing the articles of armistice. Service men, having achieved victory through the rigors and pain of the battlefield, will have to pay for a large part of the cost of the war!

Is Chicago to give our men now under arms this greeting after V-Day: "You have won the good fight. We are going to give you a job to help pay for Victory. But, at the request of a very limited number of people hereabouts, we have altered your home and neighborhood conditions while you were fighting for America. So sorry." If this is to be the greeting, we should not offer them the empty reward of parades and showers of confetti and ticker tape.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We suggest that any proposal to eliminate race restrictive agreements be denounced and dismissed summarily.

For the maintenance, betterment and rebuilding of negro communities, we recommend that:

1. Public services designed to sustain neighborhoods be provided on the same basis as in white communities.

2. Improvement clubs and property-owner associations be established to cooperate with public officials in maintaining neighborhood standards. Public services alone can not insure orderly neighborhoods; residents must contribute towards that objective.

3. Schools, churches, parent-teacher and civic organizations and the negro press engage in a continuous educational campaign for better maintenance of private buildings and grounds and public facilities.

4. Negroes have equal rights—and equal penalties—before the law in civil and criminal cases, to improve law enforcement.

5. Negroes be encouraged to wider ownership of homes and property. Heightened community pride and an increased sense of responsibility would be the results.

6. Responsible builders be encouraged to undertake the construction of negro housing in the present negro areas and in selected unrestricted sections.

7. Management of negro rental properties be of a high type and character.

8. Efforts be made to liberalize and streamline the conditions under which funds for private housing can be had for improvement and new construction loans.

CONCLUSION

The report of the Chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations has the value of directing attention to the need for rebuilding the older residential sections of Chicago and inviting new construction in undeveloped areas. Ambitious plans for post-war public improvements in the city are publicized from time to time but most of such plans leave unstated the method of financing them. If such financing contemplates Federal subsidies the result will be higher income taxes; if State subsidies, higher sales or other State taxes after the existing surplus in the State treasury has been exhausted; and if local bond issues, higher local taxes through which to service and ultimately retire bonds. Well planned public improvements may stimulate the city's progress but they also must encourage and expand home and property ownership in the city so their cost may be absorbed by additions to the assessment rolls. Since high taxes within the city are one reason for leaving it, care must be exercised in planning not to accelerate this outward movement.

As a contribution to post-war thinking in Chicago we urge attention to these matters:

Changes in the present ambiguous and inadequate building code. These are necessary to permit economical construction through the application of technological advances, prefabricated construction and the use of new materials.

Cost of land. In many older residential areas and in some subdivisions, accumulated unpaid taxes and penalties in the aggregate are more than the economic value of the land. The State Legislature passed in 1943 a measure (the so-called "Scavenger Act") which provides a method for acquiring building sites at prices which justify construction. This law should be vigorously enforced and its provisions utilized by prospective builders.

Large scale private housing. The Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation Law offers attractive possibilities for modern community planning. We recommend new construction under this law as a means of providing new, tax-paying property and retaining within the city the purchasing power of solvent citizens.

Financing of improvements in older areas. The difficulty in securing con-

struction and rehabilitation loans has been a barrier to the maintenance and redevelopment of older residential sections. Indeed, while denying the use of funds for the preservation of these neighborhoods, lending and insuring agencies, building and loan groups and other sources of financing have compounded the difficulty by offering attractive inducements for home and residential construction at the city's edges and beyond. This situation should be remedied.

The Federation of Neighborhood Associations is anxious to work with constructive forces which believe, as did Plato, that "Men do not love a city because she is great; she is great because men love her."

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WE THE CITIZENS

How One County Came to Adopt the Executive Plan

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WE THE CITIZENS

In Albemarle County, Virginia, ten years ago, a new form of county government was inaugurated. Like all new ideas, the plan had met with strong and, in some cases, bitter opposition. During the first nine months of operation under the new plan, a reduction of 30 per cent in the cost of general county administration was effected. At the same time, the records showed that the tax collection letters sent out during this period under the new plan had been 25 per cent more effective in collecting delinquent taxes than the treasurers' deputies during a similar period under the old regime. At the end of the first year, savings were such that the new administration was able to reduce the general levy 16⅔ per cent. Even with this reduction, at the end of ten years the county can show an increase of over 300 per cent in the general fund surplus. To people to whom dollars talk more effectively than ideas, the new form of local government had proved itself beyond question.

Savings without Curtailment of Services

To others, there was even more significant evidence that the change was good. *Governmental services had been in no way curtailed to bring about this saving.* Moreover, there was apparent to the most casual observer a great improvement in administrative procedures. To those deeply concerned in the county's welfare, it was obvious that either of two courses could be chosen: the taxpayers might save rather large sums in greatly decreased taxation; or they might receive vastly improved services in such fields as health, welfare, law enforcement and education at somewhat less cost to them than they had borne for years under the old plan. Albemarle County chose the latter. This choice was made in spite of the fact that the reform had started as a tax reduction movement. Obviously citizens are willing to spend money when they get real values in return.

The county still continues to collect and disburse large sums of money. The people still pay taxes and fees. The latter, however, are now a part of the revenue of the county rather than remuneration for sometimes non-essential services rendered by frequently superfluous officials. By far the largest portion of the entire income goes back to the taxpayers in the form of services. Officials are adequately

paid but their duties and relationships have been so reorganized as to make for the greatest economy and efficiency.

A look at costs of the finance department alone shows the kind of saving made possible by the reorganization. During the last three years under the old form (1930-33) the net cost of this department averaged $21,395.21 a year. During the first three years of the new, the net cost averaged $8,431.38 a year. These figures include all operating costs borne by the county—postage, stationery, office equipment, and supplies as well as salaries. The last item even covers the cost of the new office created by the change—the County Executive who, in Albemarle, is also Director of Finance. The records show that by the savings in finance alone an average of $12,963.83 had been made available for services.

How It Started

Ten years of steady progress under the county executive form of government has justified the ardent campaigning of a few far-seeing citizens to make it a reality.

To say exactly by whom or at what moment it all started is now impossible. Its history, however, from a meeting in early January, 1933, can be traced with ease and accuracy. A few citizens of the county were concerned about pending state legislation. They decided to get together to try to lay down some principles on the basis of which they might select their candidates for the state legislature in the next election. Little seems to have been accomplished at the first meeting beyond a decision to continue to meet and to invite speakers in to help in the deliberations. The speaker chosen for the second meeting was Dr. George W. Spicer, Professor of Political Science at the University of Virginia. Dr. Spicer had been a member of the Commission on County Government which had drafted the Optional Forms Act adopted by the Virginia General Assembly in 1932. This act makes it possible for a majority of the qualified voters in any county to decide to replace their present form of government by either the executive or the manager form.

With years of study which had shown him how wasteful and out-of-date county government in Virginia had become and with the drafting of the Optional Forms Act fresh in his mind, it was inevitable that the speaker should suggest to the citizens that they begin by putting their own house in order before trying to make over the state. Tax

relief was admittedly their primary concern. He pointed out that the "most immediate and most promising opportunity for substantial relief from the present county tax burden lies in the adoption of one of the optional forms of county government by the voters of the county." He briefly explained the two forms, adding that he felt the manager plan was better adapted to thickly settled urbanized areas and the executive plan to the more strictly rural counties such as Albemarle.

Citizens' League Is Organized

The idea struck a spark. The meeting decided to organize itself into a Citizens' League. A capable and public-spirited member of the Board of Supervisors was elected chairman. A working committee of twenty persons from all sections of the county was appointed. An executive committee of five was named to make plans for a campaign for the county executive form.

Those most active in the Citizens' League might all have been designated as "leading citizens." They were men of property naturally concerned with a business-like administration of the county. This concern they had in common. In occupation and general background the group was varied. It included farmers, orchardists, dairymen, business men, manufacturers, public officials, and college professors. It was self-appointed but it acted on the belief that no one has a better right to appoint a committee for such a purpose than a group of alert citizens. They were ready to assume the responsibilities as well as to enjoy the privileges of citizenship in a democracy.

Educating the Voters

The educational campaign got under way immediately. The plan was to tell as many citizens as possible about the proposed change and to give them ample opportunity to ask questions. Meetings were called in school buildings in every section of the county. The county executive form was explained briefly. This part of the meeting lasted from thirty to forty minutes. There followed as long a question and discussion period as anyone desired. At first, audiences were amazed at this new kind of political meeting. They were accustomed to being exhorted and harangued by speakers who frequently veiled their real meaning in soft clouds of

wordy oratory. In the new type of meeting there was no attempt to spellbind. The desire for questions and discussion was so sincere that the period sometimes lasted for almost two hours. If anyone left a meeting with any questions still unanswered it was because he had not bothered to ask.

Because of his ready familiarity with the Optional Forms Act, Dr. Spicer was the speaker at most of these meetings. He also served as consultant throughout the campaign. Others in the Citizens' League took an active part in the discussions, answering questions or even occasionally asking one if some point seemed to them to have been left in obscurity. Members of the League took time to familiarize themselves with all the implications of the plan so they could answer questions and arguments outside the meetings as well as in. One farmer sat for hours on Dr. Spicer's porch asking for instruction until he was sure he was letter-perfect. He is said to have been one of the most effective workers in the educational campaign. At the close of each meeting a petition for a referendum on the county executive form was offered for signatures. There was no difficulty in getting more than the 10 per cent necessary for the holding of an election. But a majority of the voters must be convinced in order to carry the election.

Conversation—and the Printed Word

Although meetings were held in every section of the county, frequently they were very small. Other ways of telling the story had to be thought of. Conversation with friends and neighbors was one of the best. In addition, the League printed a four-page leaflet with a brief foreword by Chairman C. Purcell McCue and a simple explanation of the then form of local government contrasted with the proposed executive plan. A chart showing the relation of the voters to the officials under each plan helped the graphic-minded reader. In addition to the explanation of the changes in form, such important considerations as the following were stated:

> The difficulty is that under the present over-elaborate system of county government substantial relief cannot be given the taxpayer without seriously crippling important social services such as public welfare, health, and education . . . . The unhampered performance of these services is even more vital in a period such as the present than in the days of prosperity; and it should not be

necessary to cripple them in order to maintain an antiquated and wasteful county organization . . . .

The real issue before the voters of the county is whether local self-government shall be rescued for the county by the adoption of a responsible, economical and efficient system of government or whether it shall be entirely lost through the process of further state centralization.

This leaflet was distributed by workers in every way possible. The important thing was to get it into the hands of people who would be voting in the election which by this time had been set for the second day of May—four months after the organization of the Citizens' League. Getting the leaflets distributed was an easy task, workers now say. They were assisted by even the elements. On one occasion a gentle spring breeze lifted several from the window-sill during a meeting and deposited them in the lap of a lady whose opposition was both strong and bitter.

The Opposition Gets Busy

Up to this point it may seem as if there had been no opposition. Such was not the case. It is true, however, that the matter had been approached in a spirit of open-minded inquiry by a group of unbiased citizens. Their decision then had been to inform other citizens of the county of what they felt they had discovered. They themselves had nothing at stake except their right as citizens to an efficient and economical set-up. *They were urging a new form of government and were not campaigning for or against certain officials.* They told the people at times that "no vote would be, or should be, cast for or against any county officer, but for or against a new system of government designed to remove the weaknesses and defects of the present system." Thus, at first, personalities were kept out of the discussions.

Inevitably it could not take long for the implications to become clear. The new form would abolish certain offices. The pleasant privilege of bestowing minor jobs on friends and relatives would be drastically curtailed. The lucrative fee system would be abolished so far as personal gain was concerned. Savings to the taxpayers would undoubtedly mean personal losses to a few individual office holders, some of whom had served the county long and faithfully.

More Heat—Less Light

As these implications became clear, the opposition or-

ganized its counter-campaign. Then the cool objectivity of the educational approach became less cool and less objective. Personalities were involved. Accusations became heated, and replies were sometimes fraught with emotion. All the beloved and respected citizens were not on the same side. The people had to try to see issues rather than to follow their traditional leaders, for these were divided.

"You are offered a wild horse to ride," wrote the opposition, "and where you may be taken, no one knows. Kill this movement, men and women of Albemarle County in its inception, by your ballot."

Cooperation of the local press aided the opponents of the plan. Their forces also held meetings and distributed leaflets. In their meetings, however, there was apparent more oratory and less eagerness for discussion than had been the case in the earlier meetings. Nevertheless discussion was present, for many citizens had learned during the preceding months to ask searching questions.

The Final Struggle—and Victory

On the day before election both sides held mass meetings in Charlottesville, the county seat. Now political strategists in each camp were at work. To discredit one's opponents and to prove one's strength by sheer force of numbers and noise were of utmost importance. The courtesy and friendly humor that had characterized the early schoolhouse meetings was no longer the order of the day. Education had indeed given place to exhortation and emotional appeal. But apparently the earlier program of the Citizens' League had had its effect. The results of the balloting showed an almost two to one victory for the county executive form. Members of the Ciitzens' League had reason to feel well repaid for their tireless expenditure of time and energy, and certainly they got their money's worth. The entire cost of the campaign was $86.54. Of the $145 contributed in small amounts by its friends, the League had on hand a balance of $58.46.

There remained the task of finding the County Executive required by the new plan. The opposition had continually referred to him as "that wizard," or "that man of genius." He might be brought from Chicago, they pointed out, or any other place totally unfamiliar with the customs and folkways of Virginia. He was found actually in the office of the

Auditor and Collector in Charlottesville—a native son of the county he was asked to serve. He is a modest man who makes not the slightest pretense to wizardry. But for ten years Mr. Henry Haden has filled the office of County Executive most ably.

It is not the purpose of this story to give the details of the executive plan or the changes in county administration resulting from its adoption. These can be found elsewhere. Our purpose is to show how an interested group of citizens through informing themselves and others can make democracy work for them in the local community. The educational program was important, leaders say, but they insist that it was effective because stimulated by a group of alert and inquiring citizens and not instigated by reformers. Subsequent experience in other Virginia counties would seem to bear this out.

OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS

"One of the greatest obstacles to the improvement of county government is the indifference of the people of the several counties toward the inadequacies of their local government and the opportunities for its improvement. Apparently the average county resident is less interested in the government of his county than in either the state or national government. The result is that he frequently has little or no knowledge of the manner in which his county government is operating. Of course, it is also true that the difficulty of acquiring information has bred indifference so that cause and effect are to some extent interchangeable in this connection."—*White Paper, Bureau of Public Administration.*

To receive without cost the issues in the *New Dominion Series* describing experimental approaches to democratic living that are being tried effectively in various communities, send your name and address to the Extension Division, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

This is the seventh of a series of advertisements which TIME, The Weekly Newsmagazine, is running in more than 40 newspapers and magazines from coast to coast, to get Americans thinking harder and straighter about the problems our nation must face and solve if this war is not to have been fought in vain.

What kind of clothes does the devil wear?

Listen for five minutes in almost any train, bar, living room or barbershop, when there's a political discussion going on.

You'll be bound to hear somebody doing a job on business or labor, on politicians or professors . . . painting them blacker than Beelzebub himself. You can fairly smell the brimstone.

And maybe you'll notice this odd fact, too: *the less the speaker knows about the people he or she is criticizing, the more furious and blistering the comment is apt to be.*

Nobody hates business as much as people who have never worked in business.

Folks who don't bother to vote are the ones who are most contemptuous of politicians.

Businessmen who never read what the professors are really saying are surest that nothing they say makes sense.

And it's usually ladies and gents who never had a labor problem bigger than a cook who see hooves and forked tails sticking out of factory workers' overalls.

If you know a lot of people of all kinds, you aren't likely to hand down these easy black-and-white judgments.

You see (as all of us do when we think about it) that most Americans—businessmen, politicians, farmers, factory workers, professors—are decent, honest citizens, that they have their share of self-interest, but all of them have contributed mightily to the growth and strength and prosperity of America.

In short, no *group* wears the devil's clothes.

But the danger is we may *think* some particular group does—*and insulate ourselves* from all the writings, pronouncements, opinions of any individual attached to that group.

And thus Americans may deny themselves the help of many sincere, intelligent, experienced people at a time when our country needs all the mindpower it can muster.

Problems like today's don't need heat—they need light.

They need light from more than one source . . . more than one newspaper, more than one magazine, more than one book. They need the pleasant mellow lamp-light of the fellow who agrees with you . . . and the disagreeable blue search-light of the fellow who doesn't.

Most of all, they need the daylight that shines through the clear windows of fact. They need the facts about our present economic situation in the light of our own past experiences and that of other nations. The facts about the great experiments that have worked and the ones that have failed. The facts about labor and business—about political theory and political practice.

Are you getting these facts? Are you being stimulated by the sparks that jump from opposite poles of thinking?

Is your mind a source of light to your friends and your country . . . or of heat?

For instance:

Have you read Eric Johnston's **"Warning to Labor and Management"?** You can get it in bulletin form from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Is Frederick Hayek's **"Road to Serfdom,"** (Chicago University Press, 1944), a part of your information on economics?

Have you looked into Teller and Waring's **"The Small Farmer Looks Ahead,"** published by Harper's?

Or that comprehensive book on labor and its problem **"The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy"** by Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Ruttenberg (Harpers, 1942)?

TIME believes America's greatest need, now and in the coming years, is for the sovereign people to make up their minds and speak them out.

To do so, citizens must keep themselves *informed.* So, in advertisements like this, TIME is seeking to encourage wide thinking and reading not only of the newspapers and TIME, but also of books and periodicals that argue the cases and advance the causes that are in the news.

For TIME's own future is unalterably linked to a U.S. citizenry deeply concerned about public affairs—to a nation insistent upon seeking the truth and learning from recorded experience.

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

The weekly NEWSMAGAZINE

9 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, NEW YORK 20

This announcement will appear during October in the following newspapers

NEWSPAPERS—New York *Herald Tribune, Times, Sun, and Wall Street Journal;* **Chicago** *News, and Sun;* **Washington, D. C.** *Post, and Star;* **Philadelphia** *Record, and Inquirer;* **Boston** *Herald Traveler, and Christian Science Monitor;* **Wisconsin Rapids** *Tribune;* **Cleveland** *Plain Dealer;* **Champaign** *News-Gazette;* **Los Angeles** *News;* **San Francisco** *Chronicle, News, and Wall Street Journal;* **Denver** *Post;* **Baltimore** *Sun;* **St. Louis** *Globe Democrat;* **Pittsburgh** *Post Gazette;* **Milwaukee** *Journal;* **Minneapolis** *Times;* **New Orleans** *Times Picayune;* **Cincinnati** *Enquirer;* **Indianapolis** *News;* **Houston** *Chronicle;* **Seattle** *Star;* **Atlanta** *Journal;* **Dallas** *News;* **Grand Rapids** *Herald;* **Salt Lake City** *Tribune Telegram;* **Buffalo** *Courier Express;* **Portland** *Oregonian;* **Hartford** *Courant;*

THIS IS PRINTED ON A SALVAGE SHEET OF PRESSROOM WASTE

Reprints of this Advertisement are available in limited quantities **(SEE OVER)**

1 WEEK OF APRIL 24, 1944

—about how to get a durable peace in Europe

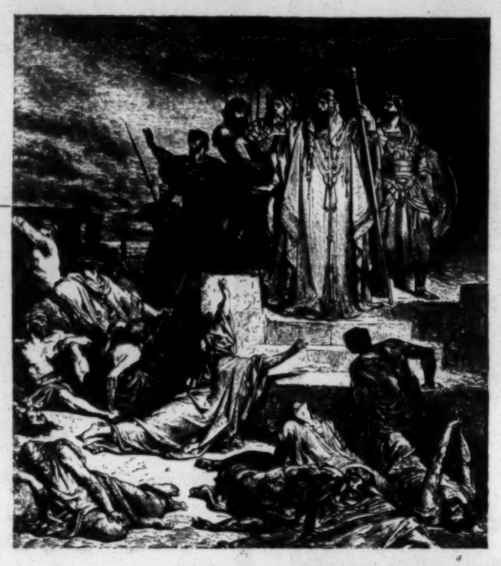
Where there is no vision,
the people perish

Proverbs XXIX, 18

"What more do you ask?" cry the captains and the kings, the presidents and the prime ministers. "Here we not promised you Victory?"

"It is not enough," say the people. "We had Victory before. It turned to ashes. It brought us to this hour, when once more our sons are about to die."

"Then what do you want?" ask the leaders . . .



A plea for straight hard thinking on the eve of great events

Or are we told that thousands of young Americans will die in the invasion of Europe before the hat-worn are gathered this summer

What will they have died for?

To stop Hitler! . . . to beat back a berserk Germany from dominating our world? If so, they will not have died in vain.

But is it wise to hope for more?—to hope that Hitler's defeat will be War's defeat—to hope that the coming victory will usher in a constructive, durable peace in Europe?

Whether this tragic war is followed by long years of peace, or only by an uneasy truce ending too soon in another war, will be decided in part by *how much hard thinking we do right here at home—beginning right now.*

What will give us a durable peace in Europe?

Shall we rely on the vague and dated promises of the Atlantic Charter? They have already been treated aside in action by Russia—and by Britain and America, too, for that matter.

Shall we depend on our present policy of "expediency"? It supports discredited kings and a status quo which many Europeans often here almost as much as they do the Nazis themselves.

It will take a lot more than these to bring a permanent peace for Europe. It will require continuous common decisions among the nations concerned—decisions in which the people as well as the presidents and premiers must take part.

We Americans have already indicated, through Congressional resolutions, that we believe we are one of the nations concerned in Europe's and the world's future. And on several occasions Secretary of State Cordell Hull has publicly reaffirmed the general principles that govern America's relations with Europe and the rest of the world.

But the swift march of day-to-day events shows that general principles are not enough. We (meaning *you*) have got to make some *specific* decisions pretty soon.

Right decisions will help to win the war. Wrong decisions will certainly lose the peace. The important questions have no easy answers. For example:

When Old Glory flies over the Rhine—what then?

Our decision we must face is what to do with a beaten Germany.

- Do you want Germany divided into dozens of little states, as she was before Bismarck's time?
- Do you want to see pieces of Germany given to her neighbors as was done to ancient Poland?
- If so, do you want the Germans "evacuated" from East Prussia to make room for Russian and Polish colonists?
- If Germans are allowed to stay where they are, do you want them treated like a conquered people or like equal citizens?
- Do you want Germans to rebuild the cities German armies have destroyed?

If *none* of these make sense to you, then what *should* be done with Germany?

Perhaps we must first find a solution for the problems of Europe as a whole. Problems like these:

- Are Europe's 18 nations to stay economically inclined from each other as they were between the last war and this one?
- Are their jigsaw borders and clashing interests to keep them in a state of more or less continuous war—declared or undeclared?

And what about the social revolution and the class war by which all Europe was torn, all through the thirties? In which direction should America throw the weight of her influence—or can we afford not to exert our influence at all?

And finally—how great a part are you willing that American leaders, American boys, and American dollars should play in building a new democratic Europe that can live in peace?

* * *

What are you doing to get these questions answered? What are you doing to prepare yourself to be part of an informed public opinion?

Are you thinking hard and straight? Are you reading, talking, guiding the con-vocation around you into channels that lead into the reservoir of rational thinking on these difficult, MYSTIFY *important subjects? Are you using your mindpower to prepare for an American crisis as grave as those of* 1918, 1863, 1787?

TIME

TIME *believes* America's greatest need, now and in the coming years, is for the sovereign people to make up their minds and speak them out.

To do so, citizens must keep themselves *informed.* And that means not only reading newspapers and TIME, but also reading books and periodicals that argue the cases and advance the causes that are in the news.

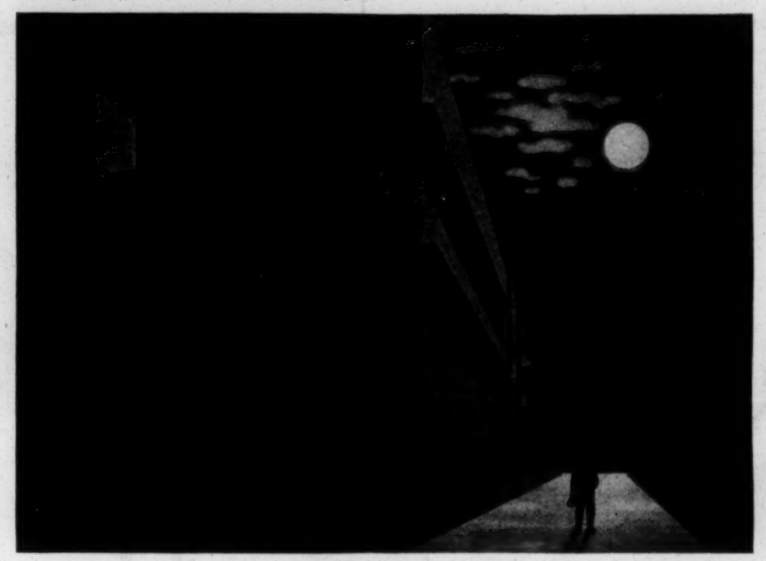
So, in advertisements like this, TIME is seeking to encourage such wide reading and thinking, by putting forth arguments on both sides of certain basic questions.

For TIME's future is deeply linked to a citizenry deeply concerned about public affairs—to a nation hungry for truth and learning from recorded experience.

Time for America's Mindpower

TIME *The Weekly Newsmagazine* - 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20

This is the second of a series of advertisements by TIME, The Weekly Newsmagazine, to get Americans thinking harder and straighter about the problems our nation must face and solve if this war is not to have been fought in vain.



Do something with them... or they'll do something to you!

Twelve 16 billion dollars' worth of factories you now own can make or break your plans for tomorrow.

These factories of yours are now turning out ships, planes, tanks, jeeps, and bullets at a furious rate. They were built with your money; they represent a quarter of the whole present-day industrial plant of the U.S.

But when the war is over and we no longer need engines of destruction . . . what are you going to do with all your war plants then?

Will they be put *promptly* to peacetime use?

Will they go on providing jobs for millions of workers and help save America from another tragedy of unemployment?

Will they pour out a flood of better homes, better cars, better trains, better gadgets, better food, better clothing, better tools, better machines that will give a brand new, world-wide meaning to "the American standard of living"?

Or will they stand silent and empty for months and years—while the country slides again into depression and unemployment, and maybe you yourself start reading the want ads?

Of course," you say, "the thing to do is to keep these plants going." For everybody wants to keep the national income somewhere near the pleasant level where it is now—to keep all the people at work who want to work.

But this is not going to be accomplished by wishing. There is an awful lot of homework to be done.

The wrong way out, says almost everyone, would be for the Government to take over and run these plants.

Nobody wants or expects the government to go into the automobile business, or the washing machine business, or the dumb tack and paper clip business.

No one doubts that most of the plants should be turned back to the people (management and workers)—back to private industry.

That isn't going to be quite as easy as it sounds.

For example, if the Government decides to sell the plants, what would a fair price be?

Many of the plants were built at inflated wartime costs. Some had to be built with substitute materials.

Others were planned efficiently for making military products like tanks and automobiles, and are hardly clearly planned for making the greater products of peace.

Some experts doubt whether their true value will be even 20 cents on the dollar when the war is over.

Should the Government hold out to get all its costs back? Should it accept any price that is offered, just to get the plant converted promptly? Or is there some middle ground that would be fairer to everyone?

If the Government should sell the plants outright, their purchase might require as many millions or billions that only the greatest corporations could afford to bid them in.

Would it be better if the Government were to lease them instead, as Henry Wallace suggests, making the preservation of free competition in industry almost as important an objective as getting a good rental?

If we are to avoid a tragic period of unemployment after the war, *questions like these must be decided now,* before peace comes.

Bernard Baruch has offered some principles to guide you. But it is you—and the people you select to represent you in Congress—who must really tackle these knotty problems right now and settle them for good or bad.

Whether it be for good or bad will depend to a great extent on the thought and knowledge that you bring to the setting.

This is one of the great national problems that needs reading and studying and discussing, not by just a handful of experts, but by all the people.

TIME believes Americ**a's greatest need,** now and in the coming years, is for the sovereign people to make up their minds and speak them out.

To do so, citizens must keep themselves *informed.* And that means not only reading newspapers (whose job is to report the news first), or TIME (whose job is to make the whole week's news sound, but also reading books and periodicals that argue the cases and advance the causes that are in the news.

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TIME
The weekly NEWSMAGAZINE
9 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

— Time for America's Mindpower —

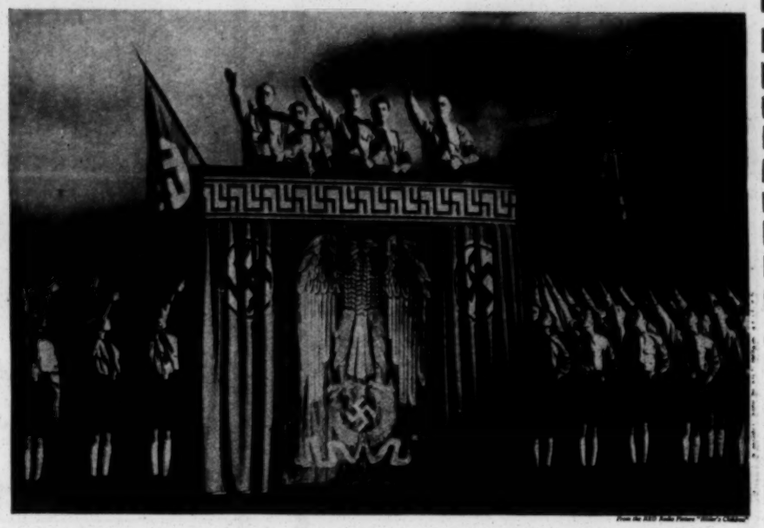
2 WEEK OF MAY 15, 1944

—about how to convert America's war plants swiftly to peacetime production

3 WEEK OF JUNE 5, 1944

—about what to do with the German people after the war

This is the third of a series of advertisements by TIME, The Weekly Newsmagazine, to get Americans thinking harder and straighter about the problems our nation must face and solve if this war is not to have been fought in vain.



From the RKO Radio Picture "Hitler's Children"

Can you get them to say, "We Were Wrong"?

What good will it do to tear down the Nazis' triumphal arches, if millions of sullen men and boys still hold them in sacred memory?

What good will it do to burn the banners of cloth-of-gold and black velvet, if the whirling swastika is cut forever on German hearts?

What good will it do to stand Hitler up before a firing squad, if another unknown little corporal, looking on, grinds his teeth, and mutters, "You dummkopfs will forget . . . but we Germans—never!"

You and your family will never be safe . . . the peace of your country and the world will never be safe . . . as long as one of the most fierce and fertile tribes on this planet continues to believe that it should, and eventually can, conquer and rule the others.

What are you going to do about it?

We at TIME believe that it is every citizen's obligation to think this problem through. It is not TIME's role to crusade for any solution, but it definitely *is* TIME's obligation to give thoughtful people the information and facts they need to form intelligent opinions.

On two broad ideas there is general agreement—1. *we want no more easy sentimentality* about "the goodhearted German people" . . . 2. on the other hand, *we cannot exterminate the German people* without making ourselves into Hommlers.

But when the time comes to get specific, do we know the facts necessary to have an opinion on such clamoring questions as:

1. **Who is to re-educate the German people? . . . Teachers imported from the United Nations? . . . Repatriated refugee Germans of democratic faith? . . . Or are there enough democratic Germans left inside Germany to do the job? Will our attempts to educate Nazism out of German minds boomerang—cause so much resentment we shall actually stimulate German nationalism?**
2. **What should be done with Germany's heavy industry, her actual and potential war plants? . . . Should they be permanently dismantled? . . . Should they be operated by the United Nations? . . . Should they be operated by Germans under tight United Nations' surveillance?**
3. **How are we to get back Germany's intangible "loot"—the phony ownership her citizens have acquired in every company and corporation worth taking over in Europe?**

Different ways of answering these questions will soon come before the public from men (elected and appointed) whose job it is to know all about such problems. When that time comes the reaction of public opinion will have much to do with the plan finally adopted.

Will American public opinion be informed—prepared to throw the weight of its approval on the side of the wisest choice? Will you be informed?

If your only answer to this personally important question is "I don't know," your answer isn't quite good enough—not in times like these when America and the world need all the informed mindpower democracy can muster.

TIME *believes* America's greatest need, now and in the coming years, is for the sovereign people to make up their minds and speak them out.

To do so, citizens must keep themselves *informed.* So, in advertisements like this, TIME is seeking to encourage wide thinking and reading not only of the newspapers and TIME, but also of books and periodicals that argue the cases and advance the causes that are in the news.

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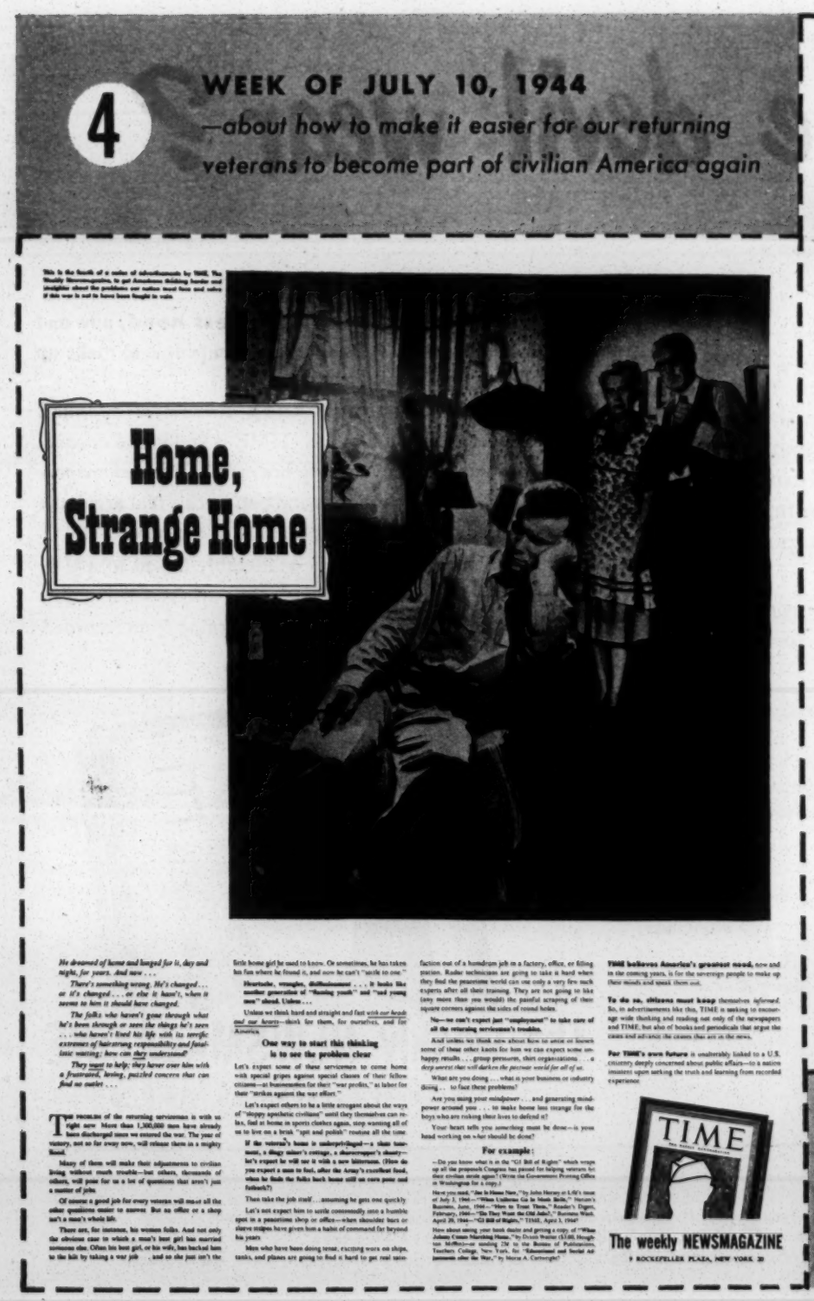
TIME
The weekly NEWSMAGAZINE
9 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, NEW YORK 20

— Time for America's Mindpower —

If you would like to have reproductions of any of these MINDPOWER MESSAGES

If you would like to have reproductions of any of these MINDPOWER MESSAGES

to send to your friends, associates, or employees, reprints are available on request from TIME, *The Weekly Newsmagazine*, Promotion Department, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.



JOSEPH F. LANDIS, President
967 ELBON ROAD
CLEVELAND HEIGHTS 21, O.

IRVIN R. KUENZLI, Sec'y-Treas.
506 S. WABASH AVENUE
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

LENA HULTS, Office Secretary
506 S. WABASH AVENUE
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

506 SOUTH WABASH AVENUE CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

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Toledo 2, Ohio

JOHN D. CONNORS
Room 1311
1440 Broadway
New York 18, N. Y.

GEORGE S. COUNTS
525 W. 120th St.
New York, N. Y.

RUTH DODDS
1614 26th St.
Sacramento 16, Calif.

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2712 Lawrence
Detroit 6, Mich.

LETTISHA HENDERSON
1299 Grand Ave.
St. Paul 5, Minn.

LILA A. HUNTER
2403 N. 41st St.
Seattle 3, Wash.

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4104 Smith St.
Fort Wayne 5, Ind.

MARY E. MOULTON
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Chicago 37, Ill.

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2657 Harrison St.
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GERALD Y. SMITH
621 Rhodes Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

STANTON E. SMITH
223 Morningside
Chattanooga 4, Tenn.

HELEN TAGGART
4601 Woodlawn Ave.
Chicago 15, Ill.

Vice President and
Legislative Representative

SELMA M. BORCHARDT
Homer Building
Washington, D. C.

226 W. 150 Street
New York 30, New York
October 5, 1944

Dear Friend:

The Committee of Cultural Minorities of the AFT is only one of many agencies dealing with one of the most troubling aspects of human relations - namely race relations.

There are many ways of tackling the problem, but the most fruitful of results seem to be in the field of education, in law enforcement, and in economic security.

Enclosed is a report of our Committee dealing with these questions. We should appreciate very much your reactions and that of your organization to these proposals; also information about any of your plans and activities along similar lines.

Fraternally yours,

Layle Lane

OFFICIAL ORGAN—THE AMERICAN TEACHER—506 S. WABASH AVE., CHICAGO 5, ILL.
MILDRED BERLEMAN, Editor

(4

Mrs. Estelle Massey Riddle
National Nursing Council War Service,
Incorporated
1790 Broadway
New York, New York

Can attend conference if travel
provided. Await details.

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

11/13/44

10:45 a.m.

IDR/rha

NATIONAL NURSING COUNCIL FOR WAR SERVICE, INC.
1790 Broadway, New York 19, New York

C
O
P
Y

November 10, 1944

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Dr. Ira deA. Reid, Director
Department of Social Studies
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Reid:

Of vital interest to the National Nursing Council for War Service is the matter of improving and increasing educational facilities for the education of Negro nurses.

Because of this, we are arranging a conference at Dillard University December 1st and 2nd for the purpose of bringing educators, vocational counselors, and a few nursing educators together to discuss such points as: basic philosophies of education which should guide the educational approach to nursing; the use of existing college facilities to improve the status of nurses; the need for collegiate schools of nursing for Negro nurses; and the recruiting of college-trained women for the nursing profession.

Already knowing your interest in the conference of Higher Education for Negro Women, it would be highly desirable to have you attend this conference to participate in our deliberations. The conference will be kept on an informal basis with ample time for discussions on roundtables. If you can not use your own travel fund for your expenses, we can provide same for you.

I regret the lateness in writing you, but there have been so some minor complications which retarded the planning of the conference somewhat. Will you be kind enough to wire me your reply?

Sincerely yours,

Estelle Massey Riddle
Consultant

EMR:tm

Misc Org

November 24, 1944

Mr. Mitsuyuki Kido, Executive Secretary
Territorial Emergency Service Committees
Adult Building, Nuuanu Y. M.C. A.
Honolulu 39, Hawaii

Dear Mr. Kido:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 9. We have received the material of which you spoke and wish to acknowledge receipt of this valuable publication.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

TERRITORIAL EMERGENCY SERVICE COMMITTEES

ADULT BUILDING, NUUANU Y. M. C. A.
HONOLULU 39, HAWAII
TELEPHONE 67464

ADVISORY BOARD MEMBERS:
Members of Morale Section
Members of Emergency Service Committee
Chairman, Kauai Morale Committee
Chairman, Maui Emergency Service Committee
Chairman, Hawaii Morale Committee

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Mitsuyuki Kido

October 9, 1944

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Bldg.
95 Fairlie St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Immediately following the outbreak of the war, a group of American citizens of Japanese ancestry organized a war service committee on each of the major islands with the approval and support of Colonel Kendall J. Fielder, A. C. of S. G-2, U. S. A. The primary objectives of these organizations are to promote all-out participation in our nation's war effort and to help preserve Hawaii's traditional pattern of race relationships.

These committees have met twice to discuss mutual problems and to profit by the experience of each island committee.

I am mailing you under separate cover a copy of the report of the proceedings of the second conference. The report will give you a glimpse of the way in which the Army and the civilian authorities have handled the so-called "Japanese problem in Hawaii". It will also give you an idea as to how the Americans of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii view some of the problems confronting their community.

Very truly yours,

Mitsuyuki Kido

Mitsuyuki Kido
Executive Secretary
Terr. Emergency Service Committees

MK:ra

Misc. Org

November 28, 1944

Miss Virginia Spence, Attorney
United Packinghouse Workers of America
515 Engineering Building
205 West Wacker Street
Chicago 6, Illinois

Dear Miss Spence:

Because of my absence from Atlanta and the heavy pressure of duties at this particular time I have had to delay my reply to your letter of November 8.

We are very much interested in your program for combatting race discrimination in your union and we are glad to help with the following suggestions:

1. Some of our own literature may be helpful, so I am sending under separate cover sample copies of two of our pamphlets — "America's Tenth Man" and "Understanding Our Neighbors" — and a copy of Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 95, "The Negro in America." Incidentally, we have a large supply of the Public Affairs pamphlet and if you wish to purchase a quantity of them from us we could sell them at the rate of $7.50 per 100.

2. I suggest that you get in touch with the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations, 134 North La Salle Street, Chicago 2, and with the American Council on Race Relations which also has headquarters in Chicago, at 32 West Randolph Street. Both of these organizations are in a position to put you in touch with valuable materials for combatting prejudice.

3. The Columbus Council for Democracy seems to me to be doing a splendid job and I think that it would be worth your while to get in touch with them. Their bulletin lists pamphlets, films, exhibits, etc., which you would be interested in. The address is Room 7, 9 East Long Street, Columbus 15, Ohio.

4. You might also want to get in touch with the Council Against Intolerance in America, 17 East 42nd Street, New York 17. They have recently prepared a special photographic exhibit on the Negro mounted on heavy cardboard panels. I understand that this exhibit is available for purchase or loan.

I trust that these suggestions will be of some benefit to you. If we can serve you further, please feel free to call on us.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j
Separate cover

UNITED PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS OF AMERICA
AFFILIATED WITH CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION
515 ENGINEERING BUILDING • 205 WEST WACKER DRIVE • TELEPHONE ANDOVER 5670
CHICAGO 6, ILLINOIS

November 8, 1944

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We are about to initiate a program to combat negro discrimination among the whites in our union and, also, to counteract anti-white feelings among the negros emphasizing the need, at this time, for unity.

We would appreciate your suggestions as well as leads on literature, slides, charts, posters, films, etc.

Sincerely yours,

Virginia Spence

Virginia Spence
Attorney

VS:mg
uopwa 24

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM	X	ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
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Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206-B

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Miss Frieda S. Miller
Director Womens Bureau
US Dept. of Labor
Washington, DC

November 29, 1944

Miss Fisher now working for Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Can be reached at ~~999~~ 939 Piedmont Avenue, Atlanta. Regret SRC cannot send representative because of our annual meeting December 6.

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

PAID
CHARGED TO:

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

(45)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination.

1944 NOV 29 PM 3 13

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MISS MARGARET L FISHER, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC=
WESLEY MEMORIAL BLDG MSRTE TU ATLA=

NO RESPONSE HAS BEEN RECEIVED TO INVITATION FOR YOU TO REPRESENT SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL AT CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ON POSTWAR ADJUSTMENTS OF WOMEN WORKERS ARRANGED BY WOMENS BUREAU OF DECEMBER 4TH AND 5TH IN WASHINGTON. WOULD APPRECIATE REPLY BY TELEGRAM=

FRIEDA S MILLER DIRECTOR WOMENS BUREAU US DEPT OF LABOR.

4 5

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Miscellaneous organizations

November 30, 1944

Miss Myra A. Blakeslee
Executive Director
Good-Will Commission
1060 Broad Street,
Newark 2, New Jersey

Dear Miss Blakeslee:

Thank you for the copy of the Fifth Annual Report of the Good-Will Commission.

As for your request for information concerning our plan for intercultural education, all of our activities might be thought of as efforts in intercultural education. The Council's main objects are to promote "the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South" and "to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region." Some immediate problems which the Council wishes to work on are: (1) inclusion of the interests of all citizens in the post-war plans which are now being made; (2) full employment after the war; (3) fair standards and wages in domestic service; (4) suffrage reform in the South; (5) equalization of school facilities and teachers' salaries; (6) the police and race tensions; (7) housing for low-income groups.

The techniques for working on these problems include: (1) educational work through pamphlets, press, radio, addresses, etc; (2) cooperation with other agencies and use of coordinated organizational influences; (3) personal influence upon key people, such as editors, employers, mayors, chiefs of police, governors, legislators, congressmen, etc; (4) public statements or appeals by groups of influential citizens; (5) constructive political action wherever possible.

We are enclosing two pamphlets for your information. I call your attention especially to "America's Tenth Man". It has had twenty-four printings, and has been used widely throughout the country.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j
Encl: SRC # 1 & 2

STATE OF NEW JERSEY
GOOD-WILL COMMISSION
1060 BROAD STREET, NEWARK, 2, N. J.

MEMBERS OF COMMISSION
H. B. BELL
Chairman
HAROLD JOHN ADONIS
DR. ABRAHAM HOLTZBERG
MRS. A. HAINES LIPPINCOTT
REV. J. C. LOVE
KARL J. OLSON
MEYER PESIN
CHARLES H. ROEMER
EDWARD H. SCHULZE
JUDGE THOMAS G. SIDDALL
JOHN R. SIRACUSA
MONSIGNOR ARTHUR B. STRENSKI
J. MARGARET WARNER
MYRA A. BLAKESLEE
Secretary and Executive Director

November 13, 1944

Southern Regional Council
63 Foreman Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Good-Will Commission would very much appreciate receiving information concerning your plan for intercultural education.

Sincerely yours,
Myra A. Blakeslee
Myra A. Blakeslee
Executive Director

MAB IHP

P.S. Enclosed for your information is copy of the Fifth Annual Report of the Good-Will Commission.

G-81

Mc 09

UNITED AUTOMOBILE · AIRCRAFT · AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS of AMERICA (UAW-CIO)

INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS • 411 WEST MILWAUKEE AVENUE • DETROIT 2, MICHIGAN

UNITED AUTOMOBILE AIRCRAFT AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA — AFFILIATED WITH C.I.O. — CHARTERED AUG. 26, 1935

INTERNATIONAL UNION

TEMPLE 1-7412

R. J. THOMAS
PRESIDENT

GEO. F. ADDES
SEC. & TREAS.

RICHARD T. FRANKENSTEEN
VICE-PRESIDENT

WALTER P. REUTHER
VICE-PRESIDENT

IN REPLY REFER TO

INTERNATIONAL
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
1324 MACCABEES BUILDING
DETROIT 2, MICHIGAN

December 21, 1944

Dr. Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Reid:

I am sorry to learn from your letter of December 13 that it will be impossible for you to attend our Education Conference.

The panel on Discrimination will be held on the afternoon of Friday, January 5th, and if it should be possible for you to make arrangements to get from Milwaukee to the East in time for your engagement on the 7th, I hope you will be able to do so.

Sincerely yours,

William H. Levitt

William H. Levitt, Director
Int'l Education Department

WL:T:hs
uopwa
26cio

A RECORD of 46 Years

Facts and Figures

NORTH CAROLINA MUTUAL
Life Insurance Company

C. C. SPAULDING, President. • DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

Annual Report of the Directors

FOR THE

Year Ending December 31, 1944

TO THE POLICYHOLDERS:

1944 has proved an eventful, history-making year. As a North Carolina Mutual policyholder, you are a member of a great cooperative business institution, entitled to a report on your company's accomplishments, and the manner in which it has fulfilled its obligation to you and to other policyholders during these troubled times. The following "Facts and Figures," based on the accompanying financial statement, give forceful evidence of continued growth and the ability of your company to provide comfort and security in wartime as well as in peace.

DIVIDENDS: The company has declared the same scale of annual dividends for 1945 as for 1944. This means that an additional $190,125.00 has been set aside out of the year's earnings for the payment of dividends to policyholders, to be paid on the anniversaries of their policies as provided therein.

INVESTMENTS FOR VICTORY

During the three War Loan Drives of 1944, your company invested $1,600,000 in United States Government bonds, increasing the total holdings of such securities to $3,412,450. In recognition of its obligation to the Government, a substantial portion of the company's funds will continue to be invested in United States Government securities, thereby supplying direct financial aid in the National war effort.

SAFEGUARDING THE FUTURE

Since its inception, life insurance has constituted an unsurpassed method of providing protection for dependents and a means of accumulating funds for future needs. A growing appreciation of this service is evidenced by the fact that total insurance with your company during 1944 increased by $13,637,955 to a new record high of $89,665,841. These investments in protection with North Carolina Mutual provide a satisfying sense of security for its thousands of policyholders and their families in facing the uncertainties of the future.

Financial Report for the Yea

(IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ANNUAL REPORT FILE

ASSETS

Cash ..... $ 557,578.07

This amount includes deposits in 11 banks and trust companies ($40,265.31 on interest) and $2,950.00 War Savings Stamps in Branch Offices for sale, as a public service.

Bonds and Stock 6,701,156.82

Of this amount, $6,484,879.32 is composed of Government and high grade state, municipal, and corporation bonds carried on the amortized basis.

Loans on Policies to Our Policyholders 689,741.66

These loans are amply secured by the assignment of the Company's policies.

Mortgage Loans 2,770,133.77

These loans represent various first mortgages, averaging $3,057.54 each. Of the total amount, $1,007,587.06 are FHA insured mortgages.

Collateral Loans 5,655.21

Loans on hypothecated mortgages, stocks and bonds, all amply secured.

Real Estate 642,864.72

The real estate portfolio consists of the Home Office building in addition to mortgages foreclosed.

Interest and Rents Due and Accrued.. 70,506.42

Interest and rents due and in the process of collection.

Net Due and Deferred Premiums..... 337,592.26

Net premiums due and in process of collection for the current policy year.

All Other Admitted Assets..... 105,455.83

Total Admitted Assets.....$11,880,684.76

INSURANCE IN FO

No Home Is Complete Without N

Financial Report for the Year

(IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ANNUAL REPORT FILED

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INSURANCE IN FO

No Home Is Complete Without N

ar Ending December 31, 1944

LED WITH THE SEVERAL INSURANCE DEPARTMENTS)

LIABILITIES

Statutory Policy Reserves.....$ 9,553,890.04
A sinking fund required by law under insurance contracts, as verified by the Insurance Department of the State of North Carolina.

Other Policy Reserves 29,522.32
A fund maintained for special contracts not included in the statutory reserve item.

Reserve for Claims Unreported and Outstanding 151,854.48
For the payment of all claims accruing during the year and not reported, proofs incomplete, claims in course of payment and $89,633.21 matured endowments for policyholders not located.

Interest and Premiums Paid in Advance 100,776.55
Advance payment of items due the succeeding year.

Employees Retirement Fund 140,110.32
A fund created and maintained by the Company's employees for their protection and pensioning at retirement.

Dividends to Policyholders..... 247,223.06
This item represents dividends payable to policyholders up to March 31, 1946.

Reserved for Real Estate Fund..... 200,000.00

Reserved for Taxes and All Other Liabilities 166,927.03
This fund is reserved for estimated taxes payable in 1945 for 1944 operations, agents' commissions, medical fees and all other bills and accounts accrued, but not due.

Surplus 1,290,380.96
This item includes General Voluntary Reserve and other unassigned funds.

Total Liabilities $11,880,684.76

ORCE $89,665,841

North Carolina Mutual Policies

FULL PAYMENT ASSURED

Assets now total $11,880,684.76. Added security is provided by Surplus Funds amounting to $1,290,-380.96 in addition to required statutory policy reserves in the sum of $9,553,890.04.

RECORD OF SERVICE

Millions of dollars—OVER TWENTY MILLION OF THEM—have been paid to policyholders and beneficiaries during the life of the institution. Of this amount, $1,116,425 represents matured endowment payments to living policyholders. Still other millions have been loaned on improved real estate. All such loans are made in strict accordance with rigid insurance laws governing life insurance companies, and have materially aided home ownership and the acquisition and development of business.

CONSISTENT PROGRESS

During its entire history, North Carolina Mutual has maintained an unbroken record of progress. Reference to the following tabulation will indicate at a glance that though its growth has not been spectacular, it has been consistent.

YEAR	INCOME	ASSETS	INSURANCE IN FORCE
1899	$ 393.95	$ 350.00	$ 247.00
1904	26,910.28	8,077.00	6,401.00
1909	220,100.76	93,540.42	1,535,668.00
1914	404,766.90	152,927.95	4,986,344.00
1919	1,276,039.62	755,016.00	26,534,549.00
1924	2,030,357.74	2,321,085.28	42,779,641.00
1929	2,078,711.12	3,560,030.66	38,877,186.00
1934	2,014,141.62	4,139,513.75	35,641,253.00
1939	2,801,170.10	5,921,275.91	47,581,193.00
1944	5,886,310.08	11,880,684.76	89,665,841.00

SOMETHING YOU SHOULD KNOW

As a policyholder of North Carolina Mutual, you, and thousands of your fellow policyholders, are the company's sole beneficiaries. A "MUTUAL" organization, North Carolina Mutual is YOUR COMPANY, operated solely for your benefit, that you, and thousands like you, may have the assurance the future will remain financially secure.

FOR THE DIRECTORS,

PRESIDENT

Officers

C. C. SPAULDING.....*President*
W. J. KENNEDY, JR.....*Vice President-Secretary*
E. R. MERRICK.....*Vice President-Treasurer*
R. L. MCDOUGALD*.....*Vice President*
CLYDE DONNELL, M.D.....*Vice Pres.-Medical Director*
W. D. HILL.....*Assistant Secretary-Comptroller*
M. A. GOINS.....*Assistant Secretary*
J. W. GOODLOE.....*Assistant Secretary*
G. W. COX.....*Vice President-Director of Agents*
D. C. DEANS, JR.....*Assistant Director of Agents*
J. L. WHEELER.....*Assistant Director of Agents*
A. T. SPAULDING.....*Actuary and Assistant Secretary*
BESSIE A. J. WHITTED.....*Cashier*
J. S. HUGHSON.....*Assistant to Treasurer*
C. C. SPAULDING, JR.....*Assistant to Treasurer*
VIOLA G. TURNER.....*Assistant to Treasurer*

Directors

C. C. SPAULDING
W. J. KENNEDY, JR.
E. R. MERRICK
R. L. MCDOUGALD*
G. W. COX
M. A. GOINS
DR. CLYDE DONNELL
J. L. WHEELER
A. J. CLEMENT, SR.
W. D. HILL
D. C. DEANS, JR.
A. T. SPAULDING
W. H. HARVEY
A. E. SPEARS

* Deceased.

1898 *1945*

North Carolina Mutual
Life Insurance Company

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

MEMBER COMPANY, NATIONAL NEGRO INSURANCE ASSOCIATION

FRIENDS OF DEMOCRACY

Do you Remember

PICTURE yourself with your wife and children in a crowded movie theatre. Darkness . . . quiet . . . everyone intent upon the screen. Suddenly a man shouts "FIRE!" In the stampede, your wife and children are trampled, badly hurt.

It was a false alarm—uttered by a man who knew there was no fire.

How would you feel toward him?

You are, in fact, in a larger audience today —the great American public. It is so vast that you can't hear many false shouts of alarm. But others can—and you are in the crowd—you and your family.

Roy Stout

President

FRIENDS OF DEMOCRACY, INC.

Nonsectarian • Nonpartisan • Nonprofit

This man is your Enemy

Before Pearl Harbor he said we had nothing to fear from Germany and Japan. Those who felt otherwise were "war mongers."

Today he belittles our plans for a durable peace as he has our war effort in the past. He says the Jewish "international bankers" tricked us into war for their private gain.

When it suits his purpose he hates the Catholics, as in the days of the Ku Klux Klan.

American flags are usually draped all around when he speaks. He talks loudly of patriotism.

He is the most dangerous man in the United States today. He is a professional "rabble-rouser."

PROPAGANDA WEAPONS

He is dangerous because many people do not analyze his statements, do not know his background and do not see through his disguise of "Americanism."

They accept whatever appeals to their emo-

tions, or their racial or religious prejudices.

Others, though citizens of the United States, are loyal to enemy countries. They readily support any effort which would prevent our country from cooperating with our allies to protect ourselves from future attack.

Disloyalty, prejudice and gullibility are used by this man at his convenience to advance his own interests—fanatical, political, or financial.

This was Hitler's method. It worked for him for a long time. Those who emulate him in this country today think it will work for them. *If it does, the lives and property of your family and yourself will not be safe.*

NOT FOR THE F. B. I.

Why aren't these internal enemies stopped by the F. B. I.?

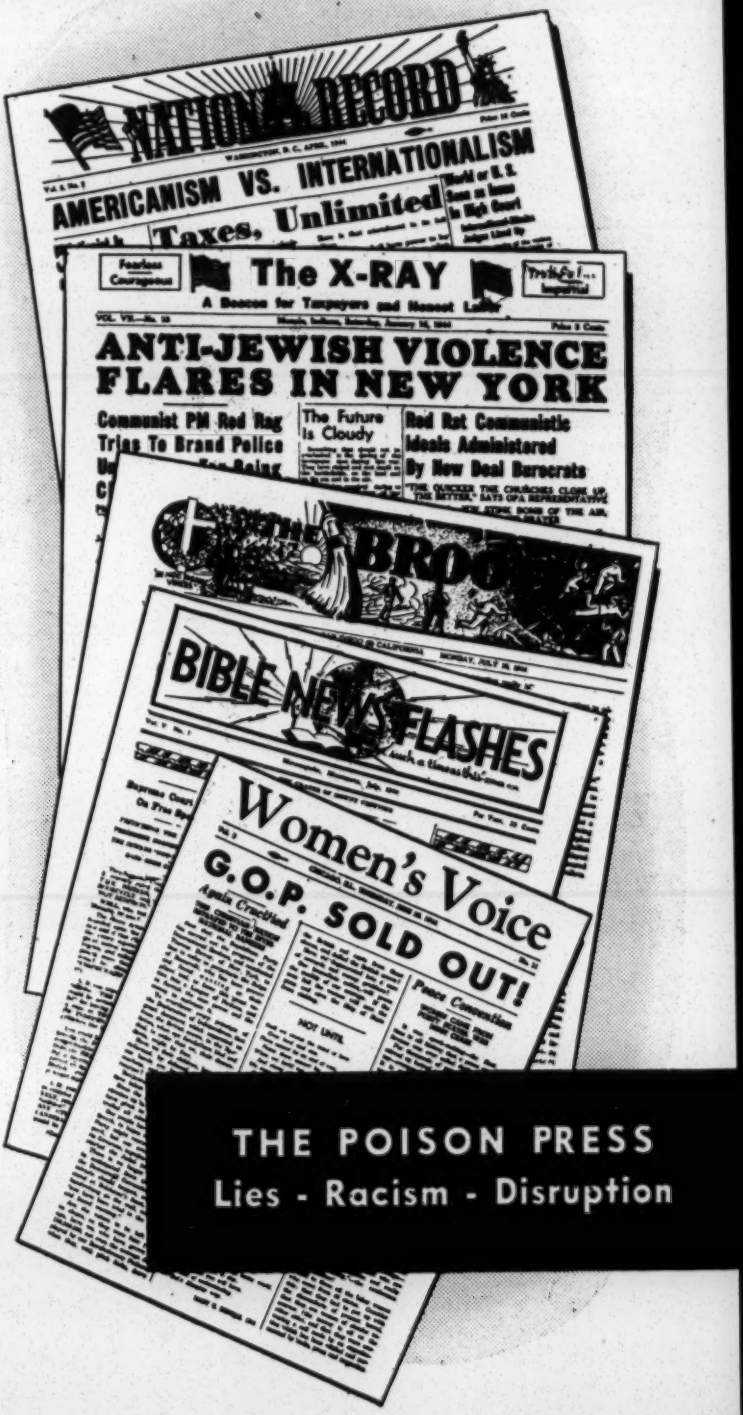
Because they usually stay within the law, pending the time when they hope to be strong enough to crash through all opposition.

Even when they overstep our traditionally liberal laws, conviction is difficult and is frequently delayed by unending obstruction.

That is the price we pay for our freedom of thought and speech.

We want no American Gestapo. But we don't want to be helpless.

Friends of Democracy believes it has the American answer—the only weapon that can or should be used to stop the internal enemy who is beyond the law's reach.



THE POISON PRESS

Lies - Racism - Disruption

THE AMERICAN WEAPON

This weapon is: Exposure of the rabble-rouser before the bar of public opinion.

The program includes Research and Action.

Friends of Democracy's *research* consists in constant study and accumulation of data on subversive or questionable organizations and individuals, now numbering more than 800. The files of its research department are believed to be as extensive and detailed as any in the country.

Friends of Democracy's *action* includes publication of well documented and illustrated material exposing the background of subversive leaders, analyzing their purposes, revealing their association with persons of known un-American character and often showing close similarity between their public statements and the Axis propaganda line.

This activity does not in any way conflict with legitimate freedom of speech.

FREE SPEECH

Friends of Democracy believes in the right of free speech *provided these other equally important rights are respected:*

1. The right of loyal citizens, who stand ready to lay down their lives for their country, to expect equivalent loyalty from all others.
2. The right of the majority of voters, when they approve leaders and principles, to demand cooperation for the common good from the minority who disagree.

3. The right of people of every race, nationality, religion and station in life to live in harmony among their fellowmen.

These rights are not debatable. They were tested and proved sound by our forefathers. Anyone who flouts them is a public enemy.

INNOCENT ENEMIES

Friends of Democracy respects the honesty of well-meaning citizens who sincerely believe in pacifism, or in its more modern counterpart, super-isolationism.

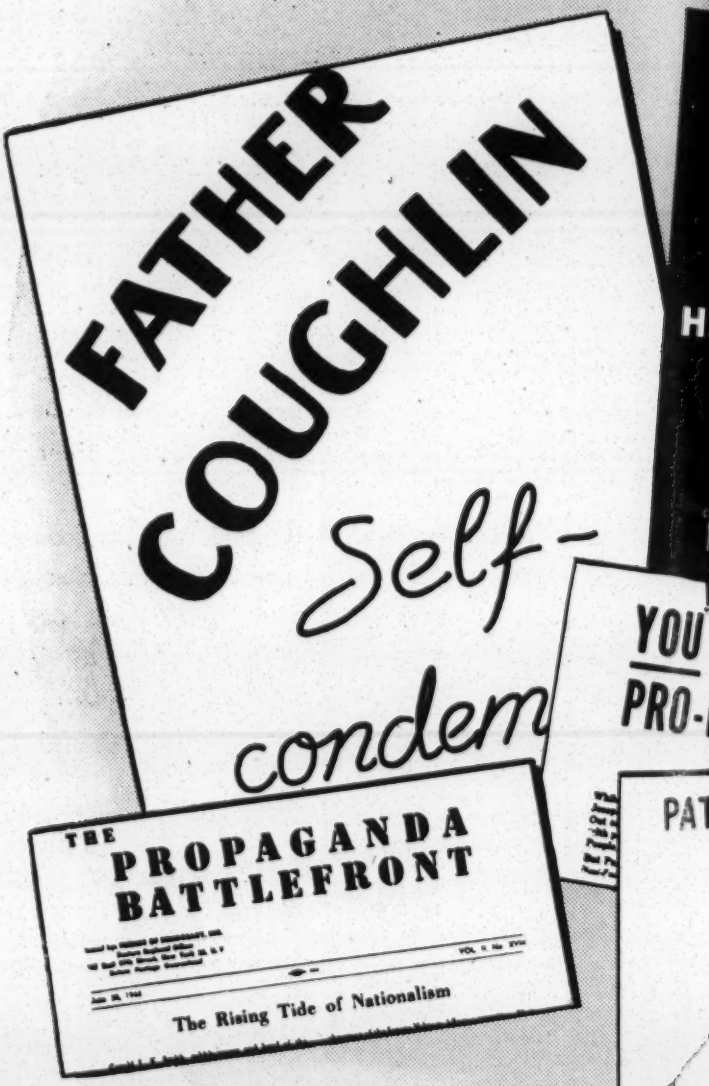
But if these misguided people cannot be made to realize the futility of their theories in a rough and bruising world, they must at least be made to open their eyes to the alien motives of their fellow-travelers.

And if some over-sentimental and misled women cannot accept the implications of war, they must understand that they may cause the death of other women's sons in a more frightful future war if they join one of the "Mother" groups demanding "Stop the slaughter and bring our sons home now." One such group stooped so low as to scan casualty lists and circularize mothers, urging them to hold leaders of the Government responsible for the death of their sons. Just what der Fuehrer ordered!

NATIONAL CLEARING HOUSE

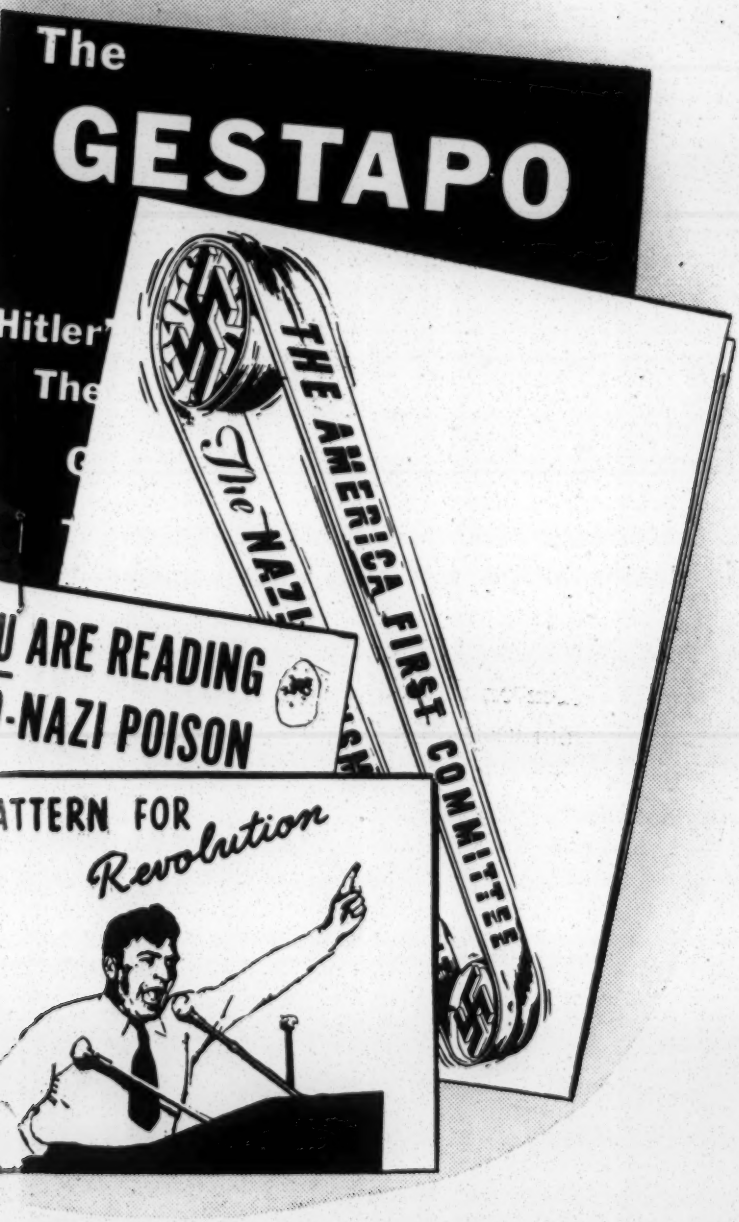
Friends of Democracy has become a national clearing house of information on pro-fascist, anti-democratic and anti-Semitic propagandists.

FRIENDS OF D
FIGHTS WIT



Titles of some of the hard-hitting but well-documented material issued by Friends of Democracy are shown here, including its regular bulletin, "The Propaganda Battlefront."

DEMOCRACY
TH TRUTH



Its data and advice were used in important first articles on the subject in such magazines as *The Saturday Evening Post, Harper's, Life* and *Look,* and are now utilized frequently by government agencies, schools, libraries and writers.

Part of the crowded New York office

It helped with the research and furnished considerable background material which John Roy Carlson used in writing the book "Under Cover." This was a national best-seller to the extent of approximately 800,000 copies. The author has been on the staff of Friends of Democracy for four years. More recently, Friends of Democracy cooperated in a similar way with Henry Hoke in the preparation of his book "Black Mail."

EXAMPLES OF ACTION

Friends of Democracy helped to stop Gerald B. Winrod, the "Jayhawk Nazi," in Kansas, and Joe McWilliams, the "Yorkville Fuehrer," in New York.

It was an important factor in the discontinuance of Father Coughlin's broadcasts, and of his paper *Social Justice,* which was described by the Post Office as "obviously seditious."

It shook the country when it exposed the super-isolationist "America First Committee" as a transmission belt of Nazi propaganda, thus disillusioning many good citizens who had joined without realizing what they were getting into. As a result, the movement began to disintegrate and was abandoned shortly after Pearl Harbor.

ETERNAL VIGILANCE

Eternal vigilance is necessary. Movements die, but the men behind them do not readily give up their means of livelihood.

One hardy perennial who has bobbed up in many strangely assorted movements is Gerald L. K. Smith. He was an active firebrand of the America First Committee and in former years was affiliated with such organizations as the Silver Shirts and the Ku Klux Klan. He now reappears with the "America First *Party.*"

Smith is typical of those who look ahead to national leadership, but not through ordinary elective processes. "When chaos comes," he roared, "I'll be the leader."

Most of us are prone to shrug off these frenzied outpourings.

Yet Smith led two thousand cheering followers into a banquet room which the Stevens Hotel had refused to rent to him during the Republican convention at Chicago, shouting, "We

took this place by force and this is only the beginning. . . . This is old-fashioned Americanism in the raw!"

Later, Smith's new political "party" nominated him for president of the United States and even tried to name Bricker as his running mate. For this impertinence Smith received scathing rebukes from Dewey and Bricker, both of whom condemned his appeals to religious and racial prejudice.

THE POSTWAR EMERGENCY

The postwar period will bring us greater problems than war. The unifying force of our war effort will be gone. Wartime restraints, both voluntary and regulatory, will be off.

Relationships among the United Nations may become strained. Pleas for leniency by German propagandists and sympathizers will reach a new high. Pressure for a compromise peace with Japan is expected to appear soon.

A section of the Research Department's files of subversive propaganda

Demobilization and industrial reconversion will cause severe dislocations.

Racial tensions will be increased.

The greatest danger, under these disturbed conditions, is that several powerful rabble-rousers may roll all their followers like a snowball into one overwhelming national movement.

The problem cries out for more of the preventive work Friends of Democracy is doing *now*, before these leaders grow too powerful.

In the opinion of serious students of social trends, we face a major emergency.

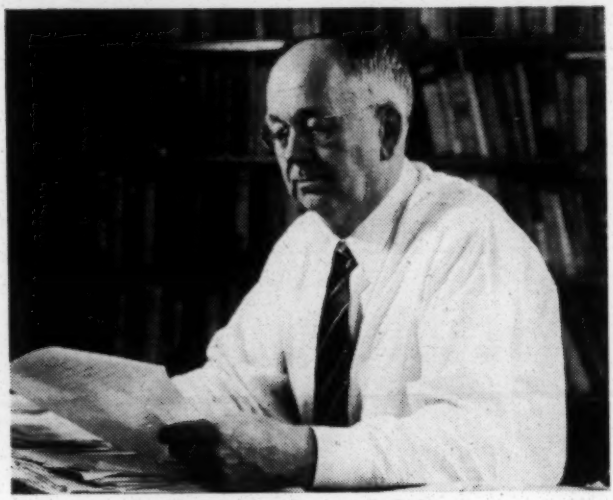
YOUR DECISION

Friends of Democracy is financed wholly by voluntary contributions.

Funds available for its work have averaged so far only about $50,000 per year, compared with millions spent by the Nazis and their American sympathizers for propaganda in our country, and millions more contributed by gullible and excitable citizens to unsound, subversive and disruptive movements.

To meet the postwar emergency, Friends of Democracy plans a greatly expanded program which should be put into action immediately. The rising tide of the "anti" propagandas, which threatens the security of your job, your home and your country, must be held within safe limits.

You are not asked to believe that your peace and safety in the coming months depend on the amount you contribute today to Friends of Democracy. That would be over-simplification.



L. M. Birkhead, national director

But undoubtedly you do recognize that social powder kegs are lying all around.

Friends of Democracy stands between you and the enemy who is watching for his chance to set a match to them.

This nonprofit organization is giving all of us protection which no one of us could provide for himself alone. It is doing this by virtue of voluntary contributions received each year from several thousand sincere friends.

You are asked to decide whether to rely on their support of this activity, or to join with them by contributing your share.

Your contribution is needed, and will do more good today than ever before.

* * *

Friends of Democracy will send to every contributor who requests it a report on "Twenty-five Dangerous Organizations," giving a quick perspective of subversive and obstructionist activity.

FRIENDS OF DEMOCRACY

Friends of Democracy, Inc., is a nonprofit membership corporation formed under the laws of Missouri in 1937. Its eastern regional office is in New York and its national headquarters in Kansas City. It is supported entirely by voluntary contributions.

Its national director is L. M. Birkhead, recognized as one of the nation's leading authorities on un-American activities.

Mr. Birkhead, a Unitarian minister of Kansas City, visited Germany in 1935. While there he discovered by accident a clearing house for world-wide Nazi propaganda and was shown card files of American citizens whom the Nazis relied on.

He was so shocked by these revelations that upon his return to the United States he undertook personally to awaken leaders of American thought to what was going on. Their interest led to organization of Friends of Democracy.

Today this pioneering and militant organization has the firm backing of a National Committee of educators, authors and businessmen to whom detailed reports of its work are submitted and from whom valuable advice and cooperation are received. With a small paid staff and 40 to 50 volunteer workers, it is performing an increasingly effective but still tragically limited public service.

Contributions to Friends of Democracy are deductible on income tax returns, by ruling of the Treasury Department.

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FRIENDS OF DEMOCRACY, INC.
137 East 57th Street, New York 22, N. Y.

National Headquarters
Fidelity Building, Kansas City, Missouri

1944

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Clearing House Activities

ORGANIZATIONS COOPERATING WITH SRC — 1944

1. BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA, Atlanta
REGION SIX — SRC wrote over 50 letters soliciting testimonials on Scouting for Negro boys.

2. AMERICAN FRIENDS' SERVICE COMMITTEE, Philadelphia
Race Relations Committee (Mr. Bergstrom) - Correspondence about Philadelphia Strike
Civilian Public Service Camps: #108, Gatlinburg) Furnished literature, possible
27, Orlando) speakers in area, sources of film
#121, Bedford, Va) strips, advice on race relations courses.

Committee on Mass Education, New York

3. COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION, Knoxville
Participation in Gatlinburg Conference
Participation in Atlanta Conference on Negro education

Council of Christ Women — Nashville meeting G.B.G.

4. COUNCIL AGAINST INTOLERANCE IN AMERICA, New York
SRC sponsored their exhibit on "The Negro in American Life."

— Rosenwald Fund

Sarah Lawrence School —

5. PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, New York
SRC distributed The Negro in America and Races of Mankind, purchased film strip.

Cranbrook Institute

6. SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS' UNION , Memphis
Dr. Reid attended annual convention, Nov. 14,15,16,17.

7. NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, New York
SRC supplied memo on structure and activities for Lester Granger's SURVEY GRAPHIC article.
SRC correspondence with regard to League's community projects in Southern region.

8. AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION, Nashville
Race Relations Division — Conference with Mrs. Edmonia Grant, Director of Education
Participation in Fisk Institute of Race Relations

9. NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS
Southern Region of Conference affiliated as "cooperating agency" with SRC
SRC furnishes quantity literature to Wisconsin Area, Mid-west Area, Tulsa Round Table

10. AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS, Chicago
Participation in Conference on Reporting Community Tensions and Programs in Race Relations in Washington

11. NATIONAL SURVEY OF COLORED FIRE FIGHTERS, Oakland, California
SRC assisted in survey of colored fire fighters in Southern region

12. THE METHODIST CHRUCH
Board of Education - Participation in Conference on Church Guidance in Politial Action (Dennison)
Woman's Division of Christian Service - Participation in Junaluska Jurisdictional Conference
Joint Department of Missionary Education - Information to Mr. Horace Williams, Assoc. Secty., about ministerial interracial projects in South
Demobilization Conference

13. YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL BOARD
Department of Data and Trends - Conference with Miss Myra K. Smith, Executive
SRC furnishes literature for many branches, especially Southern Regional Conference

13½ ASSOCIATED PRESS - Interviews on lynching, Demobilization Conference, etc., etc.

March of Time

13 3/4 TIME AND LIFE - "Americans All", and information about Fisk Institute, etc., etc.

14. NATIONAL NURSING COUNCIL FOR WAR SERVICE, INC.
SRC participation in conference at Dillard University - (Dr. Reid)

15. NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN, Washington, DC
Participation in annual workshop meeting, panel on "Jobs" - (Dr. Reid)

16. NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
Dr. Reid participated in intercollegiate interracial conference sponsored jointly with Friends' Service Committee.

17. ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
General cooperative activities, - exchange of mailing lists, information, etc.

18. TWENTIETH CENTURY ASSOCIATION
Commission on Inter-racial Relations (Miss Willcox) -- Correspondence on plasma segregation, program suggestions, etc.

19. SOUTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
SRC participation in November conference - (Dr. Johnson)

20. COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY, New York
Correspondence with Ernest Angell and interview with Warren Brown about cooperation

21. FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
Commission on The Church and Minority Peoples - sent list of Texas ministers to help oppose efforts to invalidate Supreme Court decision
Department of Race Relations -SRC sent literature and information for Race Relations Institute at Camp Kane, Pa.

Kentucky Commission on Negro Affairs

22. ASSOCIATION OF THE JUNIOR LEAGUES OF AMERICA, INC.
Correspondence with Mrs. Winthrop Pennock, Exec, Secty, about affiliation with SRC

23. NATIONAL TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION
Wrote congressman in behalf of N. T. A. to request support of bill to make a T.B. division of Public Health Service

24. NORTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE FOR SOCIAL SERVICE
Participation in April Conference - Dr. Johnson

Prairie College Conf.

Pulling Together - Tuskegee, Ala.

QUANTITY LITERATURE TO THE FOLLOWING:
(l.c.)

1. AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION - Committee on the Study of TEACHING Materials in InterGroup Relations
2. BALTIMORE INTERRACIAL FELLOWSHIP
3. FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
4. COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES, Kansas City
5. INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION WORKSHOP, New York
6. UNITED SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS, INC.
7. ST. PAUL COUNCIL OF HUMAN RELATIONS (Minnesota)
8. THE JEWISH COORDINATING COUNCIL
9. NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS
10. TEXAS BAPTIST STUDENT UNION
11. ANTI-DEFAMATION COUNCIL, Philadelphia
12. NATIONAL NEGRO BUSINESS LEAGUE, Tuskegee
13. MEMPHIS URBAN LEAGUE, Inc.
14. BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
15. EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF ARKANSAS, Woman's Auxil.
16. CIVIC FEDERATION OF DALLAS
17. AMERICAN COUNCIL, INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
18. TUCSON COMMITTEE FOR INTERRACIAL UNDERSTANDING

GENERAL COOPERATION, EXCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS, ETC., WITH:

1. COMMITTEE AGAINST RACE DISCRIMINATION IN THE WAR EFFORT
2. NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PERMANENT F. E. P. C.
3. NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SCIENTIFIC, PROFESSIONAL, ART, AND WHITE COLLAR ORGANIZATIONS
4. NAACP, Atlanta
5. CIO
6. CIOPAC
7. ~~COLUMBUS~~ COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY, Cleveland, Ohio
8. LOS ANGELES COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY
9. AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, Commission on Economic Discrimination
10. YMCA
11. FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
12. NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL EMPLOYEES
13. SOUTH CAROLINA WOMAN'S COUNCIL FOR THE COMMON GOOD
14. THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, Committee on Woman's Work
15. AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
16. COMMON COUNCIL FOR AMERICAN UNITY
17. MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON RACE RELATIONS, Chicago.
18. SOUTHERN BAPTIST UNION, Woman's Missionary Union
19. UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

SRC FURNISHED SPEAKERS, ADVICE, LITERATURE, GENERAL COOPERATION TO:

1. Alabama Committee of Commission on Interracial Cooperation
2. Florida Council of Commission on Interracial Cooperation
3. Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation
4. Kentucky Commission on Negro Affairs
5. Kentucky Council on Interracial Cooperation
6. Louisiana Commission on Interracial Cooperation
7. Mississippi Council on Interracial Cooperation
8. North Carolina Commission on Interracial Cooperation
9. South Carolina Committee of Southern Regional Council
10. Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation
11. Virginia Commission on Interracial Cooperation

Local Committees:

1. Dallas Council on Human Relations
2. Asheville Interracial Commission
3. Knoxville, Interracial Commission
4. Montgomery Interracial Committee
5. Columbia (Tennessee) Interracial Committee
6. Chattanooga Interracial Committee
7. Memphis Interracial Committee
8. Little Rock Interracial Committee
9. San Antonio Interracial Council
10. Conway (Arkansas) Interracial Committee
11. Nashville
12. Richmond, Va. " "

Winter Park " "

Winter Park

9,30 speakers
Knoxville College
Knoxv. (Negro men)
Va. Union Univ.

TOTAL: 84 social agencies with whom SRC cooperates in some form

Our Home Front

Published by PARENTS AND WIVES OF FIGHTING AMERICANS INC., 130 West 42nd St., Room 601, New York 18

A Non-Partisan, Non-Sectarian, Non-Profit Organization. Incorporated under the laws of the State of New York.

Telephone: WIsconsin 7-0740

OFFICERS

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MOSS A. PLUNKETT, *Roanoke, Va.*

PURPOSES

The Certificate of Incorporation lists the following purposes:

a. To help win World War II.

b. To help win the peace following the war.

c. To help achieve a "Warless World of Free Men".

d. To help develop a global organization to be known as the United Nations, or by some other appropriate name, "powerful enough to enforce peace and intelligent enough to eliminate the causes of war".

e. To assist in preserving the political rights of all those in war services of the United States during their absence in war and upon their return to civil life.

f. To assist in preventing race discrimination and the abridgement of the right to vote in every State of the United States.

g. To assist in preventing inflation.

h. To assist all those in the service to get their jobs back, or other employment, upon their return from the war.

i. To assist in securing jobs for disabled service men and service women.

j. To investigate and uncover the causes of unemployment, depressions, poverty, dictators and wars.

k. To investigate, analyze and assist in improving, the methods of distribution of incomes or buying power.

l. To mobilize American ability to create a sounder economy and to promote concrete proposals for achieving the same.

m. To do the necessary research work for the preparation of "Blueprints for Peace" in order to maintain peace after World War II.

n. To engage in all lawful activities to accomplish the purposes of the corporation, but none of its activities shall be for the purpose of pecuniary profit.

o. To collect, prepare, publish and disseminate information concerning all the foregoing, to the end that unemployment be cured, that a more abundant life be enjoyed by all, and that democracy be preserved.

ACTIVITIES

The present activities are:

(1) Urging all members to write (and have them urge all their friends to do likewise) to their children or husbands or wives in the services to send for the absentee ballots and have them returned to the proper election authorities in time to be counted.

(2) Urging newspapers and radio commentators to set forth simply and clearly the requirements in the various states for securing and using the State or Federal ballot.

(3) Collecting and furnishing information as to the local requirements of all the 48 states for absentee voting, wherever such voting is permitted by law.

(4) Sponsoring the two actions commenced in Virginia to test the constitutionality of the poll tax. Said actions, if decided adversely, to be taken up and argued before the United States Supreme Court by Arthur Dunn, Esq. of New York City and Moss A. Plunkett, Esq., a leading lawyer of Roanoke, Va., both of whom are acting as attorneys in this litigation without charge.

(5) To discover the PERMANENT CURE for unemployment and see that it is applied.

JOBS FOR ALL

It is reported that already many disabled soldiers returning from the front are unable to find jobs. The PERMANENT CURE for the unemployment problem cannot wait. Our organization must get busy on it at once. In this connection we plan to employ legless, armless, sightless and otherwise disabled service men and women to spread PARENTS AND WIVES OF FIGHTING AMERICANS throughout the United States.

In general the objective of the members of PARENTS AND WIVES OF FIGHTING AMERICANS INC. is to make certain that all in the services receive a square deal during their absence and upon their return.

Copyright 1944, Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans Inc.

Plans Are Laid To Organize Group To Help Service Men

An organization of parents and wives of service men to work for a five-point program "to preserve the rights of fighting men" was announced last Wednesday by a 71-year-old "corporation lawyer" at a press conference in the office of Senator Joseph F. Guffey.

Arthur Dunn, who gave his address as 12 E. 41st St., New York City, said he will be chairman of the organization to be known as "Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans," and Moss Plunkett, of Roanoke, Va., will be vice chairman.

Dunn, who was introduced to newsmen at a press conference called by Senator Guffey, said he had one son in this war and two in World War I, and that Plunkett recently lost a son in New Guinea. One of the objectives of the organization will be to abolish poll taxes in eight poll-tax States, and for that reason those States will be organized first. Dunn said that, with Plunkett's assistance, a test of the Virginia poll-tax law is being arranged, and will be carried to the Supreme Court.

Dunn said the organization's five-point program lists (1) win the war, (2) win the peace, (3) preserve all service men's rights in their absence, (4) prevent inflation, and (5) get every service man his job back after the war.

1 2

Parents, Wives Form Group To Help GIs

Aim to Protect Servicemen's Rights; Will Fight Poll Tax

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Apr. 5.—An organization of parents and wives of servicemen is being formed by a New York corporation lawyer to protect the rights of servicemen—including their right to vote—during their absence.

Formation of the organization—known as the Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans—was announced yesterday by Arthur Dunn, of 12 E. 41st St., New York, who is heading the organization's drive, at a press conference in the office of Sen. Joseph Guffey (D., Pa.).

Dunn, describing himself as an "old-line Republican" converted to liberalism, said the organization was designed to:

¶ Help to win the war.
¶ Help to win the peace.
¶ Preserve the rights of the fighting men.

Elsa Maxwell's Party Line

Midweek Roundup

By Elsa Maxwell

I rushed furiously in this column to condemn the efforts of the Senators to suppress the Federal Ballot Bill because "the soldiers might vote for Mr. Roosevelt, and thereby elect him"—such a scared reason for attempting to deprive American citizens of their privileges! It seemed to bring back memories of the Rhineland plebiscite, and also Hitler's plebiscite before coming into power in Germany: the big circle with "JA" printed in the center and the small circle with the miniscule "nein." It causes a slight shudder down my spine when I recall those poor brave people who dared to sign "nein." Most of them disappeared shortly afterwards.

I received this telegram from a gentleman who forgot to include his address:

"Much interested in your February 8th column. Am an indignant father of two sons in last war and third son now fighting somewhere on seven seas. Am urged to organize parents of fighting Americans to defeat every member of Congress voting against Federal Ballot, and otherwise see that our children get a square deal during their absence and on their return. Please wire collect what you think of the idea. ARTHUR DUNN."

Elsa's answer: "O. K., and good luck to a justly indignant father."

3 4

Court Test of Poll Tax Upsets Southern Plans

By United Press

Traditional voting procedures in the South, already threatened by a Supreme Court ruling permitting Negro voting in primaries, faced another one today in a promised court test of the legality of poll taxes.

Arthur Dunn, New York attorney, in announcing formation of the "Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans," said a suit challenging the Virginia poll tax would soon be filed at Roanoke. "And," he added, "we'll take it to the Supreme Court if necessary."

Sen. George (D., Ga.) anticipated Supreme Court decision

Texas Ruling Spurs Fight to End Poll Tax

WASHINGTON, April 5 (UP).—Attorney General Francis Biddle today instructed Justice Department aides to make a study to determine how the Supreme Court decision affects current complaints involving discrimination against Negro voters.

The Supreme Court's upsetting of the Texas "white Primary" rule has stimulated the fight to abolish the poll tax.

At least one new anti-poll tax group has emerged since the high court opinion last Monday. Old groups have announced plans for continuing the fight, while, at the same time, Negro voices from the Deep South announce determination to take advantage of the Supreme Court's decision.

The new organization is called Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans and, apparently

Senator Mead's lineup for passage of the antipoll tax bill.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Negro Labor Victory Committee, and the National Negro Congress are among old organizations which

5

HOW A SPARK OF P STARTED TH

ONE NIGHT Arthur Dunn fa sun go down on thy wrath." For s ing. He expressed it in part in his where he pronounced all profiteeri as "blood money", because it res children and husbands of the pare

When the Members of Congr soldiers to vote by opposing the F took fire. He found himself wide so outraged that he could not sleep telegrams to Senators and Congre commentators. (See Elsa Maxwell

You can understand his feelin sons in the service in World War the seven seas, serving as a Lieute grandson-in-law who was a seabee remote part of the Pacific.

The result of the comments which later developed into PAREN CANS INC. These news account in all parts of the United States, a by Lowell Thomas and other comm phone calls from persons intereste groups of PARENTS AND WIV incorporation of the organization

Inquiries are being received fr For convenience in keeping track of requested to mention your Congres bership. But PARENTS AND WI of course, is non-partisan and non-s

Among the political leaders s zation are Senator Guffey, Senator

KEY TO NEWSPAPERS CO

1—The Washington (D. C.) POST
2—PM, New York, N. Y.
3—New York Evening POST
4—Washington (D. C.) NEWS
5—The DAILY WORKER, New York

MEMBER

PARENTS AND WIVES OF rolled are: Mrs. Andrea Dubois, wi nette W. Chambers, wife of Lt. Co Buttenwieser, niece of ex-Governo Comdr. B. J. Buttenwieser, U.S.N. Kohlasch, Q.M. 3/c., C.B., U.S.N. Shea, Jr.; Mrs. Celia Goldman, mot Bischoff, mother of two sons and Bentley Jones, wife of Corporal J Myers; Beatrice Ifshin; Arthur Du George Avison, father of two sons father of J. H. Miranda, Jr., S. 1/c in-law of Lt. Comdr. Chambers, ou lost his only son in New Guinea).

PATRIOTIC INDIGNATION
HIS ORGANIZATION

failed to heed the admonition "Let not the r some time his indignation had been mount- his book ARITHMETIC OR REVOLUTION, ering, whether by Capital, Labor or Farmers resulted from the shedding of blood of the arents and wives.

gress sought to impede the opportunity for e Federal ballot, Arthur Dunn's indignation ide awake about 2 o'clock in the morning, eep. He spent the next two hours in sending gressmen and to newspaper publishers and well's column at the left).

lings when you know that Mr. Dunn had two ar 1, and has a third son now somewhere on eutenant in the United States Navy. Also a bee at Tarawa, and is carrying on in another

ts upon these telegrams was the first spark ENTS AND WIVES OF FIGHTING AMERI- unts are samples of many which appeared s, and which, together with radio broadcasts mmentators, brought a stream of letters and ested in joining and helping to form local IVES OF FIGHTING AMERICANS. The on followed.

d from various sections of the United States. of the extension of the organization, you are gressional District when you enroll for mem- WIVES OF FIGHTING AMERICANS INC., on-sectarian.

rs showing favorable interest in the organi- tor Pepper and Congressman Jerry Voorhis.

CONTAINING THESE ARTICLES

T

6—Roanoke TIMES
7—New York Evening POST
8—Washington (D. C.) STAR
9—New York Evening POST
York 10—New York TIMES

BERSHIP NEWS

OF FIGHTING AMERICANS already en- wife of Lt. R. Dubois, U.S.N.R.; Mrs. Jean- Comdr. Robert J. Chambers; Mrs. Helen L. rnor Herbert H. Lehman and wife of Lt.- .N.R.; Mrs. Betty Kohlasch, wife of Robt. .N.R.; Nelda M. Shea, wife of Pfc. B. M. mother of three sons in the Army; Mrs. Kay nd son-in-law in the Army; Mrs. Dorothy l Jones. Other members are Mrs. George Dunn, father of Lt. W. B. Dunn, U.S.N.R.; sons in the Army; Joseph Henry Miranda, 1/c., U.S.N.R.; Herbert Hungerford, father- our Vice-Chairman Moss A. Plunkett (who).

Asks War on Vote Bill Foes

Lawyer Enlists Servicemen's Parents

For weeks Arthur Dunn, corporation attorney and constitutional authority, of 12 E. 41st St., watched with growing concern the Congressional fight over the soldier vote bills.

He was worried lest his son, Walter, a Navy lieutenant, and millions of others in the armed forces be deprived of their right to vote.

"Well, sir," he said today, "I thought so much about it that I finally couldn't sleep. I got up at 3 o'clock one morning and began sending telegrams to newspapers and members of Congress."

The telegrams urged the formation of a "Parents of Fighting Americans" organization to help defeat all Congressmen voting against the Federal ballot.

Wants a Square Deal

"This organization would not help defeat these Congressmen at the polls, but would stand together to see that the boys get a square deal when they come home," said Dunn, who is 73.

"When I see the performance of Congress in attempting to deny the vote to the boys who are dying to defend our rights and property it just makes my blood boil," Dunn said. "The injustice is that the boys are fighting for democracy, and why should they be denied what they are fighting for. If I can't do something for my son out there, then I'm just no good."

ARTHUR DUNN

6

PLAN NEW TEST ON POLL TAX LAW

Sen. Guffey Among Group Here Preparing Case

An unnamed Virginia citizen will demand the right to be placed on the voting list without the payment of a poll tax and if refused will carry his fight to the Supreme court with the support of a newly formed

7

Kin of Fighting Men Organize New Group

Formation of an organization to be known as Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans was announced this afternoon by Arthur Dunn, chairman of the organizing committee, at a press conference in the office of Senator Guffey, Democrat, of Pennsylvania.

In addition to working for the welfare of the members of the armed forces, both during and after the war, Mr Dunn said the new

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New Group in Drive To Abolish Poll Tax

By OLIVER PILAT
Post Staff Correspondent

Washington, Apr. 5—The drive to remove voting restrictions in the South gained new impetus today as a new national organization opened its campaign to obtain the widest possible extension of democratic election procedures in the name of the absent service men and women.

Washington Bureau Special to The Post

The Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans, as the organization is called, plans two legal maneuvers to eliminate the poll tax in nearby Virginia, where only one out of every 10 adults now casts a ballot.

It will also organize public support for the federal bill to abolish the poll tax in eight states when the Senate takes up the measure after its present recess. The organization will seek particularly to thwart plans of Sen. (the Man) Bilbo (D.-Miss.) and other Southerners to filibuster the poll-tax bill.

Seek to Enforce Cloture

"It is un-American to filibuster the people's liberties to death," declared Arthur Dunn, New York corporation lawyer, chairman of the organization committee of the Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans.

At a press conference yesterday in the office of Sen. Guffey (D.-Pa.) Dunn explained that the two Virginia suits would be started by Moss Plunkett, Roanoke at- man of the Vir-

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NEW GROUP PLANS POLL TAX LAW TEST

Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans, Backed by Guffey, Will Start in Virginia

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 4—A Supreme Court test of the constitutionality of the poll tax was announced today as an aim of a new organization of service men's parents and wives which has the backing of Senator Joseph F. Guffey, Democrat, of Pennsylvania.

Arthur Dunn, a lawyer of New York City, told a news conference held in Senator Guffey's office that the organization, which he heads, would start action soon in Federal courts in Virginia, with the ultimate aim of outlawing the poll tax laws of that State and the seven other Southern States which have them.

Senator Guffey said the organization, called "Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans," had his whole-hearted support.

The announcement emphasized the breach between Northern and Southern Democrats which developed during debate on the soldier voting bill, when Senator Guffey accused Southern Democrats of forming an "unholy alliance" with Northern Republicans to deprive service men of their right to vote.

It was considered interesting that the organization planned to start its court fight in Virginia, the home State of Senator Harry F. Byrd, who engaged in a sharp exchange with Senator Guffey as a result of the latter's accusations.

Observers also noted that Moss A. Plunkett of Roanoke, Va., announced by Mr. Dunn as vice chairman of the organization, was defeated by Representative Clifton A. Woodrum in the 1942 primary for the Democratic nomination to Congress from Virginia's Sixth District. Mr. Woodrum had the support of the State Democratic organization, of which Senator Byrd is a leader.

Mr. Lunn said that parents and wives of fighting Americans would base their test upon a decision of the Virginia Supreme Court which held that the poll tax was designed to abridge voting rights, and would also attack the validity of the Congressional Reapportionment Act of 1941, by which Virginia's representation in the House of Representatives was apportioned on the basis of the total population rather than the number entitled to vote.

In the meantime, he said, the organization would seek to enforce the closure rule in the Senate to limit debate upon the House-approved anti-poll tax bill.

Mr. Dunn described the five-point program of his organization as follows:

"First, to do everything we can to help win the war; second, to help win the peace; third, to preserve the rights of service men in their absence; fourth, to prevent inflation, and fifth, to see that service men get their jobs back when they return."

9 10

HOW YOU SHOULD ORGANIZE A UNIT OF PARENTS AND WIVES OF FIGHTING AMERICANS

YOUR FIRST STEP is to interest 10 persons; parents, grandparents, parents-in-law, wives or husbands, sons or daughters, fiancees and relatives of men and women in the service. Groups should be organized in Action Units of 11 with yourself as a Unit leader. These Elevens comprise the basic units of the organization. From these beginnings will come Corps made up of two or more units, working together on some particular activity. Several Corps in a section may constitute a Division. And the Chapter may be made up of two or three Divisions.

It is expected that Action Units, Corps, Divisions or Chapters will undertake activities to achieve the objectives of our Charter.

Different groups may specialize on different kinds of activities. These will be reported in OUR HOME FRONT, which is planned to be sent from time to time to all Members or Organizations. After securing 10 members you should call your Action Unit together and decide upon your program of activity or write to the Secretary for suggestions.

It has been suggested that groups may sometimes desire to name their Action Unit in honor of some individual, possibly from their community, who has won distinction in the service.

In keeping with our democratic policy we are calling on members for suggestions of a motto or slogan as well as a design for a symbolic emblem, and any other proposals which may help to make PARENTS AND WIVES OF FIGHTING AMERICANS more useful as well as more interesting.

The strength of your Action Unit and the benefits your members will derive, as well as the benefits your activities bring to your community, will depend upon the mutual cooperation of your group, in working together for the common good along the lines of endeavor as set forth in our "Purposes".

Membership News

(Continued from inside page)

W. D. Dobbins, father of two sons in the army; Howard B. Bishop, father of Major Bishop; Mrs. Orval H. Polk, wife of Commander Polk; Dr. and Mrs. Henry I. Scheer, parents of son in the navy. Other parents and wives are Mrs. Cecil Adler, Mrs. Mary C. Macy, Herman Jaffe, Mrs. Arthur Dunn, Mrs. H. Bella Schaeffer, Mrs. Walter Dunn, Mrs. Harold R. Proctor, etc.

Included among the Associate and Contributing Members are Helen Leighton, Senora Rosalin M. Merino, Henry J. Lucke, Ernest Kresse, Sophia Roginsky, Jane Sneyd, Eli Gottlieb, Mr. and Mrs. John F. Dunn, Inger Severud, Hugo A. Ortiz, etc., etc.

MOSS A. PLUNKETT

MOSS A. PLUNKETT, our Vice-Chairman, is a leading lawyer of Virginia, and a leading citizen of the South. For a number of years he has conducted a successful fight to improve education for the common man in his state, where adequate opportunities have been limited to the few.

Mr. Plunkett is a veteran of World War I and saw action at Chateau Thierry, Belleau Wood and St. Mihiel. He is Chairman of the Virginia Electoral Reform League and like Arthur Dunn is descended from Virginia slave holders. They have united together to contest the constitutionality of the poll tax in the Federal Courts. Contrary to political propaganda, the issue is not white supremacy, as the number of poor whites disfranchised by the poll tax exceeds the negroes.

ABSENTEE VOTING IN NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY AND CONNECTICUT

REQUIREMENTS for absentee voting in New York State are among the most difficult of all the States. The absentee soldier must either

(1) Send a signed application for the ballot either to the War Ballot Association, Albany, New York, or New York City; or to the Secretary of State, Albany, New York, or to his local Board of Elections. He must give his home address and military address.

(2) A signed original letter to parents or wife or husband indicating a desire to receive a ballot can be forwarded to either one of the three offices, instead of a card or letter direct from a service man or woman.

When the ballot is received it must be sworn to before a non-commissioned or commissioned officer.

The Federal Ballot Law is really not a law but a recommendation for the states. It is up to the States to declare whether or not they will count the Federal Ballot. The Act of Congress provides that the Federal Ballot may be used if the voter states in his oath that prior to September 1, he made application for the State Absentee Ballot but up to October 1, has not received it. In order for the Federal Ballot to be counted, the Governor of the State must certify prior to July 15 that the use of the ballot is authorized. Gov. Dewey has not yet given his decision.

New Jersey is making a real effort to see that every soldier receives a State Ballot in time to vote it. A canvass of every home in the State is being made by air-raid wardens and the police force to secure names, addresses and serial numbers of every service man or woman, so that the ballots can be sent to them without previous request. New Jersey will also accept the Federal Ballot if the State Ballot is not received by September 1.

A letter from the Secretary of State from Connecticut, states the following:

"In Connecticut, since our election machinery functions through the various town clerks, a service person should write to the town clerk of the town of his voting residence or prospective voting residence for a State ballot. If he has not thus far been admitted to the electoral privilege, he or she should also write to such town clerk for a set of forms for application to be admitted to the electoral privilege in absentia. The ballot must be returned so as to reach the hands of the town clerk of the town of his voting residence on or before 6:00 P. M. of November 6, 1944.

"Under our law, either registrar of voters of a particular town may direct the town clerk to send out a set of absentee ballot forms to any person in the armed forces who is a registered voter of such town or a prospective voter therein. In many municipalities, the registrars of voters are seeing to it that everybody who has gone into the service from that town and is of the required age for voting receives a set of absentee ballot forms together with forms for the admission to the electoral privilege in absentia where the individual has not been formally admitted previously.

"Some method may be worked out for delivery of quantities of blank absentee ballot forms to the proper military and naval offices for distribution to members of their respective commands."

THE BALLOT IS THE SYMBOL OF A FREE MAN OR A FREE WOMAN. SLAVES DO NOT VOTE. WRITE TO-DAY, URGING YOUR HUSBANDS, WIVES, SONS, DAUGHTERS IN THE SERVICES TO BE SURE TO VOTE.

44'45-2
MRS F H GRAY
BRUNI TEXAS

Do Not Return

→ If Your Name Is Addressed in Red See Page 3

Re-entered as second class matter, March 12, 1941, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

In fact

An Antidote for Falsehood in the Daily Press

(No. 223) Vol. X, No. 15 412 January 15, 1945 George Seldes, *Editor*

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Profs in NAM Pay

WHEN the LaFollettee Committee exposed the NAM as operating in "secrecy" and "deceit" it added that in its plan to control public opinion, prevent it from being liberal or radical, it used every propaganda means without disclosing the source.

One means was the "Six Star Service," free to newspapers, which included many college professors secretly in the pay of the NAM. Listed by the committee:

Gus W Dyer, prof of economics, Vanderbilt U.

Eliot Jones, prof of transportation, Stanford U.

Walter Spahr, secy, Economists' Natl Comm.

Clarence W Fackler, Asst Prof of Economics, NYU.

Articles Planted in Press

The LaFollette report also stated that the NAM paid the following professors for reactionary articles which the NAM planted in the press:

Neil Carothers, director, business college, Lehigh U.

Harley L Lutz, prof of public finance, Princeton U.

Erik McK Eriksson, assoc prof of history, U of S Cal.

J E LeRossignol, dean, business college, U of Neb.

James S Thomas, president, Clarkson C of Technology.

T N Carver, president emeritus, Harvard U.

(Source: Comm on Education & Labor, 76th Congress, Report No 6, part 6, pp. 162-3.)

NAM Economists

Today the NAM has an economics advisory board, known as the Economics Principles Committee. Big corporation heads belong to it, and also the following professors:

Prof Lutz of Princeton.

Prof R B Westerfield of Yale.

Prof J T Young of Wharton School, U of Penna.

Prof Willford I King of NYU School of Commerce.

Prof King was exposed by IN FACT April 5 1943 as being one of the main links between the NAM, for which he works, and the Committee for Constitutional Govt, for which he also does jobs. The latter outfit was exposed as a fascist organization by Congressman Wright Patman (Congressional Record report, IN FACT, July 17 and 24, 1944). The head of the Committee is Frank Gannett, owner of America's 4th largest newspaper chain; the director is Dr Edw A Rumely, who was sentenced to a year in the pen after he secretly bought the NYMail for the German govt in the last war.

Dangerous Thoughts

THE NAM committee report on American school textbooks named 800 for

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL SYSTEM UNDER ATTACK:

1. Big Business Intrigue Against Free Education ..... p 1

2. Big Business Bosses University of Texas ..... p 2

"DEATH TO INTELLIGENCE" shouted General Millan Astray, one of General Franco's fascist conspirators, as he and his Falangist soldiers stormed into a hall of the University of Salamanca, Spain, and stopped the lecture being given by the liberal philosopher Unamuno.

"When I hear the word 'Culture' I slip back the safety catch of my revolver," wrote Hans Johst, president of Hitler's Poets' Academy.

In all countries fascism, Naziism (or plain Reaction) is against intelligence, against culture, against the progress of civilization.

Newspapers and Magazines Against Education

If the American newspaper and magazine press were free and honest they would report to the American people the vast campaigns by American reactionary interests against the spread of education in America. But it so happens that the majority of newspapers and most magazines that live on advertising—and the Reader's Digest which takes no advertising—are actually cooperating with the big money interests against academic freedom and against education. Armed with the press and magazines, reaction in our country does not need fascist generals and Nazi fuehrers to control education.

Thorsten Veblen and Upton Sinclair have written books showing how reactionary money controls American schools. Only a few people have read them.

To Control U S Thinking

The most powerful force against free education is Big Business, represented by the 10,000 biggest corporations in the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) which is also the most powerful unofficial force in the country, the main lobby controlling a large part of Congress, and the main controller of the press (documented in Monograph 26, U S Monopoly Investigation; 25c from Supt of Documents, Washington).

The NAM does a triple job: it spends millions of dollars spreading propaganda in the public schools, which thousands of teachers accept and use; it uses its power to "burn" books, as in the case of the Rugg books which were banned in many cities; and it subsidizes scores of professors to spread NAM propaganda in the colleges. (See narrow column for names).

The general plan, admitted by the NAM, is to control the economic and social thinking of America.

Teachers Aid in Pupils' Corruption

Every year the NAM, through its propaganda dept known as the National Industrial Information Committee (exposed in Dec 18 issue as main poisoner of public opinion through our corrupt press), sends thousands of teachers its "Bibliography of Economic and Social Study Material" from which teachers order pamphlets, plays for high school production, movies, posters and other propaganda material. Although all this propaganda is aimed against the welfare of the majority of the American people, it is right now being used in thousands of schools.

The propaganda is anti-labor, anti-union, anti-public ownership of public utilities, anti-collective bargaining, anti-liberal, anti-social. NAM ex-President and reorganizer, Robert T Lund (Listerine Lund) testified:

"By some process, public opinion has been shifted to the right. Now, do not misunderstand me, I am not undertaking to tell you that the NAM program has been the only factor in the change. This program . . . initiated a new era and a new formula in public contact by industry . . . day by day and week by week expounding to millions of people a certain set of principles . . . millions of people believe today in these principles who did not five years ago." (Source: Senate Comm on Education and Labor, Report 6, part 6, page 176).

(Continued from wide column, page 1)

NAM Corruption Officially Denounced

The Senate report explains just what the NAM-NIIC accomplished by its propaganda campaign, which begins in the public schools:

"The association (NAM), unable to explain the economic readjustments that had taken place after 1929, forthwith blamed 'communists,' 'impatient reformers,' 'disturbers,' 'persecutors,' 'teacher propagandists' for the misunderstanding that had arisen. . . .

"Anything in conflict with (their) conception of the economic system was 'unsound,' the result of 'radical propaganda.' . . .

"Labor came in for a thorough drubbing. Cartoons and editorials proclaimed that workers don't want to join unions. News items declared that labor leaders have selfish interests and have extended their organizations to become political instrumentalities. Company unions were extolled; legitimate trade unions were held to be irresponsible. (Page 170).

"Officers of the association recognized their program as propaganda. Education . . . appeals to reason; . . . The material supplied by the NAM is more concerned with the creation of 'impressions' and it is designed to appeal to an uncritical audience; their interest in indoctrinating school children cannot be explained otherwise" (Page 175).

Other Powerful Forces Against Free Education

The Press. The main avenue of all reactionary propaganda in America is still the self-called free press. The American press has never once exposed the corrupt plans of the NAM (which includes most of its advertisers) but a large part of the press came to the assistance of the NAM when it hired Prof Ralph Robey, who teaches banking at Columbia U, to do a smear job of the liberal school books written by Prof Rugg. The NYTimes ballyhooed the Robey-NAM business. Verne Marshall's Cedar Rapids Gazette claimed it alone was responsible for banning the Rugg books in that town. The Binghamton Press, Tom R Hutton editor, got the school board of that town to ban the Rugg books. One board member asked to burn the 180 copies in the public square.

The Advertisers. The main force behind the press campaign against the Rugg books was the advertising fraternity. Publications which pander to advertising money, such as Liberty magazine during the Macfadden-Fulton Oursler editorship, supported the book burning. Oursler—now a senior editor Reader's Digest—hired NAM agent George E Sokolsky to write a series of articles favoring advertising, smearing liberal school books.

Today the advertising publication Printers' Ink favors starting NAM propaganda in the kindergarten, rather than grade and high school. (See "Begin Selling 'Free Enterprise' in the Kindergarten," Aug 13 1943).

Reader's Digest. This magazine, which suppressed publication of a report by National Council of Teachers of English based on the charge it was profascist, anti-Semitic, reactionary, anti-Negro and was undermining the war effort, sells 800,000 copies to high schools, with the assistance of teachers, and is spending a fortune trying to stop the teachers of the nation from switching to a less biased and unfair magazine. (More on this subject in future issues).

American Legion. The Legion backed the Rugg "bookburning." J J McCabe, chairman Americanism Comm of NYState Legion, headed a campaign to banish the Rugg books in the state. (For latest news on the labor-liberal movement in the Legion see narrow column).

Merwin K Hart, NYState Economic Council. All the real fascists participated in the NAM bookburning crusade. Hart, exposed as a fascist by Mr Justice Jackson, and his organization, now called National Economic Council, actually claim they were first to propose the burning of the books in Binghamton. (The Rugg books were actually publicly burned in Bradner, Ohio, and proposals to burn them were made in the Virginia legislature).

The Dies Committee. At the request of the Advertising Federation of America—for whom Martin Dies did many jobs and thus earned the support of about 95% of the press—and of Merwin K Hart, the Dies Committee in 1940 also did an investigation of "textbook propaganda." It did not look into the $2,000,000 a year propaganda campaign of the NAM to keep American public opinion reactionary.

BIG BUSINESS BOSSES UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

(From our Austin Correspondent)

BLUEPRINTERS OF AMERICAN FASCISM—including Christian American Association fuehrer Senator W Lee O'Daniel of Texas—are out to seize the nation's schools as a preliminary to seizing the nation's government.

That's an order as big as Texas. But what happened in Texas on November 1, when liberal Dr Homer Price Rainey was fired without trial as president of the state university, is the latest and most flagrant example of the plot continually exposed by IN FACT to corrupt the schools and the youth of a nation.

The firing of Dr Rainey by a multimillionaire board of regents may set the pace for further muzzling of American institutions of higher education by the higher income boys. Waking up to this danger, Texas labor unions are joining with students who staged two magnificent demonstrations in front of Governor suppression. Of one of the Rugg books the report said:

"The facts which are presented in the book are not questioned. But the quotation from Brookings Institution [a big business outfit] that about 21,500,000 American families lack purchasing power, while a few families at the top have more money than they can use, is considered dangerous knowledge for the young minds of high school students." The Japanese also ban "dangerous thoughts."

NAM-NEA Poison

THE prostitution of education by Big business follows the pattern of common prostitution. The NAM has the help of one of the most powerful organizations in the teaching field, the National Education Assn. The commercial press having kept silent on this venal business, Labor exposed it, saying:

SCHEME TO POISON MINDS OF NATION'S SCHOOL CHILDREN

The NAM, having lost its battle to put over anti-labor legislation in Congress, is now concentrating on a far-flung propaganda campaign to poison the minds of children in the nation's schools against labor.

It has arranged for "collaboration" with the National Education Assn, branded by some labor leaders as a "company union" in the school system, and is raising one of the biggest slush funds in history to finance the propaganda. . . . Now the NAM is trying to move into the schools in a bigger way than ever in the past. [Details of NAM-NEA conferences in all parts of the U S are given].

Union Teachers' Warning

WARNINGS against big business plans to corrupt education have been issued frequently by the American Federation of Teachers—but you won't find them in your newspapers. Example of teachers' executive board statement:

During the 1920s the power companies launched a carefully prepared and well-financed campaign to mold the minds of the American people. . . .

They sought to influence the contents of textbooks, the courses of study, and the thought of teachers. This conspiracy against the American people . . . was fully exposed by the FTC.

Evidence is accumulating that their discredited pattern of behavior is now being repeated in whole or in part by another powerful business group. The NAM is seeking to capture the agencies of education for the . . . special interests. . . . It has even sought, apparently with considerable success, to form an alliance with . . . certain teachers' organizations. . . .

The American Federation of Teachers unqualifiedly condemns this second effort within a single generation on the part of organized business to shape the program of the schools and then to impose its peculiar pattern of thought on the young of America.

Constructive Note

PROF Clyde R Miller of Teachers College, Columbia U, a liberal educator, is the author of the Springfield Plan, a program of progressive education for democracy. In 1939 Springfield, Mass, started a goodwill movement. Supt of Schools Granrud appointed a committee of teachers. The Springfield Adult Education Council was formed to shape and

direct a continuous program for the adult community, sponsor non-partisan public forums in the schools, revive the New England town meeting.

Labor & Legion to Meet

By HENRY GEISZ
(Regional V-P Union Labor Legionnaires; member of IBEW—AFL)

THE Dec issue of the National Legionnaire, official monthly paper of the American Legion, carried a report "That the National Exec Committee had approved two national conferences to be sponsored by the National Labor Relations Committee of the American Legion. One conference to be held in Washington during the first week of Feb 1945 with representatives of the AFL, CIO RR Brotherhoods and the United Mine Workers of America, to adjust any differences that might exist between organized labor and the American Legion." Also "A joint conference with representatives of labor and industry at which the general labor relations affecting returned veterans may be discussed and their rights protected."

Can Get 60 Million Jobs

National Commander Edw Sheiberling is not a Roane Waring or an Atherton. He was brought up in a much more healthy atmosphere. He knows full well that organized labor represents and does a good job in the interests of workers in general, as the Legion does for organized veterans, and together they can do a better job in less time.

The average veteran is not entitled to and does not want an unfair advantage over his buddy on the production line who in his own way has made a monumental contribution to the war effort, by work, blood, and sweat. All he expects is a job at decent wages, so that he can maintain his family and his self respect. And that, he should be able to get on his return to civilian life.

But can the American Legion alone guarantee 13 million men a job after the war? Of course not. One thing is certain: if the above proposed conference is held in good faith with a broad representation of International Unions participating, then we can look for real results. If the conclusions of that conference are such, that the major labor organizations and the Legion agree on full support in the legislative field and agree to support the Commander-in-Chief's program for 60 million jobs, you can then rest assured there will be jobs for all returning veterans, and there will be no headaches for either the American Legion or the labor movement.

We would have been much further along the road if Atherton had thought of that instead of heading up the National Veterans Committee for Tom Dewey.

Not only has National Commander Sheiberling the opportunity to make his contribution to full employment for vet-

If your name is addressed in *red* and your *code* number is:

50 '45 THIS IS YOUR LAST ISSUE
51 '45 You will receive 1 more issue
52 '45 You will receive 2 more issues
1 '45 You will receive 3 more issues

If You Are Moving

Cut out your name and address from the first page—write in your NEW address and mail with 5¢. Do not phone. Please give code number on all correspondence.

Send Your Local Zone Number

Coke Stevenson's office, with the University Ex-Students Association, with Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish religious organizations, to demand Rainey's reinstatement, as the state legislature convenes in regular session this month.

If Rainey is reinstated, if Stevenson can be forced to fill six seats on the nine-member board with people who believe that the mission of a university is to educate for democracy and not to propagandize for special interests—academic freedom will have snipped another of the purse strings which bind the U S educational system to big business.

Big Money Controls Texas Education

Moreover, the way will have been cleared to smash the interlocking directorate of governing boards of publicly-supported colleges and universities in the South's wealthiest state. This interlocking directorate of big oil men, ranchers, corporation executives and corporation lawyers, was exposed by Dr Rainey before a state senate investigating committee as having existed "since the summer of 1940" and up until the present time. The two governors of Texas during this period have been W Lee O'Daniel and his political ally, big rancher Coke Stevenson.

The directorate revolves around two poles—its northern pole being the National Association of Manufacturers whose members control most of the vast resources of what has been called "the empire state of Texas," its Southern pole being O'Daniel's rump anti-labor, anti-Roosevelt political faction known as "The Texas Regulars" since its bolt from the Democratic Party, last year.

The directorate is integrally connected with the state board of education which controls all of the secondary schools of Texas. On that board, to censor the textbooks for all Texas school children, sits O'Daniel's appointee, multi-millionaire arch-fascist Maco Stewart, of Galveston.

Stewart has a big say in the policies of the University's medical school branch at Galveston. He worked with the alleged seditionist Mrs Elizabeth Dilling and with so-called "Landon Democrats," back in 1936, to stage the first of several "red" investigations of the university. More recently, according to testimony of Texas ex-attorney general Robert Lee Bobbitt before the senate investigating committee, he was one of a clique of Texas rich men who gave O'Daniel "in excess of $100,000" to finance the Texas Regulars, who polled less than 10 per cent of the total vote in the November elections.

Corporation Men Who Control College

Dr Rainey was fired by the University Board on vague charges never reduced to writing. The regents voted 6 to 2. Four of them were O'Daniel appointees. Here is a breakdown on the corporate and political affiliations of the board which ousted Rainey, made for IN FACT by a veteran Texas newspaperman:

John H Rickett jr, Dallas. General attorney for the Southeastern Bell Telephone Co, subsidiary of AT&T. Appointed by Stevenson. Voted to retain Dr Rainey, but resigned after voting. Political conservative.

D Frank Strickland, Mission. Corporation lawyer, Rio Grande Valley landowner, Negro-baiter, lobbyist for three members of interlocking directorate: Karl Hoblitzelle, president, Interstate Theatres and regent of Texas Tech, R W Briggs, wealthy road contractor and regent of Texas A&M College, and H E Butt, chain store owner, wholesale grocer, regent Texas A&I. Appointed by Stevenson. Main figure in undermining long-established principles of academic tenure in Texas educational institutions. Chairman of O'Daniel steering committee which tried to steal Texas electoral vote away from FDR and for Senator Byrd. It was Strickland, on Hoblitzelle's orders, who maneuvered the firing of three economics instructors, Fagg Foster, Wendell Gordon and W N Peach, in 1943. The three appeared at a Natl Assn of Manufacturers public meeting asking to explain the Fair Labor Standards Act. (This apparently was treason!)

Dan J Harrison, Houston. Lawyer, oil operator, rancher, who recently sold vast oil holdings to Rockefeller's Magnolia Petroleum Co reportedly for $27,500,000. Appointed by O'Daniel at behest of latter's financial angel, Jim West, "the richest man in Texas." Calls himself a Democrat, but supported Landon and "Jeffersonian Democrats," who worked with Mrs Dilling in 1936 to engineer University "red scare." Resigned following ousting of Rainey.

Oil Millionaires, Ranchers, Bank Directors

Orville C Bullington, Wichita Falls. Texas Republican leader, GOP candidate for Governor, 1932, member GOP national resolutions committee at Chicago, 1944, corporation lawyer, v-p and director of Panhandle Refining Co, president Kemp Hotel Co, chairman of the board Wichita Falls & Southern RR. Heir to millions of dollars from the Kemp and Kell estates in the Texas Panhandle; friend and appointee of O'Daniel. General counsel for City National Bank of Wichita Falls, Seaboard Oil & Gas Co of Texas, Wichita Falls & Southern Railroad Co, Kell Interests, Texas Electric Service Co, subsidiary of American Power & Light Co in Texas. American Power & Light is a giant holding concern which operates public utilities in 14 states and is controlled by Morgan-owned Electric Bond & Share Co.

W Scott Schreiner, Kerrville. Texas wool and mohair king, merchant, banker, rancher, hotel owner, trustee of the Schreiner Institute, a school for

boys in Kerrville, director of the National Bank of Commerce and the First National Bank, both of San Antonio.

Henry Jacob Lutcher Stark, Orange. Probably Texas' richest lumberman, president, officer, or director of about 15 firms. Fellow-townsman and original political backer of retiring-by-request Congressman Martin Dies whose "red" investigation of the University backfired in 1940 when Dr Rainey challenged the fanatical witch-hunter to "put up or shut up." Stark was also one of O'Daniel's early financial supporters and is his appointee.

Herman Hillmar Weinert, Seguin. Banker, oil operator, rancher, corporation executive, landowner. President and director of one bank, three oil companies, director Burris Mill & Elevator Co, for which O'Daniel was working when he made his first race for governor to the tune of "the Ten Commandments" and "hillbilly music," back in 1938.

Mrs I D Fairchild, Lufkin. The one liberal regent, although reappointed by O'Daniel after having first been appointed by "Ma" Ferguson. Her term expires this month. Governor Stevenson will probably not reappoint this modest Texas housewife who alone of the board members rose to the defense of free education and free institutions.

Another liberal member of the board, Dr K H Aynesworth, died before the historic session in Houston which ousted Dr Rainey. Leo Haynes, secretary of the board and assistant professor of business administration in the University, has since resigned to become a travelling auditor for the Texas Co.

Liberal forces of Texas will center their fight in the legislature against confirmation by the senate of three regents since appointed by Governor Stevenson to fill vacancies on the board and against any three whom he may appoint to fill new terms. Liberal Texans and University students are demanding the resignations of all present board members and the appointment of a complete new set-up which will reinstate Dr Rainey and work with him on the basis of democratic principles.

Best of the new appointees is David M Warren, publisher of a newspaper in the town of Panhandle, who was a Roosevelt delegate-at-large to the Democratic national convention. Stevenson evidently appointed Warren in order to persuade the people to accept the other three:

Dudley K Woodward, Dallas, wealthy lawyer and rancher, known as a liberal in his younger days.

Dr C O Terrell, Fort Worth, wealthy physician who helped engineer the coup which resulted in the dismissal of Medical School Dean John W Spies, who was cooperating with Dr Rainey in an effort to make the school serve as the center of an all-inclusive and state-wide public health program.

Another physician, Dr Judson Taylor, chief surgeon of the railroad-owned Southern Pacific Hospital in Houston and former president of the State Medical Association, was appointed to succeed Harrison but died 15 days after Stevenson had handed him his certificate.

Investigations Under Way

Meanwhile, as a result of nationwide publicity and protest, Texas University may lose its accredited standing as did another Southern school, the University of Georgia, when ex-governor Eugene Talmadge instituted his famous "purge" of liberal professors.

Dr Ralph T Himstead, executive secretary of the American Association of University Professors, told the senate investigating committee that 16 charges of repression, cited by Dr Rainey in a speech to the faculty last October 12, constituted "prima facie evidence of violations of academic freedom and academic tenure."

The AAUP is investigating the situation at Texas, as is the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, headed by Dr Frank Porter Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, is conducting a protest campaign of Southern educators who are writing Governor Stevenson demanding that Dr Rainey be reinstated.

Students from colleges and universities throughout the state will meet in a state-wide convocation in Austin, next month, to plan a campaign for complete academic freedom in this state.

In the long run, big business may face tough sailing from the boys and girls and from the aroused citizens of a state which is rapidly breaking the feudal mold of the Old South.

READING IN FOXHOLES

From the U S front in Italy a soldier whose initials are the same as IN FACT's writes: "Twelve copies arrived at one time; there are 5 'nexts' on each. It's a wonder the boys find time in battle to read IN FACT. My copies go figuratively from foxhole to foxhole. Soldiers take risks to be 'next.' I was wounded at ....., am now in hospital, look forward to getting IN FACT regularly here."

From QM2/c aboard USAHS Larkspur: "Add my name to what I hope is a long list of those who have read Facts & Fascism and had their eyes opened by it. Perhaps the most important single chapter is that on the American Legion; it should be read by all the 10,000,000 now in uniform."

These are samples of hundreds of servicemen's letters we receive.

erans and the entire nation, he can also be the medium whereby 3½ million union men will gladly seek membership in the American Legion.

Big Chance for Legion

If a real effort is made by the American Legion to cooperate with labor and industry to bring about full employment, labor veterans will join the Legion to the last man.

At the close of the last war, over 4 million men were members of the armed forces. But at no time did the Legion attract over 25% of them, mainly because of its narrow and reactionary attitude to labor. That mistake must not happen this time or there will be hell to pay. On the other hand if the American Legion shows a willingness to carry its share of responsibility toward making 60 million jobs a reality, there will be no need to worry about Legion membership.

I believe support of the program for 60 million jobs should be the main concern of the Feb Conference, and I believe that Natl Commander Sheiberling is well aware of the need for such a program. Both he and the Natl Exec Comm deserve a lot of credit for calling this conference. If it is successful it will be an achievement that will make him the most outstanding Commander the Legion ever had.

Books by George Seldes

FACTS AND FASCISM (standard size, clothbound, 288 pages, 16 illustrations). Chapters include: Profits in American Fascism; Nazi Cartel Plot Involving DuPont, General Motors, a Senator; NAM, Subsidizer of Native Fascism; Fulton Lewis Jr; American Legion; Reader's Digest; Henry Ford; the pro-Axis Chain Press; Poison Pen Pegler; Chicago Tribune; Hitler Lies of Race, Blood and Color, etc.....**$1.50**
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THE IDEAL OF A WORLD SOCIETY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

By Philip Wendell Shay*

Although it is of particular importance today, the problem of a world society is not a new one. It has occupied the minds of philosophers, lawyers and statesmen for centuries. As a matter of fact, a study of history would confirm the statement that the continually recurring hope for a world society is rooted in the very nature of man as a political animal, but we could not deal with it here. Rather our purpose in this article is to examine in a summary manner what the Old Testament has contributed to this ideal of a world society.

More than three thousand years ago, a tiny pastoral people wedged in a semi-desert strip of land between Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia began an extraordinary journey that was to lead them to the far corners of the earth. That journey was a seeking of a way of life which would bring down to earth, in terms of everyday behavior, the idea of a universal yet intimate God lovingly concerned with the life of every one of His children. The beginnings of this people were, of course, crude. But it was not many centuries before they had matured into the high vision of the Prophets.

Special Mission Of The Jews

God raised up the Jewish people to be His authorized instruments not only for perfecting man's natural powers but for raising those natural powers to a supernatural achievement. Speaking generally; the Israelites showed mankind the truth about God and the truth about man. All the world would hear, as it were, from this God-guided people, the natural truths of Theology and Ethics, without which there can be no true social science or history or literature, and therefore no true culture for the soul and mind of man. To supplement and strengthen man's weakening grasp of these natural truths, and to strengthen man's steps toward a supernatural goal, the Apostles were later to teach the supernatural truths of revelation.

If it be clear that this world-wide mission is to be the raising of what is natural to a level that is supernatural, much of this mission will fall within the scope of history. Hence we shall not be surprised to find this people beginning something like a conscious existence and mission with a man named Abraham who lived in the Mesopotamian valley some two thousand years before Christ. *With this man Abraham begins God's preparation for the world-mission of the Jews.* God began to prepare in Abraham a people from whom some blessing would come to the whole world.

The *Book of Genesis* reveals that the Jewish people were an organism more complex than is generally understood. First of all, they were a people joined by ties of blood with Abraham their common ancestor.[1] Secondly, they were a group bound by the tie of circumcision,[2] which was primarily a simple token of alliance between God and His chosen people and a sign of fecundity. But this tie was broader than the first, for others than the descendants of Abraham could be bound by it, and thus the idea of "Jew" broadened.[3]

The Jewish people were the result of a contract and convenant with God. God, the Almighty Creator and Master of all, was entirely free to choose a certain people as His own, and He chose the Jews: "You shall be my peculiar possession above all people for the earth is mine."[4]

This covenant was a strict and definite contract and so long as the chosen people kept His Commandments, God would continue it. If they did not, they would be punished simply because God willed this to be.[5] But by remaining faithful to the contract, the Chosen People would be rewarded.[6]

Prophets Spread Idea Of Religious Society

When the Prophets of Israel began to preach a religious society wider than a racial society, this produced in their own minds and in the minds of the people a difficult problem. It was not at all difficult for them to understand that they would be punished by God if they broke their contract with Him. But it was very difficult for them to understand how men of other races, and not marked by the circumcision, could join their society. They could not visualize a society wider than Israel.

Other religions had broadened by taking in new divinities and thus joining with other religions.

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1. Blood tie: **Genesis** 17:3-7; 22:17. Multiply thy seed: **Genesis** 12:3; 18:8; 22; 5-18; 26:4.
2. Bond of circumcision: **Genesis** 17:10-14.
3. Bond of circumcision: **Genesis** 17:26-27.
4. Covenant: **Exodus:** 19:5-6; 19:6-7; 33:1-3.
5. Why God chose the Jews: **Deuteronomy** 26:19-19.
6. Profit from keeping Covenant: **Deuteronomy** 7-1-2 et 5-8.

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JEWISH PEOPLE HAD MISSION TO CREATE A WORLD SOCIETY

But the Jewish God could not "put up with other Gods." Yahweh denied the existence of other Gods and this Yahwehism could not increase by syncretism but only by deepening.

Yet Yahweh was the one God, Lord of all men, even though the Jews were His chosen people. In virtue of His nature, then, God who freely chose the Israelites was more than a God of the Israelites. This was the problem confronting the Prophets and they recognized it. For example, in *Isaias* 45:20-22; 18:7. The Gentiles and Ethiopians are mentioned as converts.[7] In and after Isaias there are two tendencies in the Prophets, one to broaden and the other to distinguish Israel as God "Inheritance,"[8] and as the Witness of God.[9]

The *Book of Jonas* is a story of this struggle. Jonas, is told to "Arise and go to Nineveh, the great city, and preach in it: for the wickedness thereof is come up before me."[10] He could not understand how the Israelites were to remain the chosen people and yet convert the people of Nineveh, and so he balked at first. Then he preached and all of the inhabitants were converted, and when he learned that Nineveh was not to be destroyed he was startled. As a Jew he could countenance no rivals of Israel and he wanted Nineveh destroyed. Indeed, because he was so successful in converting the Ninevites, he was disgusted and thought it was better "to die than to live."[11]

The account of the ivy which shielded Jonas from the sun while he pondered his problem outside Nineveh is an analogy by which God instructed Jonas that He had more reason for sparing Nineveh than Jonas had for complaining at the death of the ivy. The perplexity in Jonas' mind is pretty well evidenced when he says, "I am angry with reason even unto death"—he saw the logic of the action.[12]

Fatal Error Of The Jews

The Jewish people, conscious of being the chosen ones and of being charged with spreading the true religion throughout the world, considered Jerusalem as the center of the future universal society. It was Isaias who first stressed the universal society and showed that the bond of this society would be religion since God is the God of all (vide 9), and the Jews were a living evidence of God's universal relation.

However, the second cycle of Isaias shows clearer still that the Jews did not understand the possibility of a true universal society. Jerusalem remained the center of the universal society in their minds and this society was to be universally extended by the Jews as they conquered the rest of the world. The city of Jerusalem always remained a concrete capital and not something similar to St. Augustine's *City of God*. Specifically, they misinterpreted the text: "For the nation and the kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish: and the Gentiles shall be wasted with desolation," [13] *to mean the universalism of a conquering universalism.* To them it was a religious nationalism.[14]

This is the tragic contradiction of Israel. It was unable to distinguish a universal society from a universal nation. They thought this universal society was to be achieved by the domination of Israel.

The greatness of Israel was and is tied up with misery as great: Israel has never fully realized that from one true God there is one true society. And this is where she erred: she did not understand how one people could rule all others. The Jews did not understand the mission given them. They have never forgotten that from Israel a universal society of the worshippers of God must come, but they have never been able to see this society simply as a broadened Israel.

When one people holds itself the elect people, it is bound to be opposed by others. If the Jews had seen themselves as priests, the whole matter would have been settled. Israel as a "priestly nation" would have been entrusted with the conversion of all people under God, and in this they would have been distinct from others and yet only a part of the universal society. They erred in seeing themselves, not as priests—they named only one tribe to be priests—but as soldiers.[15]

Source Of World Unity

As can be seen from the texts, it was not by chance that out of Israel, the Chosen People, the Inheritance of God and His Witnesses, was to come the answer to the problem: One who would explain what their universality meant. *Jewish monotheism is the basis of the universal society.* But Christ alone preached a conceivable universal society.

The little group of unlearned and unknown Jews, commissioned by Christ, who met in an upper room in Jerusalem at Pentecost were destined to be the fathers and founders of a universal and spiritual society that transcends all states and civilizations and realizes that brotherhood of humanity in God which was implicit in human nature from the beginning.

WORLD SOCIETY IDEALS IN MODERN AMERICA

By Joseph A. Breig*

I am a poor hand to write about racial prejudice, because with me there is no such thing. I would no more think of basing my opinion of another man on the color of his skin than on the shape of his nose. To do so would be a kind of blasphemy, because after all it is God who determines these things. And I hope that I am neither so conceited nor so irreligious as to suppose that I know better than He does.

It seems to me highly significant that we automatically connect the words pride and prejudice, for the one is a result of the other. And I cannot

7. Salvation extended to Gentiles and Ethiopians: **Isaias** 45:14 et 20-22; 18:7.
8. Salvation extended: **Isaias** 19:19-25.
9. Israel evidence of universal relation: **Isaias** 43:1 et 10; 44:7-8.
10. **Jonas** 1:2.
11. **Jonas** 4:3.
12. Jonas' misinterpretation of the role of the Jews: **Jonas** 4:7-11.
14. Universal Israelism with Jerusalem the center: **Isaias** 49:6; 60:12. The Jews misinterpreted these texts to mean that the universalism prophesied is a religious nationalism, the Jews to subjugate the world and Jerusalem to be the capital, Jerusalem to be the concrete city.
15. **Ibid.**

*Reporter, Sun-Telegraph, Pittsburgh, Penn.

imagine how any of us can have failed to learn the lesson which the Nazis unintentionally have been trying to teach us. By carrying pride to its logical extreme and proclaiming that they alone have the correct coloring, they have shown us how silly this prejudice is.

Nor should we overlook the results of their doctrine of Nordic supremacy. They set out with fire and sword to convince the world of their superiority; and only succeeded in all but exterminating themselves and in opening the eyes of other men to the universal brotherhood of man. He who sets himself above others will in the end find himself set apart from others; and will come at last to realize the iron truth of the statement that the first shall be last.

America The Son Of Mankind

But what are we to do about the problem in this our own country? I have little fear and much hope for the future, because I have seen how patiently and wisely, and with what great good will, Americans have solved similar difficulties. This nation is the child of all nations, the home of the human race; and might in reverence and humility call itself the Son of Mankind, as Christ called himself the Son of Man. There could hardly be a nobler title for any people; and if we will but realize the ideal, we shall hardly fail to make ourselves worthy of our unique destiny.

But most of all I am hopeful because of the serenity, the humor, and the unselfishness of the American Negroes. I suspect that it is they, much more than the whites, who will earn the great glory, before God and man, of saving America and American principles in this crisis.

That it is a crisis can hardly be questioned. It is a continuing crisis. There is always grave danger that intemperance, intolerance, impatience or demagoguery may strike the spark that will flame into a conflagration to devastate this national home of ours and set back a hundred years its perfection as the happy abode of a harmonious family gathered from the four corners of the earth. This must not happen; and it will not happen if both Negroes and whites play their part as loyal Americans, really believing and practicing the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Charity Necessary

But it is to the Negroes that we must assign the nobler part. From the whites we ask justice; and I firmly believe that gradually they will give it, as their eyes are opened by education to the injustices of the past and the present. Everywhere there are signs of a great awakening, and of an earnest desire to correct what is wrong. Never was the outlook more promising for an extension of American fairness to all men everywhere.

To the Negroes, however, we turn not for justice, but for charity, that highest of all the virtues, in which all other virtues are contained. We ask them for Christ-like patience. We pray them to be other Christs, in order that those whose Christianity is not yet strong may the more easily be brought to see in them our brothers in Christ. We ask them, quite simply, to be nobler than we are, in order that by their example we may be uplifted. We beg them to remember that we, even as they, are victims of the evils of the past; and that there are still some truths which some of us do not yet understand.

We are none of us angels; we are men, with the weaknesses and the blindnesses of men, and we are all fellow-passengers on the great ship of the earth, which as Chesterton remarked, is rocking alarmingly as it swings around the sun. We are tossed in stormy seas, and we must all help one another. If it is true, as indeed it is, that the whites must help the Negroes, it is no less true that the Negroes must help the whites. We are wandering together through the labyrinth of pride and prejudice, and it is only together that we shall find our way out of it.

Social Reform Begins With Self

Nor can we be satisfied with less than total victory; and victory must begin with self. There is no room for hypocrisy here. No man can honestly oppose prejudice until he has torn it, root and branch, out of his own heart and soul. We in America can see this quite clearly. Equality means equality for every one. Color is not the only problem. When we say that all men are brothers, we except no one. We mean men of all races, all faiths, all nations, all ancestries, all social and economic positions.

Let no one who hates the rich think of himself as emancipated from prejudice. Let no one who dislikes the Jews put himself forward as a good American. If a Jew opposes justice for a Japanese, or a Negro for a Chinese, or a socialite for a street-sweeper, then the ideal of which we speak has been violated. There can be no half-way or three-quarters or nine-tenths measures in this matter. We must face the truth; the exact truth that it is only by removing the beam from our own eye that we shall see clearly to take the mote from our neighbor's.

Depth Of American Idealism

But I repeat that I look forward with hope, and even with confidence. No one can pretend to know the thoughts of 130,000,000 people; but I think we are all aware that the chief characteristic common to Americans is that of fairness. We have a deep-rooted desire to see men living together in a world of liberty and justice.

No leader, to my mind, has yet tapped the unfathomed wells of American idealism. No historian has really grasped the immense magnitude of what we have done here. We have worked, humanly speaking, a miracle by bringing together in harmony men and women of fiercely opposed nationalities, faiths and philosophies. It would seem more than passing strange if, after an accomplishment like

RACE HATRED CAN BE CONQUERED BY CHARITY AND JUSTICE

that, we were to fail in something relatively simple. And I submit that what we call the racial problem is exactly that—relatively simple. A hundred years from now, I believe, children reading their histories in school will wonder why in the world anybody ever made such an extraordinary fuss over a difficulty which yielded so easily to patience, common sense and good will.

CONTINUING OUR INQUIRY [1]

Prepared under the direction of Carl F. Bauer*

The General Inquiry: How can there ever be peace, justice and order in a society organized upon a fundamental error in the theory of society itself?

The Problem of Race Discrimination: What are some of the particular problems which this issue involves?

Last year on August 2nd., approximately 6,500 men and women of the Philadelphia Transport Company walked out on what was called a work stoppage.

Causes

The immediate cause was the upgrading of eight Negroes as operators on street cars and buses. But our investigation brings to light these additional facts:

1. The strikers claimed that Negro operators would endanger the health of white workers through use of the same washroom and barber facilities. The company provides these facilities.

2. It was feared that Negroes, like white operators, would try to find living quarters near the barns, and that this would result in neighborhood and property devaluation.

3. Upgrading of Negroes would leave openings into which other Negroes could be placed, thus increasing the number of Negro employees with the company.

The question of seniority rights was another particular problem. The strikers contended that if Negroes who were upgraded had accumulated years of service, they would on that account have seniority rights over them. They claimed, moreover, that Negroes would suffer none of the disadvantages which beginners usually experience in the operating department. One of these disadvantages is known as "bucking the list," or "partial employment."

Another complication was caused by union organizers. Apparently they had promised the men that the race question would be taken care of by "limiting Negro operators to two barns which serve Negro passenger loads." This promise was not kept. Failure to keep it created a great deal of discontent.

The national administration also came in for much resentment. The strikers did not like its interference, and they denied that the interference was justified on the grounds that transportation is a direct war industry.

And finally there was general resentment among the strikers against "colored organizations agitating for racial equality."

Consequences

There were many immediate consequences of the strike. They ranged from complete paralysis of Philadelphia's transportation system to gradual demoralization of the nation's war effort.

A local grand jury reviewed the affair and announced its verdict by indicting thirty-four strikers. These included four so-called ring-leaders who had previously been discharged by way of punishment when the military forces took over. Two leaders had been called in by their draft boards for immediate induction as another means of punishment, while the other two were permanently disqualified for further employment in any war industry. These methods of punishment didn't seem to help the situation very much however, because it left the real question of responsibility untouched. Thirty four transport workers obviously were not the only ones burdened with leadership responsibility in a problem of race discrimination.

Responsibility

From the time the strike started until the workers returned to their jobs there was a strange "conspiracy of silence" on the part, not only of company, but of local and state officials. This silence, and an undercurrent of criticism of the national administration, helped company and civic officials to avoid direct investigation of their responsibility for leadership, but such a policy of excessive caution certainly could not help to bring about the desired Christian and humane solution of the strike.

In fairness to the mayor of Philadelphia it should be remarked that he acted in the public interest by closing all beer taverns and saloons. But excepting the mayor, no outstanding men and women in public life came forward with intelligent counsel in this renowned "City of Brotherly Love."

Judgment

Before recommending the one practical solution which our inquiry arrives at, it is necessary to examine again the Christian principles by which the general problem of race discrimination must be judged.

Philip Shay and Joseph Breig, in their introductory articles, outline the general principles. Mr. Shay, for example, speaks about "a religious society wider than a racial society," and later refers to "that brotherhood of humanity in God which was implicit in human nature from the beginning."

One of the truly great benefactors of the human race who personified this principle of brotherhood was Francis of Assisi. He was a saint who lived many years ago, but he had the only practical solution of race discrimination. His idea was that all social life subsists by friendship. Society, according to Francis, was but another name for brotherhood.

1. The investigation part of this inquiry was conducted by Anna McGarry, President, Catholic Intercollegiate Interracial Council of Philadelphia.

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PARTICULAR PROBLEMS OF THE PHILADELPHIA TRANSPORT COMPANY STRIKE

Society—or brotherhood—cannot be established except upon the basis of justice; for justice rectifies inequalities among the members of a group and develops that proportional quality upon which brotherhood rests.

It is justice, therefore, which is the necessary prerequisite, the dispository cause of society, whereas brotherhood is the formal cause, its very soul.[1] And that is precisely what Joseph Breig brings to light when he requests charity from the Negroes and justice from the whites.

But it is not the purpose of this inquiry to be satisfied with concluding that "what is first in intention" is sufficient for execution. As Dr. William Ferree, S.M., explains in his dissertation on *The Act of Social Justice*, which has been recommended in these studies on more than one occasion, "that 'good intention' is only the starting point: what social justice *demands*—is '*management*, through *agreement of purposes and wills*, in so far *as can be done*, to offer to the *greatest possible number the opportunity*' of a full human life."[2]

But what does this mean when applied to the particular problems we are considering?

Solution

It isn't our task to propose solutions for those particular problems. That is the responsibility of company officials and transport workers. But what Dr. Ferree's guidance does provide is a key to methods for solving particular problems, for he points out further that "if that is the nature of the demands of social justice, then a constant and serious preoccupation with *social organization*, in all its forms, and in all its levels, is the *duty*, according to his capacity, of every man living in society; and (allowing for the natural and all too evident limitations of discursive reason) that duty binds him in every exterior act of his life, extending even as we have seen, to the interior acts."[3] Hence what it all comes down to is a matter of discovering how to awaken a sense of responsibility, and this obviously cannot be brought about on a mass scale except through basic methods of self-education.

Moreover, the most natural method of self-education is the inquiry method itself. Suppose, for example, that the transport workers had used this method to investigate health conditions which might have resulted from joint use of washroom and barber facilities, or suppose that it had been used to analyze the anticipated penetration of white neighborhoods. Isn't it likely that these lesser problems would not have obscured the larger issue of upgrading Negroes, which *social justice demands?*

The Institute recommends, therefore, especially to the fine labor schools which are springing up in many parts of the country, the inquiry method of self-education and of planning. It is a solution for one of the great needs of social politics.

1. Gerald B. Phelan, "Justice and Friendship," The Thomist-Maritain Volume, (Sheed and Ward Inc. N.Y. Jan. 1943.) p. 168.
2. William Ferree, S.M., The Act of Social Justice, (Catholic University Press, Washington, D.C.) p. 110.
3. **Ibid, p. 110.**

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THE RESTORATION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

By Paul A. Volpe, Ph.D.*

The Social Problem

The fundamental problem of our socio-economic order is the question of property. Productive property confers power and hence the loss of private property by the people leads irresistibly to the loss of their economic security and political freedom. Yet private property in its vital sense—the private ownership and control of productive property—is a vanishing basis of our economic system. "Unless restored to its essence and social responsibility, we shall pass into an economic order possessing little enterprise and no freedom and organized within the political framework of a servile state."[1]

A striking element of our civilization is the spiritual and intellectual leadership of the Popes. The present Holy Father, Pius XII, recently re-emphasized the basic problem of our social structure—a problem traditionally stressed by the historic social encyclicals of his predecessors—the decline of private property and the consequent growth of the propertyless proletariat.

"In fact we see the ever-increasing ranks of the workers frequently confronted with this excessive concentration of economic goods which, often hidden under anonymous titles, are successfully withdrawn from contributing as they should, to the social order and place the worker in a situation where it is virtually impossible to acquire property of his own.

"We see the small and medium holdings diminish and lose their value in human society . . . ."[2]

In the days to come one of two fundamental ideas will be followed in the solution of this problem—private property's complete destruction or its restoration. Private property may be liquidated by a political dictatorship in the name of economic security for the laboring masses. Unless private property is restored to the people, we shall drift irresistibly toward collectivism and political tyranny. Pius XII points to this tragic fact:

"On the one side we see immense riches, we see immense riches dominating public and private economic life and often even civil life: on the other hand, the countless number of those, who, deprived of every direct and indirect security of their own

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1. Cf. "Property and the Proletariat," **Study Guide,** October, 1944, American Institute of Socio-Political Thought.
2. Pius XII, **Radio Address on Fifth Anniversary of European War,** September, 1944.

livelihood, take no further interest in the true and higher values of the spirit, abandon their aspiration to genuine freedom, and throw themselves at the feet of any political party, slaves to whoever promises them in some way bread and security: and experience shows of what tyranny, under such circumstances, human nature is capable even in our times."[3]

The Drift Toward Social Disorder

A social structure resting on an unnatural basis, a social order divided against itself, cannot stand. The end of political society, the common good of the people, degenerates into individual material gain. Justice is subverted into might, and peace and order disintegrate into group and class conflict. Study again the basic contradiction of the economic interests of capital and labor in modern society:

Conflicting End

Capital	Labor
Maximum profits by minimum cost of production (including wages)	Maximum real wages by maximum money wages
and	and
Maximum prices (cost of living)	Minimum cost of living (minimum prices)

Conflicting Means

Employer organization	Labor organization
Favorable legislation	Favorable legislation
Biased administration of laws	Biased administration of laws
Propaganda	Propaganda

Wither leads this class structure? At best toward a theoretical "balance of power," that historic failure ever evolving into conflict. It may, on the other hand, lead toward a philosophical revolution of society when each of the two camps (capital and labor) wants no greater share of the income from production. But when will employers say, "Our profits are enough: we want no more!" And when will the workers say, "Our wages are enough: we want no more!" In a society dominated by materialism and witnessing the disintegration of private property, that day will never come.

The Tyranny Of Collectivism

The days to come may witness attempts to solve our problem of the concentration of control of productive property by the devise of government ownership. There are those who, in the name of economic security for the worker, urge the error of collectivism. They would solve the decline of private property by destroying it. That mocking plea is heard again despite the present situation in Europe and Asia—"we will give you economic security, food, clothing, shelter, if falling down you will adore us." Without discussing the philosophical errors of this ideology,[4] two inevitable consequences may be mentioned, namely, the end of the American republic, and the degeneration of good government into economic and political tyranny.

The American Republic

The rise and growth of government ownership of productive property is paralleled by the decline and fall of representative government. The widespread extension of government ownership produces a corresponding expansion in the number of people directly dependent for their livelihood upon their political rulers. Economic dependence destroys immediately or ultimately personal political independence.

Moreover, the growth of government ownership necessitates a growth in bureaucracy (distinct from those employed in the state commercial enterprises). Without collectivism the bureaucracy of contemporary government has assumed alarming proportions.[5] With partial or full collectivism the existing bureaucracy would necessarily be multiplied in order to fulfill its appointed task of guiding, supervising, coordinating, directing or dominating the economic enterprises of the government. It is idle to hope that representative government can survive if a vast and increasing number of the voters are on the government payroll, for then their subservience to and vested interest in the government in power blurs the element of representation to the invisible point, and the pressure and temptation to perpetuate the bureaucracy becomes irresistible.

Methods Of Good Government

An essential element of good government, whatever its form, is that it take over the control and ownership of productive property only to solve a critical problem, and only when no other way of solving that problem is available. Now private property is a cornerstone of the social order. To destroy it through collectivistic policies would comprise a tragic end brought about by politically bad means. Productive property confers power, political as well as economic. Private property is a necessary means of procuring and preserving for the individual citizen his rightful political liberty. When the people not only transmit to their government the necessary political authority, but surrender to it the control and ownership of productive property, they are promoting a political absolutism which may sink inevitably into tyranny.

Again, the collectivist proposal does not remove from the propertyless wage-earner his personal economic insecurity. Only his master changes. The political employer takes the place of the private employer. It is private property which alone can assure the worker personal economic security and political freedom. It is private property which alone can protect him from the despairing instability of employment and income which characterizes our modern economic order.

3. **Idem.**

4. Cf. "The Essence of the Crisis of our Age," **Study Guide**, July, 1944, American Institute of Socio-Political Thought.

5. In May, 1944, the federal, state and local government of the United States had a civilian labor force of approximately six million or 1-8 the total civilian labor force in the United States at that time. Monthly Labor Review, July, 1944, p. V.

GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP PARALLELS DECLINE OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

When the government absorbs the private property of its citizens, it absorbs their personal economic security and political freedom. Without private property—natural right of the individual, balanced by the corresponding duty of its just use (for the common good and according to the law of charity)—not only political democracy (participation in government by the people) is impossible, but so is any form of good government (government for the good of the people). The drift is irresistibly toward tyranny.

Towards A Solution: The Restoration Of Widespread Private Property

The restoration of widespread private property is a difficult and complex undertaking though the necessity of doing so is clear and urgent. The specific methods to be employed are discernible only in bare outline. Actually the best techniques can be developed only by the practical process of experience and trial and sometimes error. Nevertheless certain lines of action may be suggested.

The Promotion Of Small Holdings

We must foster "small and medium holdings in agriculture, in the arts and trade, in commerce and industry . . . ."[6] The device of cooperative unions may provide a partial beginning by extending credits on terms and rates unobtainable from the usual credit institutions. Moreover, cooperative unions may insure for small business "the advantages of big business: where big business . . . shows itself more productive . . ." [7] or monopolistic.[8]

The state may in the public interest provide loans on liberal terms and nominal interest rates to persons capable and willing to acquire small holdings in business or agriculture. Now is a time of unexcelled opportunity to facilitate the acquisition of private productive property. The millions of returning service men have been promised jobs, but this promise may in the long run be difficult to keep. In fact, even if it is kept, it offers at best merely their readmission into the chronic insecurity of our economic order. It will be immeasurably better for the Republic and the individual ex-serviceman to receive and to utilize the opportunity of acquiring productive property. In this way will he acquire economic security and retain political liberty. The state can itself wisely provide loans toward this end and do so at nominal interest rates. It would be a partial compensation for the veteran's share in the tragedy of war. Moreover, the considerable sums in bonuses which may follow the war might wisely be given only on condition that they be employed for the acquisition of small holdings.

Finally the state may foster small property holdings through tax discrimination in favor of newer and smaller concerns. The state may limit the size of corporations, the actual size depending upon the character and nature of the industry. It may, in addition, ban interlocking directorates and interlocking shareholding, and the various devices for invalidating the voting power of stockholders,[9] devices which now contribute to the separation of ownership and control.

Capital-Labor Co-Ownership

The greatest problem in the task of restoring private property is the problem of converting corporate concentration into capital-labor co-ownership. It is in corporation property, and especially in the case of the 200 largest corporations, that the breakdown of private property has reached its culmination. There seems to be no reason, economic or ethical, why the workers in such corporations should not be given the opportunity of becoming co-owners with the stockholders. The workers should, as *Quadragesimo Anno* puts it, ultimately share in the essential elements of property: profits control and ownership. The worker has a right to a share of the profits, an even greater right than the non-voting absentee, hence irresponsible, stockholders. He is a more vital factor and his a more responsible and active function in the production of the income of the corporation than the mass of passive stockholders who exercise no control, offer no active participation in the enterprise, and bear not the direct social responsibility of normal property owners. Hence, it can justly be maintained that the worker receive at least an equal share with stockholders of the profits of the business. Now these profits should be distributed to the workers only in the form of voting stock. This would provide workers with the opportunity of acquiring property in the real sense —ownership and control. It may be necessary for practical reasons to grant the workers, in the early phase of their stock acquisition, representation on the board of directors out of proportion to the representation their small holdings of stock would normally entitle them at this time. As their stockholdings increased, their control would grow proportionately.

Toward Co-Ownership—Profit Sharing Plans In The United States

A study made by the National Industrial Conference Board in 1937 revealed that there were at that time 82 profit sharing plans in active operation in the United States, admitting over 130,000 workers in profit sharing.[10] Of this number, 50 were considered truly profit sharing, although the other 32 did provide for extra compensation. But a true profit sharing plan must provide that the payments to employees bear a definite relation to the profits of the company. In 14 of the 50 plans, the employees share of the profits (before dividends were deducted) ranged from 5 to 33 1/3%.[11] In 42 of the

6. Pius XII, **op. cit.** For its successful accomplishment this task may involve in addition to technical devices, what Francis Carver refers to as a "new philosophy of work," cf. **Study Guide,** October, 1944.
7. Pius XII, **op. cit.**
8. In 1943 some $14,000,000 was invested in productive facilities of various kinds by cooperatives in the United States. (Monthly Labor Review, March, 1944, p. 553.) At the eleventh biennial congress of the Cooperative League of the United States, Oct., 1938, it was reported that the 160 delegates present represented 1,770 local associations with 965,000 members. No member of the League had failed from 1929 to 1938. (Monthly Labor Review, Dec., 1938, p. 1313.)
9. The issuance of non-voting stock, thereby disfranchising the mass of stockholders; the issuance of different classes of stock with the cheaper stock (reserved for the group in control) having disproportionate voting power: the voting trust wherein all control is vested in the voting trustees.
10. U.S. Dept., of Labor, Monthly Labor Review, February, 1938, p. 383.
11. **Ibid.,** p. 384.

CORPORATE CONCENTRATION MUST BE CONVERTED INTO CAPITAL-LABOR CO-OWNERSHIP

50, profits were distributed to the workers in cash form while in 8, the workers received company stocks or securities.[12]

Profit Sharing In Great Britain

In 1937, 410 organizations in Great Britain practiced profit sharing. They operated 415 plans which admitted 264,300 employees into participation.[13] Of these 415 organizations, 149 made no profit sharing in 1937; the others made payments averaging 6.1% of wages. Of the industrial companies' plans, about 1/3 provided for cash payment while over ¼ provided for payment in shares.

The goal must be the combination of profit sharing with worker ownership. A study on profit sharing for wage earners made in 1937, mentions four companies which have plans with such a goal.[14] In these four companies the employees collectively or as individuals own, or receive the benefits from, a majority of the stock. They, or trustees acting for them, control the company.

But how is this task to be undertaken? Voluntarily on the part of the controlling group of the corporation for the sake, if for no higher motive, of self-preservation: for the preservation of true private property, the foundation of good government, the defender of rightful political liberty, and the means towards personal economic security. If this fails, "the state may in the public interest, intervene by regulating its (property's) use or even, if it cannot meet the situation in any other way, by decreeing the expropriation of property, giving a suitable indemnity."[15]

The Vast Industrial Properties Of The Government

In September, 1943, there were in the United States 397 government owned, privately operated new war plants. These plants employed two million persons (approximately 13% of the total number of wage-earners in all industry in the United States) and cost approximately eight billion dollars.[16]

When the war ends, what will the government do with these industrial plants? As yet there are only two dominant ideas on the subject. The representatives of labor unions are urging continued government ownership and the assumption of government operation. On the other hand, industrialists insist that the disposal be made to private enterprise. Were there no better solution the alternatives being proposed would comprise a despairing dilemma. For government ownership of so large a part of American industry might well be used as a device to wreck the remaining non-government enterprises, thereby perfecting the justification for further or complete collectivism. The disposal of government plants to non-government concerns, however, would add to the problem of concentration of control in American industry, and accelerate the decline of private property. This follows from the fact that the capital size of the typical government plant is in the millions of dollars. That fact alone (regardless of the low selling price the government may accept) would reserve the market for the relatively large monopolistic corporations.

The two current proposals, therefore, comprise a dilemma. But there is a way which leads to a true solution, namely, the government could give the workers in these plants the opportunity of purchasing them. In other words, the *Reconstruction Finance Corporation*, for example, could lend to the workers (as it lends to business concerns), sufficient capital to acquire these properties, such capital to be repayed by the workers from the profits of the particular enterprise. Worker ownership, taking the form of shares of voting stock, would increase as their capital debt decreased. The structure of the organization would provide for the unification of the three elements of property: ownership, control, and profits. For obvious reasons the worker-owners would delegate their control to a board of directors responsible to them.

Through Faith And Effort

One must confess the obvious fact that the task of restoring private property is far from simple. But no solution to the chronic ills of our social order can be simple in application. This is a time for basic measures. The restoration of widespread private property is one of them. The question of the specific methods of achieving this end is necessarily subject to diverse opinions. In this *Study Guide*, various suggestions as to the techniques of restoring private property have been and will be made. More thought and experience will probably lead to the developing of some and to the discarding of others. But herein lies the inner intent of this article; it sounds a call to men of good will to work out the way towards the restoration of private property.

A better social order can arise only from man's will to social justice, to rightful freedom and to spiritual life. Faith and effort can restore our lost horizons. The good society can come to life. The common man has a right to basic economic security and to political liberty. We must rediscover the grand harmony of security and liberty for all our citizens.

12. **Ibid.**, p. 385.
13. Great Britain, **Ministry of Labor Gazette**, July, 1938, p. 256. Cf. also U.S. Department of Labor, Monthly Labor Review, December, 1938, pp. 1283-84.
14. C.C. Balderston, **Profit Sharing for Wage Earners**, (New York, 1937, Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc.) pp. 43, 86.
15. Pius XII, **op. cit.**
16. Monthly Labor Review, July, 1944, p. 39. It should be noted that this does not represent the total government investment in war plants, for the figure of 8 billion dollars included only those plants which (a) were new plants with a public investment of at least $500,000., (b) the public investment was at least 95 percent of total cost, (c) the construction part of total cost was at least $200,000.

Coop org

Memo from GUY B. JOHNSON

to Miss Clay and Miss Kerby

The D. C. League of Women Voters wants to be listed as a cooperating organization. Check for $2.00 from Mrs. Dorah H. Sterne is attached.

Literature should be sent to --

Mrs. Wilder Foote, Chairman
League of Women Voters
1216 Connecticut Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dec. 12, 1945

THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

150 FIFTH AVENUE (UNOFFICIAL) NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

Tel. WAtkins 9-7530

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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
JACK RICHARD McMICHAEL

January 20, 1947

Dear Fellow Georgian and Federationist:

Need for speed in getting this letter to you is the only reason why it is not personally typed. Lack of money explains why this is not a telephone call. As Paul said, "The time is short," but there still is time to speak out for democracy and brotherhood. As Jesus said to the critical Pharisees on his final entry into Jerusalem, his disciples would have to speak out, for if they were silent, the very stones would cry out. None of us who would be disciples of Jesus today can afford to be silent. We must speak out on the situation in Georgia because democracy and brotherhood are at stake. And the imperatives for both spring from the heart of our Gospel.

Representatives to the United Nations are seeking to answer the fateful question: "Is our world to be ruled by law or shall it be ruled by force?" More than we realize, the outcome of the present struggle in Georgia will help to answer that question - not only for Georgia , but for the war-threatened and peace-hungry peoples of the world.

The expressed contempt of the Talmadge gang for the courts and for law (as interpreted by the elected Attorney General, who has that responsibility) and the evident delight of the same gang in resorting to armed force to decide a basic legal and ethical issue - are very clear. In the contempt for rule by law and for the courts, and in the preference for rule by individuals backed by force, the Talmadge gang have made a direct ominous challenge to the basic principle of American democracy. In the resort to violence to evict Mr. Arnall from his office and desk, and to bar him from the Governor's mansion, we see the same pattern laid down so clearly by Hitler and his gang.

As for the people, the overwhelming majority elected Mr. Arnall governor. In the all-decisive Primary last year, the people were not granted opportunity to vote again for Mr. Arnall, and most of them supported Mr. Carmichael. A minority of voters voted for Eugene Talmadge, but this minority carried a majority of county unit votes, so Eugene Talmadge was assured of election. Thus, he was the only candidate really presented to the people in November. For all practical purposes, he received all votes in the already decided election. There seems to be no basis for applying the constitutional provision that the Legislature shall choose the governor from the two leading candidates when no candidate receives a majority of votes in the election. It is ridiculous to say that Herman Talmadge was a candidate in the recent election, or that Eugene Talmadge was not a person receiving a clear majority of votes in that election. Meanwhile, in the election as in the Primary the majority of voters clearly elected Mr. M.E. Thompson Lt. Governor, the man to succeed the

governor in case of the latter's death. To summarize:

1. Ellis Arnall is the only living man who has been legally and overwhelmingly elected to the governorship by the people.

2. M.E. Thompson is the only man elected by the people of Georgia to succeed Eugene Talmadge in case of the latter's death as governor.

3. The elected Attorney General has, in keeping with his legal responsibility, made a legal ruling on the question at issue and brought the matter to the courts. Both of these actions have been contemptuously defied by Herman Talmadge and his supporters.

4. The people who voted for Eugene Talmadge in November had no other choice. By no stretch of the imagination can it be said that they were voting for Herman Talmadge in case of Eugene Talmadge's death. Our forefathers in Georgia and in the 12 other colonies repudiated hereditary monarchy over 150 years ago. The contempt of the Talmadge gang for democratic rule by the people is further seen in their plan to restrict in Georgia the basic democratic citizenship right and responsibility of suffrage.

Knowing the Talmage gang and its ties with such hate groups as the Klan is to know that democracy and law are not alone involved, but that the central Gospel principle of brotherhood (vs. bigotry and hate) is clearly at stake. The same is true of the individual civil liberties we so rightly cherish. All of these things are bound up more intimately than we perceive with the peace and brotherhood of the world. And we, who have responsibilities to the Gospel principles and to the world we bequeath to our children, must not be silent in face of the present brazen, illegal and forceful capture of the governorship of Georgia by unprincipled bigots. Dare we who would be disciples of Jesus be silent on an issue so clear and so grave?

To speak to a need like this one, I wish that our North Georgia brothers and sisters had an organized Federation chapter. My plea to those of you in North Georgia is to act as individuals and to proceed towards an organization at the most rapid possible pace. To my friends in South Georgia, who do have a splendid Conference chapter which has spoken out forcefully and effectively on similar issues in the past, I make a double appeal:

A. Speak out as individual citizens, giving voice to your convictions on this issue.
B. Contact your chapter officers (Rev. Oscar Bell, Blackshear, Ga., President) asking for immediate action (by telephone if need be) by the elected Executive Committee on behalf of the chapter.

To all of you I make these suggestions:
1. Write to the newspaper expressing your convictions.
2. Discuss the fundamental issues at stake and their relevance to the Christian Gospel in the pulpit and in the Church School.
3. Write to Mr. Ellis Arnall, Newnan, letting him know that you appreciate his courageous stand for decent government.
4. Send a similar letter to Governor M.E. Thompson, State Capitol, Atlanta and to the Attorney General.
5. Write to your legislators, asking how they voted, (if you do not know) and expressing your clear judgment on the issue.

6. Write to Mr. Herman Talmadge, State Capitol, Atlanta, letting him know what you, as a Georgian and Christian think of his methods and goals.
7. Organize meetings in your communities for voicing citizenship convictions.
8. Sign and return the enclosed postal card.

Fraternally and urgently,

Jack R. McMichael

Jack R. McMichael
Executive Secretary

JRM:jcb
Enc. Return postcard
P.S. I am aware that many of you have acted already on this matter. Today's papers tell that my friend and fellow Federationist, Dr. E. G. Mackay, has helped organize an important public meeting on this matter to be held tomorrow night. It would be grand to learn what others of you are doing. It is most urgent that all of us take action.

JRM

ANDREW W. GOTTSCHALL, *National Director*
for
PROGRAM IN ARMY CAMPS, NAVAL AND AIR BASES
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, INC.
730 SOUTHERN BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 28, 1948

My dear Dr. Johnson:

Attending sessions of the Catholic Committee of the South a few days ago I was greatly impressed with the scope of work the Southern Regional Council is planning to do. Would you be so kind as to send me whatever literature is now available. I trust on my next visit to Atlanta I may have the great privilege of a personal interview.

Sincerely yours

AW Gottschall

Nominations

Note → $5.00 ck.
6/29/44

June 22, 1944

Mr. Andrew W. Gottschall
National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.
730 Southern Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gottschall:

Thank you for your letter of June 9. As our Council is constructed, all membership is on an individual basis, but organizations may become cooperating agencies. A cooperating agency makes a contribution of at least $2.50 a year and its top officers are invited to become individual members of the Council. One of the officers should be designated as the official representative or correspondent. Individual membership dues are at present one dollar a year. We shall be glad to have the Southern Region, National Conference of Christians and Jews, as a cooperating organization.

A cooperating organization would receive two copies of all literature issued by the Council, and if it wanted our monthly paper, the SOUTHERN FRONTIER to go to a large number of its members, it could send us a list of subscribers and remit 25 cents a year for each person. We would supply the organization with pamphlet literature at special quantity rates, and we would, of course, work in close cooperation in planning projects and methods of approach to problems in which we were mutually interested.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

ANDREW W. GOTTSCHALL, *National Director*
for
PROGRAM IN ARMY CAMPS, NAVAL AND AIR BASES
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, INC.
730 SOUTHERN BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 9, 1944.

my dear Mr. Johnson:

I've just finished reading your last issue of The Southern Frontier (May 1944). We're also interested in the membership proposals for the Southern Regional Conference and now make application for such membership in the name of the

Southern Region
National Conference of
Christians and Jews, Inc.
730 Southern Building
Washington, D.C.
Andrew W. Gottschall
Regional Director.

Will you let me know at your convenience the financial and other obligations involved?

Sincerely yours
AW Gottschall

Sent: March FRONTIER
Reprint FRONTIER
America's Tenth Man
Publications list

CU

May 2, 1944

Mr. Andrew W. Gottschall
National Director
Program in Army Camps, Naval and Air Bases
National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.
730 Southern Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gottschall:

Thanks for your letter of April 28. I am sending you under separate cover a copy of the March issue of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, a copy of our most popular pamphlet, AMERICA'S TENTH MAN, and a list of publications which were originally issued by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and which we are now sponsoring.

You might be interested to know that we offer a subscription to THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER at 25 cents a year and a mailing list subscription including THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER and all pamphlets issued by the Council for one dollar a year.

I hope that on your next visit to Atlanta you will come to see us. It will be a pleasure to see you.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Separate cover

34 Sm- Misc
Southland Journal

OFFICE OF
THE SOUTHLAND JOURNAL
1237 BROADWAY
MACON, GEORGIA

July 30, 1948

The Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir!!

Believing in the traditions of the South and having enjoyed every minute I have lived here, I feel that, with the growth of the Industrial Areas of Macon and the increased population of our Community, there is an urgent need for a truly Southern Interest Negro Weekly Newspaper.

I, the undersigned, have ventured to organize The Southland Journal, which will be a truly Southern Newspaper in its entirety.

We invite your letters of approval and will appreciate your donations, great or small, toward this worthy cause.

Respectfully yours,
John W. Summerford Jr.
John W. Summerford, Jr.
Editor
1237 Broadway
Macon, Georgia

JWS/lw

RECEIVED
JUL 5 1949
Southern Regional Council

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The Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Corner Ivy & Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

We have started a private EMPLOYMENT AGENCY which we expect to be beneficial to all people who need the best, most efficient workers in all general lines of endeavor.

We shall list some of the many job applicants that will be on our file from time to time: chauffeurs, maids, cooks, butlers, elevator operators, truck drivers, skilled, semi-skilled, common labor, and general workers.

These people (job applicants) will be interviewed as to their qualifications, experience and general efficiency. We also require reference from reputable citizens with whom they have had dealings to affirm or disaffirm the veracity of the prospective workers. Thus giving the best and most deserved applicant, the the best choice for employment and simultaneously furnishing the employer a good, dependable, honest man or woman.

Hoping to get your cooperation in this undertaking. I thank you in advance.

Yours very sincerely,

Rev. John W. Summerford

John W. Summerford, Jr., President

Mrs. Leola Summerford, Mgr.

JWS/LS/rw

~~Misc. Org.~~

October 14, 1949

Publication Department
Russell Sage Foundation
130 East 22nd Street
New York 10, New York

Gentlemen:

We have your 1946 directory of American Foundations for Social Welfare, and are wondering if a more recent edition is available. Would you let us know?

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Taylor

Misc. Orgs.
~~R. Mitchell~~

June 26, 1950

The Pamphlet Index
119 West 23rd Street
New York 11, New York

Gentlemen:

Here is the most recent publication of the Southern Regional Council, sent in response to your postcard of June 14, for the July-September, 1950, issue.

As a summary we suggest:

"A voluntary committee of white and Negro citizens of Greenville, South Carolina, surveys the Negro community in that city. What they found and what they urged."

The title is Greenville's Big Idea. The price is twenty cents.

Sample herewith.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

The July-September, 1950 Issue of *THE PAMPHLET INDEX* is now in preparation.

Would you please send us review copies of your recent and current pamphlet publications for listing in this issue. Listings are free.

The deadline is July 7, 1950

Please make sure that the price and date of publication appear on each piece of your literature.

THE PAMPHLET INDEX *does not repeat listings except for revised editions, nor does it list material which has appeared more than a year prior to our date of issue.*

Disregard this notice if material has been sent.

THE PAMPHLET INDEX

119 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Misc. Orgs.
~~A-Mixed~~

July 3, 1950

Mr. Patrick Murphy Malin
American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Malin:

Mrs. Millis asked our organization to fill out this questionnaire. I have no very special sources of information myself toward completing it, but have done the best I could as a sometime member of ACLU.

I think the new South Carolina Act regulating the general election and the primaries is a remarkably long step ahead in civil liberties in that State. The Act has its defects but on the whole it is a great gain.

As to Atlanta, the general view would be that the city itself has kept its head, but that the State has lost ground rapidly.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

CC: Mrs. Mary Raoul Millis

GSM:er
Encl.

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June
12th
1950

Friends:

We are now preparing material for the 1950 annual report, and it would be extremely helpful if you would answer the enclosed questionnaire.

We depend on this information to help frame our thinking on the year's developments, as well as to include specific examples of the status of civil liberties. While the questionnaire is a bit longer than in recent years, I know that you will understand the need for this information and will let us have it as quickly as possible.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Very sincerely yours,

Patrick M. Malin

Patrick Murphy Malin
Executive Director.

PMM:ed
Encls:

Sent to Mr. Flemingley
Mary Dawne Willis
377 Tenth St. NE
Atlanta 5

Incorporated — Founded 1920

So, misc.
S- Misc
Orgs.

October 11, 1950

Miss Mildred Frank
Acting Editor
Social Casework
192 Lexington Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Frank:

Thank you for your letter of October 3 informing us that Miss Kasius will be away from the F.S.A.A. for a year.

Is it asking too much to request that you send us her present address? We do not have that information as yet from her, and it will help our circulation department to have it before our next general mailing.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Rogers
Secretary to George
S. Mitchell

ER/r
Encl.

Social Casework
192 LEXINGTON AVE., NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 5-8910

October 3, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In reply to your letter of September 27, I thought you would like to know that Miss Kasius will be away from the F.S.A.A. on a leave of absence for approximately a year. She has received a Fulbright Award as lecturer in social work and will serve on the faculty of the School of Social Work in Amsterdam during the coming academic year.

Best wishes for the success of your Council.

Sincerely yours,

Mildred Frank

Mildred Frank
Acting Editor

mf:rb

Misc. Orgs.

October 11, 1950

Miss Grace Hale, Field Consultant
Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc.
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Hale:

We appreciate our being listed as a resource for your workshop on Working with Minority Groups and are happy to have the opportunity to be of assistance to you.

We are sending you separately an annotated list of our publications, plus some sample copies of the literature we thought would be most useful to you. Being a low-budget organizations, we unfortunately cannot distribute our publications free, but must supply them at cost.

However, we are able to send you fifty (50) copies of "What Kind of South Do You Want", a leaflet describing the aims and achievements of the Council. They are included in the shipment coming separately.

As for the brief statement in your bibliography, we could be described as follows: "The Southern Regional Council is a membership organization, drawn from both races, which seeks through research and action equal opportunity for all the South's people."

Best wishes for the success of your meeting.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Fleming
Research Assistant

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D. F. MILAM, M.D.
National Director

Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc.

Formerly — Birth Control Federation of America, Inc.

501 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y., PLaza 5-8600

RECEIVED
OCT 7 1950
Southern Regional Council

October 5, 1950

The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

During the Annual Meeting of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, October 24th to 26th, to be held here in New York, we are having a workshop on "Techniques in Working with Minority Groups." We are attempting to compile as complete a bibliography of materials and resources as possible for the lay and professional Federation workers attending this meeting.

Some of the material we have considered having on exhibit includes: (1) books, pamphlets, and periodicals on Minority Problems; (2) listings of organizations primarily concerned with Minority Problems; such as the Urban League and the American Friends Service Committee; (3) Negro publications; (4) list of the states having laws effecting the civil rights of Negroes.

We wish to include your organization as a reference and would appreciate having a brief statement from you about the services which could be listed in our mimeographed bibliography. Do you have any free literature or publications which could be made available in our exhibit room? We anticipate that at least 50 persons will attend the workshop. However, many more may desire copies of literature on display.

May we hear from you at your very earliest convenience? Thanking you in advance, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Grace Hale

Grace Hale
Field Consultant

GH:mw

~~A~~ Miscel
orgs.

October 20, 1950

National Information Bureau
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Sirs:

Can you tell me what it is that is called the Committee of One Hundred? I keep hearing that it seeks help for things in this part of the world. That's all I know, but I would like to know more.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Nat'l Consumers League

July 27, 1951

Miss Elizabeth S. Magee
The National Consumers League
348 Engineers Bldg.
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Dear Miss Magee:

I can think of only a few people as nominees for a national committee on the migratory labor thing.

Mr. I. Hewes Laurence, Bureau of Reclamation, U. S. Department of the Interior, Denver, Colorado. Former regional director of the Farm Security Administration, Divider of Japanese Farm Land for McArthur, deeply informed about all problems of migratory labor.

Mrs. Henry M. Havens, 2845 Corinthian Avenue, Jacksonville, Florida. Secretary-treasurer, I believe, of the Division of Christian Social Relations of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Protestant Episcopal Church for the Province of Sewanee. Has kept in touch with the problem and can be helpful in the Episcopal Church on it.

Mr. Hugh Brimm, Executive Director of the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, Box 38, St. Matthew's Branch, Louisville, Kyntucky. Don't think he knows much about the problem, but it is within his area, and he is the one man who can get a good deal of interest in it from the Southern Baptists.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

THE NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE

348 ENGINEERS BUILDING • MAIN 1175 • CLEVELAND 14, OHIO

RECEIVED JUL 23 1951 Southern Regional Council

July 9th, 1951

TO: MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE and STATE LEAGUES and Council members -

FROM: Elizabeth S. Magee, General Secretary

It is a satisfaction to report that the trustees of the Florina Lasker Estate have agreed to contribute $10,000 to the National Consumers League, for the purpose of following up the Report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor and organizing support for the legislative program recommended by the Commission.

Senator Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota, Chairman of the Labor Management Sub-Committee of the Senate Committee of Labor and Public Welfare, is planning to conduct hearings on the report, - probably during the early fall.

In order to be ready to launch our campaign, we want to begin work at once on lining up a large national committee which will give backing to the project. We hope to recruit members of this committee from individuals known to be interested in the migrant problem in their own states, from church and civic leaders, college professors in the fields of Labor Economics, Sociology and Agricultural Economics, farm leaders, social workers, negro leaders and labor representatives. We will appreciate greatly receiving your suggestions as to persons whom you would like to see invited to serve on this committee. We hope you can send us a list very soon.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth S. Magee

Elizabeth S. Magee
General Secretary

ESM:hd We will appreciate your suggestions very much.

Esme

27

BULLETIN OF
National Consumers League
FOR FAIR LABOR STANDARDS

John Howland Lathrop, *President*
Mrs. Thomas F McAllister, *Chairman, Board of Directors*
Hyman Schroeder, *Treasurer*
Elizabeth S. Magee, *General Secretary*

Volume XVI SUMMER 1951 No. 1

THE MEXICAN FARM LABOR BILL

When President Truman signed the Mexican Farm Labor bill on July 12th, it was not surprising that he expressed dissatisfaction with the measure. "If promptly followed up by other needed measures" he said, "this act can be a first step toward an improved program to bring badly needed improvements in the living and working conditions of migrant farm workers, both foreign and domestic..... On the other hand, if enactment of this legislation becomes an excuse for delay on these other measures, it will hamper our efforts to meet more basic problems."

With complete disregard of the recommendations of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor, the Agriculture Committees of House and Senate had rushed out bills this spring to provide for the importation of Mexican contract labor. Fortunately, the bills did not get through the Congress with the speed hoped for by their sponsors, Senator Ellender of Louisiana and Representative Poage of Texas. It was only after protracted debate in both Houses and the agreement to some amendments that a measure was finally passed on June 30th.

In line with tentative agreements made with the Mexican government, the bill permits bringing in Mexican workers under contract to work on farms and in canneries. The Secretary of Labor must certify that sufficient domestic workers are not available at the time and place needed to perform the work, and that the employment of such workers will not adversely affect the wages and working conditions of domestic agricultural workers. It provides for reception centers, near the border, to be operated by the government, where the employers may meet and negotiate with prospective workers. The government is to be reimbursed for expenses of transportation from Mexico to the reception centers and the workers' subsistence at the centers, but only to the extent of $15.00 per worker.

> The legal importation of Mexican workers cannot be considered without reference to the greater number of Mexicans who come in illegally - the so-called "wetbacks". This problem was not faced realistically by promoters of the bill, - largely because the cotton growers have found this labor supply readily available, cheap, and easy to exploit, and they wish nothing to interfere with what they consider their "rights".

As pointed out in the Report, the number of wetbacks has increased by leaps and bounds since 1944. Approximately 10,000 came in that year, and now the estimate is between 500,000 and 600,000. Population pressure in Mexico, inflation and low wages are among the forces which push the Mexican worker northward. At the same time, the expansion in cotton acreage in the Southwest has increased the demand of the growers for this type of labor.

The President's Commission had recommended strict penalties to be imposed on farm operators who employ the illegals. The bill as originally presented, provided no penalties on the farm operators and in fact, encouraged wetback traffic by allowing those illegally in the country to be legalized for contract employment. As finally enacted, the only penalty provided against employment of wetbacks was that farm operators employing those who had been in this country illegally for less than a five year period, would be denied the privilege of using contract labor. The legalization for employment of illegal entrants was forbidden, unless they have been here for five years.

The need for grappling with the wetback issue in a realistic fashion was brought out by the Report of the President's Commission:

> "The wetback is a hungry human being. His need of food and clothing is immediate and pressing. He is a fugitive and it is as a fugitive that he lives..... Those who capitalize on the legal disability of the wetbacks are numerous and their devices are many and various."

The Commission Report further shows that the need for contract workers has been greatly exaggerated. They conclude:

> "Notwithstanding that certificates of shortage have been issued in great numbers, there is no method of knowing with reasonable exactness whether a shortage of domestic labor would exist if some other wage rate were offered... ..... we are convinced that, by better recruitment and placement of domestic labor, we would have eliminated most if not all of the occasion for the certifications of labor shortage during the years 1947 to 1950."

The Congressional debate had great value, in bringing into the open the issues of labor standards in agriculture and the need for taking action on the complicated problems connected with the employment of migrant workers, both domestic and foreign.

WORK TO BE DONE!

The unfinished business is to secure decent standards for agricultural migrant workers through such measures as a federal minimum wage law for agriculture, decent housing, sanitary and health requirements, control of labor contractors, provision of social security, workmen's compensation and other protective labor laws, from the coverage of which agricultural labor is now exempted. That this will be a difficult, up-hill job was clearly proved by the Congressional debate.

Great credit is due those in both Houses who made a valiant fight to secure a stronger law. Senators Chavez, Humphrey, Morse, Douglas and Lehman, and in the House, Representatives McCarthy of Minnesota, Celler of New York, Polk and Hays of Ohio, Bailey of West Virginia and Holifield of California did a courageous job, in the face of overwhelming opposition.

Senator Humphrey, chairman of the Labor-Management Sub-Committee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has announced his intention to conduct hearings on a comprehensive program to carry out the recommendations of the President's Commission. The League expects to work closely with Senator Humphrey's Committee.

OUT OF THE FIELDS - INTO THE SCHOOLS!

Over 400 children of school age, many as young as 6 and 8 were found by federal inspectors, working in the strawberry fields of the South this winter and spring, during the hours when schools were in session. This is a violation of federal law, -- thanks to the amendments which were secured to the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1949. In the eleven-month period from July 1st 1950 to June 1st 1951, over 2500 children under 16 were found at work on 937 farms in 33 states during school hours, - more than 65% of them, 13 years of age or younger. In the fall months, most of these "illegals" were found in the cotton fields, some in potato and tomato harvesting. In the winter and spring, the largest number were working in strawberries; others were harvesting carrots, onions and spinach.

The federal government has authority to prevent the labor of children under 16 in commercialized agriculture during the hours when schools in the district where they are employed, are in session. It has no authority, however, to get them into school. That is a matter of local and state responsibility. There is every indication that the federal law has resulted in increasing school enrollment and attendance in many areas. It has paved the way. Now it is the job of schools to see that education is provided for all the children.

> The most disadvantaged rural children are those whose parents are forced to "follow the crops" in order to make a living. They may be in Florida during the winter months, then moving along the Atlantic seaboard during the early Spring and Summer. Or, - traveling from southern California into northern California and on into Washington. In some states, as non-residents, they do not come under the school attendance laws; in states where they are included, there is often laxness in enforcement and frequently lack of acceptance of the children on the part of the community, because they are "different".
>
> The problem for the schools is very real, when children are on hand for only a few weeks. How to adjust the curriculum, how to give the needed special attention to those who are retarded, how to expand school facilities to take care of the temporary group, are all questions which tax the ingenuity and financial resources of the schools.

Some promising experiments are being made, but they are few and far between. At the King Ferry School in New York, 100 migrant children from the South are added each fall, for six or eight weeks, to a school with a regular enrollment of 300. A summer school for migrant children has been conducted at Freehold, New Jersey for a number of years, under the sponsorship of the New Jersey Migrant Council. It was hoped that similar summer schools could be conducted in other parts of the state, but it has been a struggle to get funds to keep this one school going, and no additional ones have been established. In Arizona there are some school districts where as high as 80% of the children are "on the move". California has many of these children. The report of the Governor's Committee on Agricultural Labor in the San Joaquin Valley refers to "piecemeal, discontinuous educational programs" and recommends a special state-wide program to meet the needs of this group.

This is a problem which crosses community and state lines. It has had very meagre attention from educators and educational organizations. Its neglect means irreparable damage to thousands of young Americans.

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

Four new members were added to the Board of Directors at the Annual Business Meeting of the NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE, held in New York City on May 1st: MRS. MARGARET ACKROYD, Minimum Wage Commissioner of Rhode Island's Labor Department; MORRIS ROSENTHAL, New York business man; DR. BROADUS MITCHELL, Professor of Economics, Rutgers University, New Jersey; THACHER WINSLOW, Director, Washington office, International Labor Organization.

JOSEPHINE ROCHE, President of the League during the early 40's, was elected a Vice President. WILLIAM HABER of the University of Michigan was made an Honorary Vice President. Newly elected to the National Council were ARTHUR J. ALTMEYER, Commissioner of Social Security, Washington, D.C.; MARY DUBLIN KEYSERLING, formerly General Secretary of the League, and KENNETH JOHNSON, Dean of the New York School of Social work. All present officers of the League were re-elected.

The program for the meeting was devoted to a panel discussion of the Report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor, under the leadership of MRS. CLARA BEYER, Assistant Director of the Bureau of Labor Standards, U. S. Dept. of Labor, - with the following participants: Canon Robert D. Smith, Vice President of the New Jersey League, and a member of the New Jersey Migrant Board; Dr. Frieda Wunderlich and Mrs. Mabel Lewis Hopper, both of the New York League, and Elizabeth S. Magee, General Secretary of the National League.

STATE LEAGUE NEWS

MRS.C. R. MUELLER, who has given devoted service to the Consumers League of Michigan as its President, for two decades, has been succeeded by WILLIAM DIEMOND, Secretary of the Michigan Federation of Teachers. Mrs. Mueller continues as editor of the League bulletin, which is outstanding in its information on legislative developments, state and federal. ..... The NEW YORK LEAGUE reported increased membership and expanded activity at its Annual Meeting in May. A Citizens Committee is in process of formation, to act as a "watchdog" on the New York State Disability Benefits law.

> THE OHIO LEAGUE chalked up a victory during the legislative session, when it secured the adoption of a strengthened hazardous jobs section of the child labor law. The prohibited list includes most of the jobs declared hazardous by the U.S. Department of Labor for workers in interstate commerce. A study of the accidents to youth in Ohio during World War II indicated the need for this extra protection... ... The League's Committee on Migrants in Agriculture is organizing trips this summer to the tomato and beet areas in northwestern Ohio, with a view to acquainting more people as to the conditions under which migrants work and live.

At the Annual Meeting of the NEW JERSEY LEAGUE, the "Caucus Rule casualties" of the 1951 legislative session were discussed. Miss Dyckman pointed out that the bills for minimum wage extension, equal pay and increased unemployment and disability compensation benefits were not defeated by vote of the legislature. "There is good reason to believe" she said, "that many of them would have passed, if they had been brought to a vote, but they were killed in caucus, in the secret meeting of the majority party members under a caucus rule, which denies to the minority party the role a minority should play in legislation, and makes a mockery of the democratic process." The League has sent an urgent recommendation to the Governor for a special session to consider these measures. It also passed a strong resolution condemning the caucus rule.

Published by the

NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE

348 Engineers Building Cleveland 14, Ohio

Midcentury Conf on Chil. & Youth

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

RECEIVED
OCT 24 1952

CHILDREN'S BUREAU

October 14, 1952

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Among the many recommendations embodied in State and local reports to the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, the need to enrich services for delinquent children was a recurring theme. Details naturally varied from State to State but they dealt with all phases of work with delinquents; the police who have the first contact with delinquent children, the detention facilities where they are housed pending hearing of their cases, the juvenile courts and their clinical and probation services, and the training schools which deal with the hard core of seriously maladjusted children.

Recently the significance of these recommendations has been brought home by two newly disclosed sets of facts. First, on the basis of information reaching the Bureau from representative juvenile courts across the nation, juvenile delinquency has increased by nearly twenty per cent since 1948. Second, because of the unprecedentedly high birthrates of recent years which have already necessitated huge expansions of our school systems, we can anticipate that by 1960 the number of children in the age range where delinquency occurs (10-17 years) will be at least fifty per cent greater than the number of such children in our population today.

In the face of these facts, and after consultation with a representative group of specialists in various phases of service to delinquent children, this Bureau has established a special Juvenile Delinquency Branch. The work of this Branch is being immeasurably aided by the staff of a Special Juvenile Delinquency Project financed by private funds but operating in close cooperation with the Bureau's expert consultants in the Juvenile Delinquency Branch. State agencies have loaned key staff members to work with the Project in its developmental stage.

Because the problems-- and the opportunity-- have long been areas of concern to your organization, I am inviting you to send two

representatives to attend a small conference of leaders in Nationwide civic bodies to explore the implications of this project for such organizations, both nationally and in terms of your local constituent groups. Will you please enter the names of the persons who will represent you on the enclosed card and return it to us as quickly as possible.

The conference will meet in Room 5051 of this building (FSA Building, Fourth Street and Independence Avenue, S.W., Washington 25, D.C.) on November 17-18, 1952, beginning at 9:30 a.m. on the former date.

Sincerely yours,

Martha M. Eliot

Martha M. Eliot, M.D.
Chief
Children's Bureau

Enclosure

REV. ROBERT L. ALLEN, PRESIDENT

REV. BEN F. WYLAND, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

The United Churches of Greater St. Petersburg

THE OFFICIAL CO-OPERATIVE AGENCY OF PROTESTANTISM FOR INTERDENOMINATIONAL SERVICE

OFFICE _ Y.M.C.A. BUILDING PHONE: 7-2372 ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

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REV. HENRY V. KAHLENBERG

Children's Interracial Org.

RECEIVED
NOV 13 1952

Nov. I2, I952.

Dear Dr. Mitchell;

This article appeared in the Saturday, Nov. 8th. issue of the St. Petersburg Times. Do you have any data or statistics on this situation?

I certainly felt very fortunate to be able to hear you during your recent visit here and am looking forward to seeing you again Nov. 20th.

I thought you might be interested in our Children's Interracial report for the last year. The School we operate is for working mothers children.

Our Race Relations Committee of the United Churches received about $500.00 for sending Negro delegates to Boylan-Haven School in Jacksonville and to conduct Negro Vacation Bible Schools locally. We sent IO women and girls and had attendance of 700 children at V.B.S.

Sincerely,

MRS E. C. BROWN
3030 5th St., North
St. Pete, Fla.

HAPPY WORKERS DAY NURSERY AND KINDERGARTEN

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PARENT-TEACHER COUNCIL, 1951 - 1952

Baby Contest	$ 939.83	
Bazaar	68.80	
Other Offerings	16.34	
TOTAL		$1,024.97

DISBURSEMENTS

To the Children's Interracial Organization for Building Fund	$ 939.83	
100 Bowls for Feeding Program	20.00	
1 Everwear Dish Pan	3.25	
Gifts for Graduates and Retiring President	21.61	
Toward Painting and Re-Roofing Old Building	35.00	
TOTAL DISBURSED		$ 984.69
BALANCE	$5.28	

HAPPY WORKERS DAY NURSERY AND KINDERGARTEN

ANNUAL REPORT

September 4, 1951 to September 6, 1952

Balance Brought Forward	$ 904.45	
Child Care Receipts	19,071.98	
All Other Donations	795.50	
TOTAL RECEIPTS		$20,771.93

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$17,045.11	
Feeding Program	1,790.89	
Water, Fuel and Incidentals	1,153.11	
Supplies	514.75	
TOTAL		$20,503.86
RECEIVED	$20,771.93	
DISBURSED	20,503.86	
BALANCE	$ 268.07	

Respectfully Submitted,

Willie Lee McAdams.

HAPPY WORKERS DAY NURSERY AND KINDERGARTEN

DIRECTOR'S ANNUAL REPORT

The 200 children, ages 6 months to 5 years, in attendance during the 1951 - 1952 year at Happy Workers Day Nursery and Kindergarten were more accurately housed than during the previous year because of the new building planned by the Children's Interracial Organization, and completed in the late summer of 1951.

The Project was approved and licensed by the County Health Department along with the other nurseries, kindergartens and foster homes of Pinellas County. This was the first year the licensing of Child Care Centers was required.

At present, a staff of 15 is employed which includes five teachers ,one of whom is white, two dieticians who are certified in food handling, one practical nurse and three assistants, two house mothers, a part-time secretary and the director.

General health tests and immunization against contageous diseases is required of each child before entrance, and health certificates from a private physician, or the County Clinic is filed at the school.

A balanced noon day lunch, including milk is served daily and contributes largely toward the health and happiness of the children, and is the only balanced meal some of the children receive during the day. The rest period is strictly observed.

Play is essential to the growth and development of little children, and, while the project stands in need of more suitable play ground equipment, it offers a large surfaced, fenced-in play area with jungle-gym, slide, one teeter-totter, a Merry-go-round and whirl-i-jig where the children may enjoy their play in a safe and healthful atmosphere.

An opportunity for worship experiences is given the children each day at 11:00 A.M., in the "Little Church on the Corner" where Bible stories, songs and other character building lessons are given in the language of the little child by the director, or alternate teachers.

Other activities include excursions, the creative arts, games, rhythm band, special days parties, the annual trip to the Wild Animal Ranch in the spring followed by a picnic made possible by a friend in the north, Mrs. John Dykema. Through the courtesy of Chief Reichert of the Police Department, the picnic is held on the spacious grounds of the Policemen's Pistol Range.

The "Tom Thumb" wedding which continues to be popular with the tourists after 12 consecutive seasons has aided the project financially, and has done much toward advertising its existence, and value to the working mothers. The Cherub Chorus has given the Christmas message in song to the guests in several of the hotels, churches and clubs during the Christmas season.

A meeting of the Parent's Council is held each first Thursday evening at 8:00 o'clock when special subjects pertaining to the welfare of the children are discussed. This organization has contributed throughout the years toward the Building Campaigns and other needs of the project through Baby Contests, Bazaars, Rummage sales and personal donations.

Respectfully submitted,

Willie Lee McAdams.

CHILDREN'S INTERRACIAL ORGANIZATION

October 1, 1951 — October 1, 1952

BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD		$ 414.50
RECEIPTS—		
Allendale Methodist	$ 12.00	
First Methodist	55.00	
Trinity Methodist	2.00	
Euclid Methodist	7.00	
Grace Methodist	25.00	
Pasadena Community	160.00	
First Avenue Methodist	350.00	
First Presbyterian	280.26	
Woodlawn Presbyterian	50.00	
Westminster Presbyterian	616.00	
First Congregational	120.00	
St. Peters Episcopal	128.50	
Mirror Lake Christian	75.00	
United Liberal	100.00	
Society of Friends	100.00	
Trinity Lutheran	50.00	
Borrowed for Building (Bonds and Personal)	2,872.50	
Individual Donations	699.80	
Rummage	3.83	
Open House	183.17	
Epsilon Sigma Alpha Sorority (Scholarship)	30.00	
Kenwood Workshop	75.00	
St. Petersburg Woman's Club	25.00	
Collections	49.93	
Lauffer Estate	95.00	
Tom Thumb Weddings	1,083.26	
Parent-Teacher Council	939.83	
Sale of Washer	10.00	
TOTAL RECEIPTS	$8,198.63	$8,198.63
BALANCE AND TOTAL RECEIPTS		$8,613.13
DISBURSED—		
First National Bank (Repayment of Loan and Bonds)	$3,628.75	
Foremost Dairy	1,479.62	
Pinellas Lumber	1,439.91	
Tyrees (Automatic Washer)	330.10	
Plumbers	29.90	
Sears	56.05	
Set-A-Step Company	54.65	
Goheen Insurance Company	260.29	
Labor (Clark)	186.10	
Churchill Company (New Sinks)	80.00	
Bay Restaurant Supply	7.90	
Mrs. McAdams (Scholarship, Bus Repair, Ch. Gift)	347.69	
Anonymous Donor	307.00	
Dixie Press	16.81	
Florida Conference of Social Welfare	5.00	
West Coast Title Company	3.60	
P. K. Smith Company	6.44	
Westminster Refund (Gerwig Est.)	100.00	
Wedding Nursery (Jacarandas for Vickery Memorial)	30.00	
Garden Center Florist	8.61	
Miss Willey (Expenses)	15.00	
Mrs. Brown (Cards and Postage)	27.02	
Art Poster Company	1.00	
Woman's Service League (Rent for Rummage Sale)	20.00	
Electric Service Company (Fan for School)	33.93	
TOTAL DISBURSED	$8,475.37	$8,475.37
OCTOBER 1, 1952, BALANCE		$ 137.76

RECEIPTS FOR BUILDING	$1,920.00
DISBURSED FOR BUILDING	2,159.65
TOTAL INDEBTEDNESS	$1,700.00

Mrs. E. C. Brown, Treasurer.

CHILDREN'S INTERRACIAL REPORT

The Children's Interracial Organization of St. Petersburg, Fla. ended the year of 1951 and 1952 with attendance reaching 65 members. The project of Children's Interracial Organization is Happy Workers Kindergarten and Nursery. The School is the only home mission project in the city supported by the church and other groups that maks up the membership of the Organization.

This is responsible for the growth and service of the project. This school has no other means of existence than the support of interested church groups and from tuition fees paid by the parents of children who attend the school The physical at Happy Workers' has been built by the Mothers Council and the Organization. It has been necessary to raise funds from time to time to keep this project alive as debts have been made, but through faith in God we have always paid them. At present there is a balance of about $2,000.00 owed on the addition to the buildings. (Two buildings were joined in order to meet the standards set up for licensed nurseries). This offers a challenge to us this year. We believe we will pay this balance. We also help with the feeding program—which is so important to the health and well-being of the children. We furnish the milk for the children. The regular meetings were enriched by three speakers: Mr. Emmanuel Stewart, Principal of Jordan Elementary School who spoke on the Education of the Child; Mr. F. D. Burney, Principal of Gibbs Junior High, who explained the program of his department; Mr. Sam Stickney newspaper writer who gave a talk on the women prisoners at Raiford. Mr. Stickney circulated copies of his observations of conditions at the prison made during his visit there. We believe that we are helping to make better human relations by holding membership in other groups; Council on Human Relations, Florida Council of Social Work, The City Organization for Nurseries, and the Federated Council on Recreation.

In Memoriam: Victoria Vickery, and Marie Pierce.

Very humbly submitted,
Altaire Leggett, Secretary.

REPORT OF MEN'S COMMITTEE

October 4, 1952

The chairman of the committee was in attendance at ten meetings of the City Council during the year ending September 30.

Letters were written to Governor Fuller Warren, urging action in solving the killing of Harry T. Moore, of Mims, Florida, and to Walter White, President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, commending his efforts in the case.

Having been instructed to see about holding a mass meeting to protest the Florida outrages and determine what should be done about them from our standpoint, your committee decided that a more limited meeting might be proposed to the Council on Human Relations. A resolution was therefore drawn up, and was taken to a meeting of that body by Mr. Paul Johnson. According to the rules of the Council on Human Relations, their Executive Committee must first pass upon such a resolution before its introduction as regular business. Whether it was ever cleared or not, we have not heard.

The address by Mr. Sam Stickney on conditions in the Florida State Prison for Women resulted in a decision to request candidates for the Legislature as well as gubernatorial candidates to take a stand. A joint committee comprising members of the Children's Interracial Organization and other bodies was appointed to prepare a suitable resolution, which was duly submitted by mail to twenty-one candidates. In addition to these letters, one was returned unclaimed. In addition to the undersigned, the committee consisted of Mr. James A. Bond, Supervisor and Administrative Assistant for Negro Education, Pinellas County; Mrs. Amanda R. Howard, President, City Federation of Colored Women's Clubs; Mrs. Nat B. Brophy, St. Petersburg Woman's Club; Mrs. Fannye Ayer Ponder, Founder of Metropolitan Council; Mrs. Juanita Johnson, Head of Metropolitan Council; Mrs. Edith Hillman Serex, St. Petersburg Children's Interracial Organization; and Mr. Dean Mohr, Secretary, Melrose Park Branch, Y. M. C. A. Replies, all favorable, were received from nine candidates. In addition, a letter came from the Superintendent of the State Prison, to whom a letter and a copy of the resolutions had been sent.

During the summer an unsanitary condition developed at the Negro bathing beach. A telephone call was made to Councilman Deane, and later it was learned from Mr. Dean Mohr that the source of the trouble had been located.

As the project for a City Auditorium took on more prominence, it became desirable to learn whether its benefits would be shared by the Negro citizens of St. Petersburg. From a most reliable source it has been learned that such is the intention. Independent of local inquiries, letters were written to a few Southern cities to find out the policy in regard to their municipal auditoriums. Answers indicated that in Houston and Dallas, Texas, Asheville, N. C., and Richmond, Va., place is provided for Negroes when public gatherings are held in these meeting places.

Mr. Lewis O. Krahl, having observed the progress made at Campbell Park, has expressed hearty approval.

Respectfully submitted,
Edwin A. Leonhard, Chairman.

March 20, 1953

Mrs. George T. Douglas
278 12th St., NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Douglas:

I expect to come to the meeting March 26, 3:30 p.m., at the YWCA.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Planned Parenthood

RECEIVED
MAR 16
Southern Regional Council

278 Twelfth Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
March 12, 1953

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

At a meeting of the steering committee for formation of the Atlanta Association of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America held January 22, 1953, a meeting was planned for March 26, 1953, at the WYCA at 3:30 o'clock p.m. Officers and committee chairmen will be selected at the meeting and the program for the organization set up.

We are anxious for you to participate in the building of an effective association in Atlanta, and would like for you to attend the March 26 meeting and bring as many friends as you can to whom the objectives of the Planned Parenthood Association would be interesting.

Cordially yours,

Mrs. George T. Douglas

(Mrs.) George T. Douglas
Acting Chairman

PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC.
501 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York

MINUTES

Planning Committee Meeting
Planned Parenthood Association of Georgia

January 7th, 1953

Twenty-six persons interested in Planned Parenthood met in the office of the Director of the Southern Regional Conference, Wednesday, January 7th at 3 p.m. Mrs. George Douglas presided. Present were: Miss Annie Bell Swaney, ACWA; Mrs. William Reid, Director, Better Health Council; Mr. Albert D. Maynard, Attorney and Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Georgia; Carolyn M. Pennisi, Attorney, Legal Aid Society; Harriet Zimmerman, Family Service Society; Marjorie Atkins, Director of Casework, Family Service Society; Nancy Johnston, Director of Social Service, Grady Hospital; Dr. Mildred Mell, Professor of Sociology, Agnes Scott College; Katherine Barnwell, Atlanta Constitution; Dr. Regina Gabler, Fulton County Medical Society; Mrs. Ethel Copeland, Executive Director, Jewish Childrens Service; Cornelia Robinson, Atlanta TB Association; Dr. T. O. Vinson, Director, Public Health De Kalb County; Gwen Dekle, R.N., Industrial Consultant, State Health Department; Dr. Miriam Shropshire, practicing physician; Rev. and Mrs. Glenn O. Canfield, Unitarian Church; Mr. and Mrs. Walter Chivers, Morehouse College; Adele Eisler, Director of Casework, Child Service Association; Mrs. Chester E. Martin, President, Federation of Womens Clubs of Georgia; Mrs. James K. Dobbs, Council of Church Women and League of Women Voters; and Mrs. Miriam F. Garwood, Field Consultant, Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

The meeting opened with introductory remarks by the chairman regarding Mr. Chivers' interest in Planned Parenthood, his connection with the national group and his keeping in touch by bringing national staff members to Atlanta from time to time during the past eight years to assist with his Institutes on Marriage and Family Living.

Mrs. Douglas said that only one person of the thirty she had called failed to express real interest in the Planned Parenthood program and all but one indicated a desire to attend the meeting.

Each person present was asked to introduce him or herself stating the reason of his interest in the Planned Parenthood program as follows:

The Reverend and Mrs. Glenn Canfield, 570 Clifton Way N.E., became interested in Planned Parenthood when in Syracuse, New York, their church was headquarters for the Planned Parenthood Clinic.

Dr. Miriam Shropshire, 309 Bowen Circle S.W., daughter of Mr. Chivers — interested in Planned Parenthood from the standpoint of the practicing physician.

Miss Annie Bell Swaney, representing the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of

America, 1152 Regent Street S.W., interested from the standpoint of women in industry — is anxious to learn more about Planned Parenthood.

Miss Cornelia Robinson, Health Educator for TB and Health Association — Came by virtue of her industrial projects in Peabody.

Mr. Albert Maynard, Attorney and Associate Professor of Industrial Relations at University of Georgia, 24 Ivy Street S.E. -- feels that there is a direct effect on Industrial Relations by this whole program.

Mrs. Carolyn M. Pennisi, Legal Aid Society, 93 Pryor Street S.W. — Legal Aid Society has brought vividly to mind the need for Planned Parenthood in her practice.

Mrs. Annie Laurie Reid, Executive Director of the Better Health Council of Georgia, 458 Ridgecrest Road N.E. — served in 1937 on a volunteer basis with a Birth Control project in Albany, Georgia. (Others present knew of a similar PP clinic at Augusta and Macon in 1936. These folded when the State Health Department of Georgia integrated child spacing services with their pre-natal, post partum care.)

Dr. Mildred Mell, Head of Sociology Department, Agnes Scott College — a sociologist on the faculty of the college — interest from a sociologist's standpoint.

Miss Marjorie Atkins, Director of Casework, Family Service Society, 105 Forest Avenue N.E. Family Service Society deals with 2000 families annually.

Miss Harriet Zimmerman, Family Service Society, 105 Forest Avenue N.E.

Miss Nancy Johnston, social worker, Grady Hospital — learned from her that of the 500 to 600 babies born each month less than 1% of their mothers receive CC advice. She says they do not return for post partum care. "There is a missing link."

Miss Adele Eisler, Director of Casework, Child Service Association — primarily concerned with the infertility service as related to adoption cases.

Mrs. Ethel Copeland, Executive Director, Jewish Children's Service, 70 Marietta Street N.W. She represents a five state area.

Dr. Regina Gabler — for some years ran a sterility clinic at Grady Hospital in Atlanta. "During the war the service petered out" and she switched to the Maternal Health Clinic. "Patients do not come." Dr. Gabler ran a study for the Ortho Laboratories Co. in connection with CC but there was no follow up. She also felt "blocked by the missing link."

Dr. Oscar Vinson, Public Health, Decatur, Georgia — worked for years with PP. He thinks the public health nurse is the individual upon whom

rests the responsibility for bringing in the patients. He told of tangling with Bishop O'Hara at a time when the American Birth Control League held a meeting in Atlanta.

Mr. Walter Chivers, Professor of Sociology, Morehouse College — works with PP for two reasons; (1) as a sociologist he has a research interest in population and population pressures, and (2) because of membership of a minority group, he has not enough money to correct existing bad conditions He has, for the past 8 years, fostered as Institute on Marriage and the Family at his college. While serving as a member of the New Areas Committee, his concern was to devise a way to effectively attack the problems in the South.

Mrs. Chivers, Professor of Sociology, Morehouse College — primary interest lies in the field of sociology and psychology with an interest in psychiatry which views the rejected child as a problem of society.

Mrs. Chester Martin, President, Federation of Women's Clubs of Georgia, 3590 Ivy Road N.E. — knows little about Planned Parenthood.

Miss Gwen Dekle, R.N., Public Health Nurse, State Department of Health . While serving as a nurse during the war in Japan, went to the health centers when off duty — all the women wished to know about birth control.

Mrs. James Dobbs, representative of the Council of Church Women and League of Women Voters, 1751 Flagler Street N.E. — first knowledge of PP during World War I, when she lived in New York.

Dr. William Mason, State Health Department, is a member of the PPFA New Areas Committee — is very conscious of the unmet need.

Miss Katherine Barnwell represented the Atlanta Constitution.

Dr. George Mitchell, Director of the Southern Regional Conference — has always been interested in inter-cultrual groups and his offices are always available for the PP Association meetings.

Mrs. Douglas asked for some expression from the group to indicate if they considered it possible for this meeting to evolve into a working organization. How should this be done? If a nominating committee should be set up to choose a permanent chairman and to develop a Board and a Constitution and By-Laws.

Dr. Canfield made the following motion. "We are convinced that we need this motion, <u>that we organize a Planned Parenthood Committee in Atlanta</u>." Mrs. Chivers seconded the motion which was carried unanimously. Mrs. Douglas asked again if a nominating committee should be chosen to prepare a slate of officers. Mr. Chivers moved that Mrs. Douglas retain the chairmanship and a selected group of the persons present of her chosing help her to work out a formal organization, and that the final organization have representatives of the inter-cultural groups of the city. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Reid and carried unanimously.

A discussion followed relative to sending an informed person to the February meeting of the Federation of Women's Clubs to interpret Planned Parenthood as it applies to Georgia -- that Dr. Gabler talk to the Fulton County Medical Society. However, it was decided that the first step should be the forming of an organization.

The following: Mrs. Reid, Mr. Maynard, Mrs. Pennisi, Dr. Gabler, Mrs. Copeland, Miss Dekle, Dr. Shropshire, Mr. Chivers, Miss Eisler and Mrs. Dobbs, were asked by the chairman to assist her to develop an organizational structure.

They all agreed and plans were made to meet February 22nd at the same place.

rs - A-3732

English Speaking Union

UNIVERSITY SYSTEM OF GEORGIA
20 IVY STREET, S. E.
ATLANTA

OFFICE OF THE CHANCELLOR

March 26, 1953

RECEIVED
MAR 27
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

A short time ago I promised Miss Katharine Bleckley, President of the Atlanta Branch of The English Speaking Union, that I would write a letter to Rhodes Scholars living in the Atlanta area and extend them a special invitation to become members of the Atlanta Branch of this organization.

You are familiar, I am sure, with the splendid work that is being done by The English Speaking Union. The Atlanta Branch is particularly active and offers to its members some unusually interesting and stimulating programs. I am confident that you would enjoy an association with the members of this group.

If you decide to become a member of the Atlanta Branch, as I hope you will, please drop a note to Miss Bleckley at 322 State Capitol, Atlanta. The membership dues are $5.00 per year. If your wife wishes to join, the additional cost is $3.00 per year.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harmon Caldwell

Harmon Caldwell

The importance of understanding among the English-speaking peoples of the world has never been greater than it is today. The English-Speaking Union with its many Branches in the U. S., Britain and the Commonwealth is working continually and to good effect, to bridge whatever social, economic or political gaps may remain between us. We are natural allies, and between us lies the hope of the world for a lasting peace.

The English-Speaking U

OFFERS TO ALL MEMBERS, WHETHER BRITISH

Club House:

At the Club House members may have tea, see their friends, listen to lectures, borrow books. For the younger group, buffet suppers are served several nights a week, followed by informal dancing.

Education:

Advises on educational and scholarship opportunities in Britain and the U. S. Arranges exchanges of schoolboys between American and British boarding schools; provides financial grants for a limited number of British graduate students selected for E-S.U. Fellowships at American Universities.

Travel and Hospitali

If you want to travel to wealth, the English-Speaki will give you suggestions a mouth House.

Reservations:

Help with tickets for the concerts and special events.

Mail Services:

Forward or hold your

The English-Speaking

Headquarters:

For those Americans planning to visit Britain the E-S.U. in Britain also has much to offer. The Headquarters in London are at Dartmouth House, 37 Charles Street, Mayfair. These privileges include the use of Dartmouth House with its club facilities for one month. Rooms may be booked there for a period not exceeding two weeks, and a well-equipped restaurant is available. Luggage will be stored, and mail forwarded.

Travel:

The Travel Bureau helps members with hotel accommodations, and advises on

nion of the United States

OR AMERICAN, THE FOLLOWING SERVICES

ty:

Britain and the Common-
ng Union hospitality staff
nd introductions to Dart-

atres, broadcasts, lectures,

nail.

Shopping:

Will direct you to good shops for anything you may want to buy from a complete wardrobe to a toy for a child.

Lodgings:

Assistance with living accommodations and Hotel reservations.

Medical:

Will recommend qualified doctors, dentists or nurses.

Union in Great Britain

travel arrangements anywhere in the world. It also books tickets for theatres, concerts, music and drama festivals and special events.

Information & Hospitality:

Personal visits are welcomed by the Information and Hospitality Secretaries who will provide almost any sort of introduction for those who might have special interests such as architecture, gardening, medicine, law, science, music or education.

Branches in Britain:

There are 23 Branches in Britain in such centres as Cambridge, Canterbury, Chester, Edinburgh, Oxford and Stratford on Avon who have opened accommodations for visiting members.

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Sewanee, Tenn.
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THE SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY, INC.
A Non-Profit, Non-Political Organization Founded in 1941
5009 PEACHTREE ROAD, ATLANTA, GA.

April 7, 1953

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

Gentlemen:

It was a pleasure to meet you in Henry Cassidy's room at the Biltmore the other day and I am sorry that we did not have time to talk then. I don't think there is any duplication of effort between our organizations but, of course, it is desirable for us to keep posted on what others are doing.

We note from your letter of March 30 that you would like to have a copy of the new edition of our Southern Industrial Directory. We are putting your name on file to receive a copy as soon as the books are delivered, which we hope will be before May 1st.

Sincerely yours,

H. M. Conway, Jr.
Director

HMC/kd

RECEIVED
APR 9
Southern Regional Council

March 30, 1953

Southern Association of Science & Industry
5009 Peachtree Rd., NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

I would be most grateful for a copy of your recent survey on the growth of industry in the South, described in the ATLANTA JOURNAL for March 24.

If there is a modest charge, send us a bill, and we will pay off.

Our two organizations have somewhat related purposes, and I look forward with interest to reading what I am sure is an interesting report.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

For June Release

IF ALL 'FOREIGNERS' WENT BACK TO THE 'OLD COUNTRY'

Courtesy Appreciate America, Inc.

No. 11

We will appreciate receiving tear sheets of this cartoon.

APPRECIATE AMERICA, INC.
130 N. Wells St., Chicago 7, Ill.

REPORT OF ELECTION CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES

INDEPENDENT VOTERS COMMITTEE OF
THE ARTS AND SCIENCES FOR ROOSEVELT

THE JOB BEFORE US

How Can We Achieve Post-war Prosperity?

The Job Before Us

How Can We Achieve Post-war Prosperity?

What About—

PRODUCTION - EMPLOYMENT - INVESTMENT
AND PURCHASING POWER

The Present War Prosperity Will End, What Then?

THIS BOOKLET CONTAINS OPINIONS OF

Governor Thomas L. Bailey
Oscar Johnston
Eric Johnston
Howard W. Jackson
Tom M. Girdler
C. P. Helfenstein
J. O. Emmerich, and others.

INTRODUCTION

By Colonel J. O. Emmerich, Editor

The McComb Enterprise

The spirit of American development has been to encourage each section, to capitalize upon its own geographical, climatic, geological or strategic advantages. Thus - - - -

San Francisco became the gateway to the Orient; New Orleans the entrance to the Pan American republics; Chicago grew up with the grain belt; and Detroit capitalized on the Great Lakes and nearby mineral deposits; while Miami sold the nation on the value of tropical sunshine.

But inherent in all of this development has been the secret of local initiative. Growth must come with the vision and industry of local leadership.

Mississippi has rich assets in raw material, manpower and climate that predestine vast industrial production to balance with our ever-expanding agriculture, provided the will to grow is expressed through Mississippi leadership.

This will to grow when aroused within the hearts and minds of Mississippians must find expression through that coordination of effort which alone can bring men of all parts of our commonwealth together in a common, centralized, vitalized program, purposed through manpower to achieve what Nature designed that we should enjoy.

Here is where our state government enters this picture of development. Here is born the imperative need of our state incorporating the vision and scope of individuals and performing through adequate organization and financing what individuals despite their personal interests, alone are helpless to perform.

Mississippi has the elements of vast industrial achievement. The time is ripe to act through effective coordinated leadership.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF GOVERNOR THOMAS L. BAILEY

"Practically all of the states have made preparation for the dawning of the glad day of peace. I recommend continued and adequate support for the State Board of Development, and that it be given an appropriation sufficient to make surveys and analyses of Mississippi opportunities and possibilities to be used for the information of our people and those who may be interested in locating within our borders.

"I recommend the establishment of a Mississippi Post War Planning Commission to consist of the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House, two members from the Senate and two members from the House to be appointed by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House respectively, the Commissioner of Agriculture, the State Chemist, the State Geologist, the Governor and ten citizens of the State to be chosen by the Governor. This Commission shall serve without pay except for actual travel expenses when attending a meeting of the Commission."

PURPOSES OF RESEARCH AND STATE PLANNING

In an address by C. P. Helfenstein, Executive Secretary, Florida State Planning Board, Southern Regional Conference Council of State Governments, New Orleans, Louisiana, November 5-6, 1943, the following general outline of the purposes of a State Planning Agency were given:

"The chief functions of state planning agencies comprise: the coordination of activities of local, federal and other state agencies in post-war preparations; the correlating and clearing housing of essential data; and spurring on the work of interested persons, collectively and individually, especially at the community level in order that obvious statewide goals and unity of purpose may prevail.

"We in Florida agree fully with the published report by a neighboring state wherein they declare: 'Finding a solution to the problem of unemployment for all who want to work is of primary importance. This is a personal obligation our leaders owe to the men and women now in service, and to our war industries, as well as sound business procedure from an economic standpoint. The provisions of employment should

be the primary responsibility of private industry and private initiative. Private industry should be encouraged and assisted by our governmental agencies. To the end that full employment be stabilized at all times, the federal, state and local governments should be ready and willing to supplement private employment, when necessary, through a systematic and well ordered public works program.' "

"A southern state is specializing in preparation of a public works program, promoting industrial expansion, engaging in and encouraging city and county planning. Another state says they will cooperate with town and community post-war planning, the usual over-all effort to inventory resources of all sorts, and to coordinate efforts and provide a clearing house of information and conferences. A further southern state proposes to cooperate with federal agencies on public works programs for municipalities, state educational institutions, rural sanitation, as well as for housing deficiencies, agriculture, water supply and other studies, and to cooperate with other state agencies in forest and park, seaport, hydro-electric power, highway and aviation programs. These samples offer a synopsis of southern planning schedules."

Mr. Frank Bane, Executive Director, Council of State Governments, in speaking of obligations and opportunities of state government after the war said: "The post-war problem can almost be summed up in one word—that of employment. If that problem is solved, all the others will be taken in stride."

STATISTICS THAT CHALLENGE OUR BEST LEADERSHIP

As of January 1, 1944, Mississippi had 727,500 employable citizens. Of this number, 131,800 are engaged in uniform war service. Another 18,200 are engaged as industrial workers in what is commonly called defense plants. In other words, 18,200 of our citizens are at work on the production line; therefore, Mississippi has a total of 150,000 of its citizens at their best productive age engaged in war services. This means that 20.6% of the employable citizenship of Mississippi will be job seekers after the war, and because they are our fighting sons of freedom we cannot deny them the privilege of work at a sufficient wage and salary level to enable them to become substantial tax paying, home owning citizens. We must meet the compe-

tition of other states or face probable disaster, as well as make the state worth the sacrifices of our heroic sons.

WHEN THE BOYS COME HOME

"We've got a big telling and selling job ahead of us in America if we keep our industrial machine running and if we provide jobs for the fighting men as they return to civilian life.

"We can give our fighting men lip service, slaps on the back, and pin medals on them—but the real test will come when he takes off his uniform, puts on civies, and goes out to look for a job."—GEORGE GODWIN.

INCOME OF MISSISSIPPI PEOPLE

A. Total Income		$659,506,392
From Agriculture	$322,857,000	
Business and Industry	336,649,392	
B. Average Per Capita Farm Income 1924-1941		$ 124.00
C. Average Per Capita Farm Income 1943		$ 208.00
D. Total Average Per Capita Income		$ 302.00

The average per capita income of citizens of the United States for 1939 was $539.00 and the average per capita income of all United States citizens for 1943 was $852.00, an increase of $313.00.

COMPARATIVE CASH INCOME PER FARM

	1940	1942
1. California	4960	8797
2. Iowa	3370	6115
3. New Jersey	4124	5802
4. New Mexico	2223	3246
5. Florida	1814	3240
6. Indiana	1832	3061
7. Oklahoma	1114	2206
8. Arkansas	769	1479
9. Louisiana	763	1317
10. Mississippi	479	1109
11. Georgia	774	1106
12. Alabama	502	870

Within this generation our citizens have been forced to suffer the frustration, waste, losses, and sorrows caused by the twin nightmares of two world wars and the world's greatest depression. To prevent a stagnated industry and widespread unemployment is the negative side of all organized effort to promote economic security and avoid the experiences of the 1930's, when there was poverty, want, squalor and crime stalking a land of abundance. The opposite is an agricultural, industrial and business life of abundance where prosperity, contentment and happiness prevail.

While it is somewhat difficult today, after an increase of 102.5% in the average per capita income of Mississippi, to recall vividly the conditions of 1934, yet, the following figures of the Nation reflect in part what the situation must have been in Mississippi:

"There were more than 4,000,000 families, or 14% of the total, who had an average income of $312.00 per year. Another 8,000,000 families, or 23%, averaged $1224.00. Nearly two-thirds of American families had incomes of less than $1500.00 per year, and the average was $826.00 per year—$69.00 per month PER FAMILY."

It is safe to estimate that the average income of the rural families of Mississippi—and 87% are rural—for the same period—did not exceed $396.00 per year.

PUBLIC OPINION

In an article published in the Manufacturers Record, issue of October, 1943, Howard W. Jackson wrote as follows:

"Planning is one of the most hopeful signs of the renewed interest of the individual citizen in government. The more widespread the interest of the individual in planning, discussing, accepting, rejecting a charted course for a world at peace, the less chance there will be for a dictated course of action by government in the post-war world. I repeat, this ever-growing interest in Post-War Planning is Democracy at its best.

"It is my idea that a sound post-war economy ought to be built on the time-tested foundation of a free enterprise."

In the same issue of the Manufacturers Record, a quotation from Tom M. Girdler, Steel and Aircraft Industrialist, was as follows:

"When we reach the end of the war, this country will confront a problem almost as big as preparing for war. If there was the same desire in government as there is out of it to enable capitalism to meet this test there could be more intelligent planning for the emergency ahead in every county in the country. Even with the best of planning there is certain to be at least temporary unemployment of dismaying proportions."

Mr. Lee Baker, member of the Arkansas Commission on Interstate Cooperation, said in the New Orleans Conference on Post-War Problems in the State—"State Planning Boards should be non-administrative, fact-finding agencies, coordinating activities in all State Departments."

GEORGIA OPENS CAMPAIGN TO SEEK MORE INDUSTRY —UNITED PRESS ARTICLE, JANUARY 24, 1944

Governor Ellis Arnall announced here that his "number one spotlight job" for the next three years will be the "most ambitious" state post-war plan in the nation.

Georgia will discard the South's old "come-on to northern industry; low wages and tax exemptions" and seek out-of-state and Georgia capital that will further the state's post-war prosperity in all income groups, Arnall said.

He declared that other states' post-war plans embraced only public works or one or two other fields, while Georgia's "covers every field of human and natural resources."

The state's tax structure will be changed if necessary, but no business will be "lured to Georgia on promises of tax exemptions; we are after industry which realizes chaos eventually results from starvation wages and tax exemptions."

The board's advertising will not be "irrelevant and obnoxious," Arnall said. "We'll have no high pressuring in selling our state's potentialities, but we will have facts available. We will seek out a Georgia community, determine what type industry is suited, and then look up the industry, instead of the usual opposite method."

WHAT ABOUT KING COTTON?

It is common knowledge that the growing, harvesting, marketing, and processing of cotton and cottonseed products have been the chief source of livelihood and income of the people of Mississippi. As long as this has been true in the past, it is now recognized by our educational, industrial and scientific leaders, and particularly our best agricultural leaders, that the impact of substitutes for cotton and cotton products, such as rayon, may topple King Cotton from his throne. If cotton should be forced to yield its place in the agricultural and industrial life of Mississippi to new materials in this age of scientific achievements and wonders, much frustration and possible chaos would result, at least during the change-over period. In order to safe-guard present investments in the production and manufacture of cotton products, the Honorable Oscar Johnston, President of the National Cotton Council, has just announced the establishment of five cotton research projects to be financed in the amount of $100,000 by the War Production Board for the purpose of further safe-guarding the cotton industry and promoting the welfare of Mississippi and the South.

By intelligent and comprehensive planning, Mr. Johnston said: "The cotton industry must be prepared to fight to hold its post in the world," and urged the industry to raise $2,000,000 for sales promotion and scientific research.

IS YOUR TOWN READY FOR POST-WAR JOBS?

Albert Lea, Minnesota, a town of 13,000 people, was adopted by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce as a model for other communities within the United States to follow. As a result of intelligent research analysis and planning, this average city of 13,000 people knows that it will do some $49,660,000 worth of business the first post-war year as against $22,795,000 in 1940, an increase of $26,865,000.

It also learned that 593 new jobs will be needed when its boys come home. It knows that 2154 families probably will buy furniture during the first two years after the war, that 2292 cars will be bought, and 592 families desire to build new homes, and definite blue prints have been made for a drainage canal which will cost $2,000,000. The plan cost Albert Lea $150.00.

The U. S. Department of Commerce has just launched a program to interest other cities to prepare for the post-war period by doing similar work. The Department is offering interested persons its handbook, "Community Action for Post-War Jobs and Profits," to encourage similar action.

CITY PLANS FOR A GREATER JACKSON

The City of Jackson already has a definite program in the blue print stage whereby 16,000,000 will be spent immediately after the war. The plan for a greater Jackson is built around flood control, drainage, water works, zoning, school, street, traffic, sanitation and public building developments. What the citizens of Albert Lea, Minnesota, and Jackson, Mississippi, have done, others can and should do.

RECORD OF OTHER STATES

There are only eight states in the Union that do not have a State research and fact-finding agency as the Mississippi Board of Development with its planning division for the purposes outlined above, supported by State appropriations. These eight states are so situated and governmentally organized as not to need an agency of the kind.

Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North and South Carolina, and Tennessee all have state planning organizations, and to them post-war planning, as in Mississippi, is just another large bite of the continued job.

Georgia is reorganizing her agricultural and industrial development board. Alabama is now engaged in enlarging its planning commission staff. Oklahoma has set up a special post-war planning commission. Louisiana has created an economic development committee of 35 men, and South Carolina has created a preparedness for peace commission of 31 persons. Texas is attacking the problems with its 31 member post-war economic commission. Its organization is known as the free economic council.

CAN WE AFFORD NOT TO DO PLANNING?

In his closing address at the Southern Regional Council of State Governments in New Orleans, the Executive Secretary

of the Florida State Planning Board expressed himself in earnest fashion as follows:

"We failed in 1929 to foresee the dangers toward which we were heading and we were unprepared when the challenge came. As a result, most states began setting up planning agencies in the early thirties to which they assigned the duties of planning for the wise use of public funds in creating jobs for the unemployed. By that time the problem had become so acute that federal agencies were forced to find immediate reasons, excuses if you please, for putting people to work doing something for which a weekly stipend could be provided. There was not time for vision and foresight and as a result we fell into a spending program which never had scope, vision or plan beyond the objective of bare sustenance levels for the unemployed. State planning agencies today, however, find themselves in position to fulfill the destiny for which they were created and they must not fail lest we fall into another program which by comparison would make midgets of CWA, FERA, and WPA."

SOME DEVELOPMENT BOARD OBJECTIVES

Assuming a sufficient staff of qualified persons of specialized training, adequate finances, and regulations elastic enough not to hamper a comprehensive program of intrastate and interstate activity to meet the present needs and post-war programs and opportunities, the following objectives should enable the State to at least hold its own with the progressive states of the South, which are more and more attracting the attention of industry:

1. Adequately serve administrative departments of the state in necessary fact-finding from time to time as needs for research arise.

2. Serve definite departments of the state as a medium, when necessary, to disseminate information to secure public cooperation in advancement of any program or project.

3. Serve all citizens of the State, especially city, county and state officials, as rallying point and liaison agency for correlation and cooperative action, a much needed agency.

4. Make state-wide surveys and analyses of agriculture, industry, soil, land use, population trends, water supply, health, sanitation, forestry, reforestation, etc., in cooperation with administrative

departments and the colleges, as well as district and county surveys when the public interest demands such fact-finding activity.

5. Assume definite responsibility to arouse public interest in a concerted and sustained collective effort to build the best possible post-war economy.

6. Furnish leadership and plans necessary to get every city and county in the state, if possible, to adopt post-war programs and projects to enable everyone to have full time employment at creative work after the war.

7. Serve all of our citizens in disseminating knowledge, making public appeals, coordinating campaigns, arousing a spirit of cooperation between counties and districts to promote and stimulate interest in forest fire prevention, reforestation, soil erosion prevention, etc.

8. Maintain sufficient information, source of material records, and staff, to challenge attention and respect of the authorities in Washington to the Board of Development as a liaison agency and clearing-house agency through which to channel and expedite all necessary joint state and Federal post-war effort; thereby, pre venting delay, duplication and over-lapping of effort, and prevent unjust discrimination.

9. Give all favorable publicity possible about Mississippi, its soil, climate, resources, history, travel advantages, etc. This can be done in scores of ways, at little, if any, cost.

10. Formulate a wise policy with a clear-cut plan or plans to go after and secure new enterprises and thereby insure—with the help of greater poultry, livestock and dairying industry—sufficient per capita and family income to improve the living standards of all of our citizens.

11. Seek and secure from all state departments, institutions as the University, Mississippi State, and all departments such as the Experiment Station and State Board of Health, as well as private enterprise and the Federal Government, vital facts, records, statistics, surveys, analyses, etc., so as to make the Board of Development a library of source material, information and a fact-finding agency for all of our people. A full and complete clearing-house of this kind should justify public confidence and adequate financial support.

12. Regrettable as is the fact, and as much as we may dislike to admit it, housing conditions in many rural sections of Mississippi are deplorable. Thousands of our buildings need repairing and

modernization. Multiplied hundreds of families should have new homes. A well formulated and sustained campaign of leadership and education to improve housing standards in cooperation with private industry, finance institutions, and the post-war federal housing program should stimulate a repair, building and modernization program amounting to millions of dollars, if we can experience the kind of post-war economy for which we must strive.

13. In addition to the publicity suggested in paragraph 9 above, Mississippi should have a comprehensive and sustained campaign of expert advertising. The State of Florida is a challenging example of what can be done. Within this generation, Florida skyrocketed from a backwood state, classed at the time with South Carolina, Arkansas and Mississippi, to her present enviable position of one of the leading states of the nation. She repealed some laws that frightened and deterred capital, enacted legislation favorable to industry, then told the story to the nation through an advertising campaign. There was no magic about it. It was vision, courage, leadership and statesmanship. Did it pay?

A revitalized, sufficiently staffed Board of Development along the line recommended by Governor Bailey can help to accomplish these and other objectives in addition to meeting the personal demands for information of thousands of citizens within and without the state each year. Such a comprehensive program of public service is a tremendous job, but the assumption of tremendous jobs where public welfare is involved is the task of far-sighted leadership and statesmanship, and proves that the democracy for which we are fighting can meet its challenges, both in war and peace.

WHAT ABOUT THE WILL AND THE WAY?

"What do Mississippians want to know about themselves and the area they live in? Probably the first thing they want to know is why a people who work so hard, who occupy so fertile a land, who are blessed with so gentle a climate—why such a people should live so meagerly? Why do comparative statistics show them at or close to the bottom of the national scale on such diverse counts as per capita income, housing accommodations, illiteracy and crime. The list could be greatly extended. It would be discouraging were it not for the fact that the State has made real strides forward in recent years and that its people are beginning to ask questions and to plan for a better future. A people in this frame of mind can accomplish much. The people of Mississippi can show the greatest relative ad-

vance in the nation in the coming decade, if they have the will and can agree on the way.

"We may say that an analysis of the forces at work leads us to believe that the future of the people of the State will be bright if they are prepared to make it bright, or it will be gloomy if public opinion continues indifferent to forces of deterioration that have clearly been operating for many years. Mississippi's future depends largely on what its people want it to be."

Submitted by

MISSISSIPPI BOARD OF DEVELOPMENT*

PLANNING — INDUSTRIAL — ADVERTISING

W. T. HELMS, Director

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JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

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Member of Board

VIDA MAE PARDUE,
Private Secretary

*This booklet was printed for the first time in February 1944 during the mid-session of the Mississippi Legislature. The booklet has been reprinted to meet further demands from within and without the State. The Legislature increased the functions, powers, and general scope of activity, along the lines listed under the caption "Some Development Board Objectives," on page 12 and 13, and changed the name to the Agricultural and Industrial Board, effective July 1, 1944.

TAKE AN HOUR TO SAY "NO"

From experiences gathered in recent lecture tours, The Sizzler offers three new Wheelerpoints to keep You IN BUSINESS after the war.

By ELMER WHEELER
Author of
"TESTED SENTENCES THAT SELL"

THE following article, by Elmer Wheeler, author of "Tested Sentences that Sell," "Sizzlemanship," and other books, gives you a common-sense viewpoint on how to hold customer loyalty and goodwill during this trying period of "rationed" sales and services.

The article forms the basis of a speech that Mr. Wheeler has been giving before scores of business clubs and associations throughout the country. It is based on actual experiences and shows in graphic style the many ways in which goodwill can be either built or destroyed.

Every man in business, whether he is dealing with the general public, with wholesalers or retailers, will profit from reading this article and applying the principles to his own business activities.

It is vitally important in these days to listen quietly and sympathetically to the troubles of your customers; of not acting impatient, curt or abrupt. It takes no longer to explain a situation than to argue it.

If you have to say "No," say it in such a way that the customer will want to come back again in the days ahead when you will be able to say "Yes."

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Take an Hour to Say . . "No"

I HAVE a little black book. In this book I am carefully listing all discourtesies, insults, impoliteness, and bad service rendered me by business today under the excuse of "There's a war on."

When the war is over I plan to take out my little black note book to see whom to do business with—what tailor, laundry, hotel, grocery store, restaurant and so forth. Where I was high-hatted, or otherwise mauled around under the guise of war time conditions, then I plan to transfer my business elsewhere.

There must be thousands of people such as myself keeping little black note books which when "judgment day" comes after the war might spell ruin for many people doing flourishing business with war workers.

I'll tell you where the idea of this little black note book originated, just to show you it is not original with me but is a part of every service man and civilian today fed up with the attitude of the short-sighted business man.

I gotta live, too!

I got the idea from a taxi driver. We were outside a large Houston hotel. The doorman put a woman into the cab with me. She had two suitcases and the doorman said, "Twenty cents, please." She advised him she paid the check room. He said, "This 20 cents is for me, lady. I only make 60 cents an hour and gotta live, too."

The woman paid reluctantly and all the way to the train we discussed this high-jacking. Finally the taxi driver turned to us and said, "Pardon me for busting in. I just couldn't help hearing you, and let me tell you I have a little black book here just for guys like that. I plan to get even with them after the war is over."

Don't you fall into the classification where people are marking you and your business in a little black book, whether real or imaginary.

You might have to ration tires, steaks, butter, nylons and certain prewar services rendered your clientele in peace times, but don't ration courtesy, patience, politeness or attention. Today you can steal more business from your competitor than in peace times when he is on his toes. Today if

he is slipping up on tact and politeness, the people will come to you and if you heap up on courtesy they will stick by you when peace comes.

4 to 1 odds

Today you may have only one item to sell and five customers. One customer goes away satisfied. Four go away disgruntled. If in addition to not receiving what they wanted they were dealt with gruffly and with impoliteness, the chances of you being in business after the war are 4 *to* 1 *against you!*

One customer boosts you—four cuss you out!

I arrived in Cleveland the other day and tried to get a suit pressed "within the hour," since I had an important engagement. Did the tailor explain he was too busy? No. He yelled, "Hey, Joe, look! The guy doesn't know there is a war on."

And me, just out of uniform two days!

An eye for an eye . . .

When the war is over and that same tailor and his assistant, Joe, are again out in front of their business on the sidewalk waving nicely at customers to lure them inside, well, you know how I am going to wave back at them, don't you!

Speaking of stealing your competitor's business by not rationing goodwill, I have been dealing with one laundry in Dallas for nearly 7 years. The other week my shirt came back with no top button. When I called this to the attention of the driver he snapped back, under the stress of a heavy load of laundry, "Heck, Wheeler, you should be glad you got the *shirt* back!"

Maybe so. Anyway I tried another laundry. Several. Then suddenly I found a colored woman who not only gives me 3-day service but folds my shirts short enough to fit into my particular type of suitcase for my lecturing tours—a service even the big hotel laundries never thought about.

After the boom

So, when the boom is over and the war workers leave Dallas, and this laundry man of 7 years standing again comes back with the smile on his face and the empty laundry wagon, I'll thank him and stick with my colored washwoman. I wonder how many other "regular" Dallas customers have found this same woman, or others, and won't go back to their old laundries?

Don't let your chances be 4 to 1 against your being in business after the war. After good years come lean years—always.

Take your feet off the desk, and give the public "attention" if you can't give them goods or peace time service!

No speech or article is worth much unless it gives you the "cure" for the trouble it points out, so here is my current recommendation for those of you who want to stay in business after the boom has left the city:

Trick 1: "Take an hour to say no"

Don't be too quick to shout, "No, I'm all out of that!" Instead, show things you DO have. Take an hour before you shout, "No, we don't deliver any more." Instead, show how to make a small self-carrying parcel.

Take an hour before you holler, "What—three day laundry service! That's impossible." Show them where all laundries are now giving 7 day service so as to keep up good workmanship.

He's in my book

I asked a hotel clerk in a leading Philadelphia hotel what time I had to leave my room since my train did not leave until close to eleven thirty. He shouted at me, "SIX O'CLOCK!!"

I asked him politely if I could stay a little longer and not be charged for an extra night, and he stuck out his finger and yelled, "Say, where do you suppose those other guests will stay if everybody keeps his room until midnight? Huh?"

So I began yelling how about me, where was I supposed to stay, in the lobby? We both ended up in a useless argument. I didn't keep the room. He didn't keep a traveler of 10 years standing in his hotel. He is in my little black note book for after the war when he will need all the business he can get.

The following few nights found me at the Hotel Roosevelt in Pittsburgh, and hesitatingly I asked the room clerk there what time I had to leave my room since again I was catching a late train. Did he shout? Nope, he said, quietly:

"Captain Wheeler, the usual time is six o'clock. *(Boy, he used my name!)* But if we aren't rushed at that time you can stay on longer. Why not check with me around six to see how things stand."

I did. We found I could remain until about 8 o'clock. Swell. I'll go back to the Hotel Roosevelt after the boom is over.

So, point number one to maintain good will despite war time strain is, "Take an hour before you shout *no* to people." Take a moment to be nice.

Trick 2: Don't ration patience

The second trick of the trade in war times to keep good will despite the lack of help, despite the lack of merchandise, despite weak service, is to be careful not to ration patience, politeness or courtesy.

Patience should never be rationed. For example, when I had a supper menu suddenly thrust in my face on a Pullman recently, I naturally could not make up my mind quickly what to eat.

The waiter had no patience. He saw others in line, other quarter tips! He began to tap his pencil nervously on the table. I got nervous. I ordered something which I immediately regretted, but it was too late.

I bolted down my food, then reached for the thinnest dime I could find. I had a bad meal. He got a bad tip. We both glared at each other.

How I hate that waiter. In fact, I hate the whole train. By gosh, I don't even like the president of the railroad who tolerated such goings-on with the excuse, "Well, you know how hard it is to get help these days."

Yeh, sure I do, but I know too how easy it is to train green help to smile and be nice! I don't expect to get steaks any more, Mr. President, but I do expect courtesy.

Can't give it to me under present conditions? The B. & O. does. So does Western Union. Statler Hotels still do. When they are out of rooms today, they phone other hotels and pay your cab bill to them. I'll be back, Mr. Statler.

Stouffer Restaurants do, Mr. President. They have one hostess who does nothing but walk up and down the line of people waiting to be served, kidding them, talking with them, to make the time seem shorter.

The airlines do, all of them, Mr. President—all give courtesy, and when you are bumped off a plane because some General suddenly decides to make a trip and gets your seat, the airline vice president writes you a "so sorry" letter. I'll be back after the war, Charlie Rheinstrom, Bill Patterson, and you other airline boys!

Moral: Take a minute today to be nice, so you'll have customers left after the war to be nice to you.

Trick 3: "Look for familiar faces"

I like waiters who say, "Will you have black coffee now, sir."

Some waiters can wait on you for years and still ask, "Like sugar and cream?" They are the dime-getting waiters. The

quarter-getting waiters remember familiar faces and their likes and dislikes.

This is hard in war times with so many strangers in town. But when a familiar face does get into your vision, give 'em the works!

Look for familiar faces and cater to them.

When the war is over he is the only fellow you will have left. So nod when he comes in. Recognize him. Do all you can to make him realize he might not get the same material or service you once gave him, but boy, you aren't rationing good will or high-hatting him.

Custom tailor your good will for the familiar face.

He deserves a little thicker steak; a special trip to pick up his busted radio; a little extra attention on his automobile; a little attention, super-special from your hotel.

Don't cast aside business today that you'll wish you had when the years of famine return, as they always do after all wars!

There are enough familiar faces you do business with today to keep you healthy during the next depression.

High-hat the familiar face, make him wait too long in line, kick him around like a stranger, and watch out! He might find somebody who folds *his* shirts a way he never knew existed.

Moral: Look for the familiar face, and give 'em the works!

Too many businessmen today have two desks—one for each foot—while they sit back, smoke their cigars, and say, "Sorry, sold out! Come back next month!"

The customer walks away and makes a note in his little black book not to come back a month hence.

Even if you are "sold out," stand up on both feet. Don't appear smug with your temporary war time business rush. Instead, take out a large crying handkerchief.

Weep into it. Feel sorry for the poor customer you can't serve. Walk to the door with him. Walk down the street. Bemoan the fact you can't give your usual good service.

Pretty soon the stranger will feel sorry *for you.* He will say, "Henry, I know things are tough for you. But buck up. The war won't last forever, but I will. I'll be back. Cheer up, son."

Moral: Don't high-hat the customer, weep with him!

I never like to get a haircut on Saturday because you sit in a long line until some barber hollers, "NEXT!" and you leap into his chair.

Before you can tell him just how you'd like that bump on

the back of the head cut, he whips a sheet over you, yanks something around your neck and away he goes as if to a fire.

Before you realize it, he hollers, "NEXT" and you find yourself out on the street, feeling of your head, wondering what happened. Maybe that rush Saturday haircut was just as good as on Monday, but boy I like Monday haircuts and here is why.

The barber isn't rushing you. And when he gets through, and he has your hair all smeared down, he backs away from you, looks a long minute at his handiwork, then steps up with some professional scissors and begins to click them around your ears.

What he is doing I don't know, but boy, that clicking sounds good. It sounds efficient. It sounds as though he is getting one stray hair after another, prettying me up.

In your own business find that same psychology that makes people feel they are getting super-special service, despite war time rush. Click the scissors around their ears.

A Stouffer Restaurant waitress the other day, when I asked for apple pie, took down one piece. Shook her head. Took down another. Shook her head. Took down the third piece of apple pie, smiled, and gave it to me.

Boy, I thought it had the name "Elmer" written on it! She took a moment in that busy Detroit restaurant to give me service, to click the scissors around my ears.

And give 'em a smile!

So, take a moment to listen to that regular customer. Don't be too quick to tell a fellow you can't get to his radio until next month; have patience with the man whose watch is broken.

Tell the man *which* train he might get a lower on, instead of just shouting "All filled up," and even if you are bothered in a retail store, restaurant, or hotel with green help, at least teach them to have *patience* and smile, Smile, SMILE!

That's how to keep the war boom going *for you* in peace times. That's how to steal business today from your competitor with two desks for his lazy feet and a black cigar.

How? Click the scissors around their ears! Make them feel you aren't rationing courtesy, patience, attention, smiles or good will!

That's how to keep your name out of the public's little black note book.

Write the publishers for quantity prices on "Take An Hour To Say 'No'"

POEM AND PRAYER FOR AN INVADING ARMY

by Edna St. Vincent Millay

POEM AND PRAYER FOR AN INVADING ARMY

by Edna St. Vincent Millay

Written by Edna St. Vincent Millay for exclusive radio use by The National Broadcasting Company . . . and read by Ronald Colman on "D-Day"—June 6, 1944—over the NBC Network

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They must not go alone
into that burning building!—which today
is all of Europe!
Say
that you go with them, spirit and heart and mind!
Although the body, grown
too old to fight a young man's war; or wounded
too deeply under the healed and whitened scars
of earlier battles, must remain behind.

You, too, may not be with them, save in spirit, you
so greatly needed here, here in the very van
and front of Duty,
to fashion tools and engines, and to engineer
their transport; build the ships and mine the coal
without which all their efforts would be worse than vain!

You men and women working in the workshops,
working on the farms;
makers of tanks and of tractors, fitters of wings

to metal birds which have not left the nest
as yet, which yet must try their flight;
sowers of seed in season, planters of little plants
at intervals, on acres newly plowed
and disked and harrowed,
to feed a starving world;

You workers in the shipyards, building ships
which crowd each other down the ways;
you miners of coal in dark and dangerous corridors,
who see the sun's
total eclipse
each morning, disappearing as you do under the earth's rim,
not to emerge into the daylight till the day's
over, and the light dim;

All you
without whose constant effort and whose skill—
without whose loyal and unfailing aid—
our men would stand

stranded upon a foreign and a hostile shore
without so much as a stout stick to beat away
Death or Pain:
bullets like angry hornets buzzing 'round the ears and the
bewildered brain,
and from the sky again and yet again
the downpour of the heavy, evil, accurate, murderous rain;

You who have stood behind them to this hour,
move strong behind them now: let still
the weary bones encase the indefatigable Will.

But how can men draw near
so fierce a conflagration?—even here,
across a gray and cold and foggy sea
its heat is felt!—Why,
touch your cheek—is it not hot and tight and dry?

And look what light climbs up the eastern sky, and sinks
and climbs again!

like to the bright Aurora of the North
it floods and flushes, pulses, pales—then glows,
lighting the entire East majestically;
as if it were the sun that rose.
I wish it were!
Have patience, friend; it yet may be.

Surely our fibre and our sinews, the backbone
and brain of us, are made of some less common stuff
than clay?—Surely the blood which warms the veins
of heroes at the front, our brothers and our sons,
runs also in our own!
And are we not then capable perhaps of something more courageous
than we yet have shown?

Surely some talisman, some token of
our lofty pride in them, our heavy gratitude,
and so much, so much love,
will find its way to them!
Some messenger, the vicar and the angel

of what we feel,
will fly before them where they fly, before them and above,
like patron goddesses in wars of old,
cleaving with level lovely brows the hard air
before the eager prows,
lighting their way with incandescent wings and winged heel.

This is the hour, this the appointed time.
The sound of the clock falls awful on our ears,
and the sound of the bells, their metal clang and chime,
tolling, tolling,
for those about to die.
For we know well they will not all come home, to lie
in summer on the beaches.

And yet weep not, you mothers of young men, their wives,
their sweethearts, all who love them well—
fear not the tolling of the solemn bell:
it does not prophesy,
and it cannot foretell;

it only can record;
and it records today the passing of a most uncivil age,
which had its elegance, but lived too well,
and far, oh, far too long;
and which, on History's page,
will be found guilty of injustice and grave wrong.

. . . . . .

O Thou, Thou Prince of Peace, this is a prayer for War!
Yet not a war of man against his fellowman.
Say, rather, Lord, we do beseech
Thy guidance and Thy help:
In exorcising from the mind of Man, where she has made her nest,
a hideous and most fertile beast—
and this to bring about with all dispatch, for look, where even now
she would lie down again to whelp!

Lord God of Hosts! Thou Lord of Hosts not only, not alone
of battling armies Lord and King;
but of the child-like heart as well, which longs

to put away—oh, not the childish, but the adult
circuitous and adroit, antique and violent thing
called War;
and sing
the beauties of this late-to-come but oh-so-lovely Spring!
For see
where our young men go forth in mighty numbers, to set free
from torture and from every jeopardy
things that are dear to Thee.

Keep in Thy loving care, we pray, those of our fighting men
whose happy fortune it may be to come back home again
after the War is over; and all those who must perforce remain,
the mourned, the valiant slain.
This we beseech Thee, Lord. And now, before
we rise from kneeling, one thing more:
Soften our hard and angry hearts; make us ashamed
of doing what we do, beneath Thy very eyes, knowing it does
displease Thee.
Make us more humble, Lord, for we are proud

without sufficient reason; let our necks be bowed
more often to Thy will;
for well we know what deeds find favor in Thy sight; and still
we do not do them.

Oh Lord, all through the night, all through the day,
keep watch over our brave and dear, so far away.
Make us more worthy of
their valor; and Thy love.

"Let them come home! Oh, let the battle, Lord, be brief,
and let our boys come home!"
So cries the heart, sick for relief
from its anxiety, and seeking to forestall
a greater grief.

So cries the heart aloud. But the thoughtful mind
has something of its own to say:
"On that day—
when they come home—from very far away—

and further than you think—
(for each of them has stood upon the very brink
or sat and waited in the anteroom
of Death, expecting every moment to be called by name)

Now look you to this matter well: that they
upon returning shall not find
seated at their own tables,—at the head,
perhaps, of the long festive board prinked out in prodigal array,
the very monster which they sallied forth to conquer and to quell;
and left behind for dead."

Let us forget such words, and all they mean,
as Hatred, Bitterness and Rancor, Greed,
Intolerance, Bigotry; let us renew
our faith and pledge to Man, his right to be
Himself, and free.

Say that the Victory is ours—then say—
and each man search his heart in true humility—

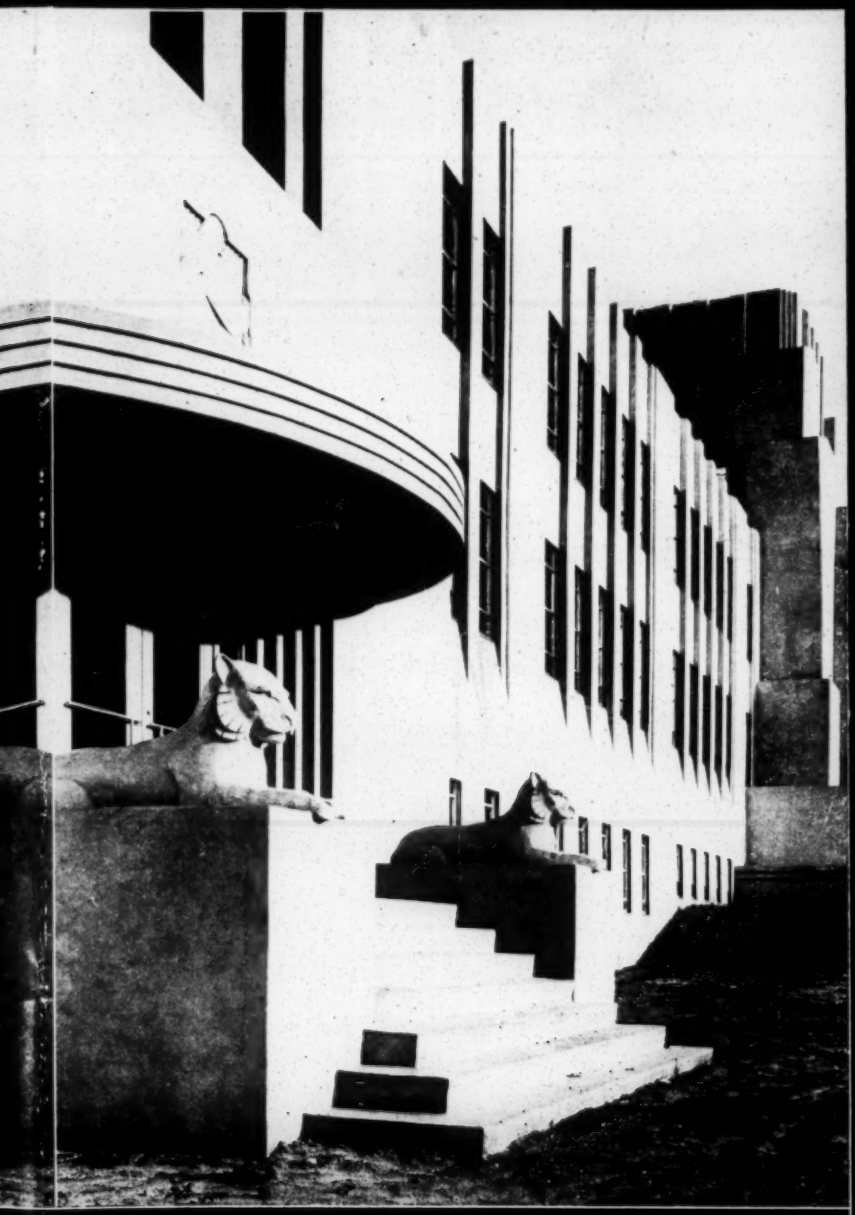
"Lord! Father! Who are we,
that we should wield so great a weapon for the rights
and rehabilitation of Thy creature Man?
Lo, from all corners of the Earth we ask
all great and noble to come forth—converge
upon this errand and this task with generous and gigantic plan:

Hold high this Torch, who will.
Lift up this Sword, who can!"

Educational MISSISSIPPI

THE *Magnolia* STATE

Educational MISSISSIPPI



Heart OF THE DEEP South

Mississippi Builds For The Future

IF IT BE a good test of a state's faith in its future progress that it should give a full measure of its energies to education, then Mississippi seems confident of a high destiny. If education be the alchemy for transmuting faith and hope into achievement, then Mississippi can claim that high destiny for her own. In 1802 the Mississippi Territorial Legislature chartered at their capital city the first school to be established in the Old Southwest. In 1944 Mississippi builds on the solid achievements of 142 years of educational leadership a Jacob's ladder to a golden prospect.

Educational Pioneering

Mississippi has this record to offer in educational pioneering. Not only did she establish the first school in the Old Southwest, but also the first college in the nation authorized by legislative charter to confer degrees upon women. Both institutions were at Washington, Mississippi, second territorial and first state capital. Jefferson Military College, the school for boys chartered in 1802, is still in successful operation. Elizabeth Female Academy, the school for girls chartered in 1819, has long been closed; but from its spark the torch of higher education for women has been carried across the continent.

Old Oakland College, established in 1830 near the village of Rodney, Mississippi, was the first college south of the Tennessee line to confer the A.B. degree.

Opened to students in 1848, the University of Mississippi had by 1859 become the peer of any university in the land in endowment, faculty, and equipment. Its last ante-bellum president, F. A. P. Barnard, planned and built an astronomical observatory for which he ordered the largest telescope of that time. The telescope was completed in 1861 — the year which saw Mississippi's star joined to a new nation and a new flag. The telescope was never delivered; the University's buildings were turned into military hospitals; President Barnard went to New York City to continue the remarkable career perpetuated in the naming of Barnard College after him; but the splendid memory of the University's ante-bellum distinction has survived both war and reconstruction.

In 1871 Mississippi created on the grounds of old Oakland College the Alcorn University for Negroes, first state-supported college for Negroes in the nation.

In 1884 Mississippi established at Columbus the Mississippi Industrial Institute and College, first state-supported college for women in the nation.

THE COVER: *Entrance and portion of front facade to the new Bailey Junior High School at Jackson, Mississippi.*

In 1944 Mississippi has more white higher educational institutions in proportion to population and gives more support to higher education in relation to its wealth than any other Southern state. In proportion to white population Mississippi has a higher percentage of students in college than any other state. At present there is no state-supported higher education system comparable to Mississippi's when measured by student accessibility and low cost.

Public School Progress

While fully convinced of the value of education, Mississippians have not been too hasty in shifting the responsibility for schooling from the individual to the state. They have believed that the support of education is primarily a duty of the family, then of the local community, and of the state only when local support is proved to be inadequate. As sentiment for public and standardized education has grown, however, Mississippi has more than kept pace in extending educational facilities to her citizens.

Public education in Mississippi's municipalities has been provided through local units and support, since the closely-grouped population in municipalities makes public school the natural educational method. But the administrative organization for Mississippi's rural education was forced to make adjustments when the demand arose for group activity and expensive plants and equipment.

In solving the problem of providing standard public schools to a population largely rural, Mississippi has in the last generation made remarkable and significant contributions to administrative technique. It is safe to say that no other state has made as much progress in rural education methods as has Mississippi.

In measuring Mississippi's achievements in extending standard public schools to her rural areas, the direction and pace of the movement is as important an indicator as the distance travelled.

Mississippi in 1908 authorized the creation of county agricultural high schools to be supported by county-wide tax levies supplemented by direct grants from the state. These county high schools supplied and, in turn, further aroused the active demand for high school facilities within the reach of every Mississippi boy and girl — the rural consolidated school.

Consolidation in Mississippi began in 1910 with legislation authorizing the creation of special rural school districts with power to issue bonds and levy taxes for educational purposes. A graphic illustration of the rate at which consolidation took place in the next two decades is given in the following figures: In 1909-10 there were 4,256 rural schools in operation for the white children of Mississippi; in 1914-15, five years later, 4,148; in

1920, ten years later, 3,540; in 1924-25, fifteen years later, 2,740; in 1929-30, 1,948. In the space of twenty years the number of schools in operation in the rural districts was reduced by 2,306 while attendance greatly increased.

The following table shows the growth of white consolidated schools:

Year	Schools	Enrollment	No. Transported	Plant Investment
1909	0	0	0	0
1910	2	205	65	$8,000
1913	69	7,150	3,120	40,000
1915	163	13,865	6,489	129,140
1917	290	33,037	14,643	289,625
1920	470	61,821	30,772	1,022,522
1923	751	117,673	44,034	9,461,051
1925	862	144,498	63,545	10,747,040
1926	929	148,625	92,671	13,087,245
1927	951	162,830	94,871	15,000,000
1928	988	170,902	102,541	17,500,000
1929	984	178,193	106,915	19,250,000
1941	848	226,937	155,500	61,658,820

Since 1928 the consolidation movement has become a super-consolidated movement with consolidated schools reconsolidating for even greater efficiency. In some instances this super-consolidation has grouped several elementary schools around one consolidated high school. In other instances — especially where constantly-improving roads have made transportation costs lower than building costs — the elementary schools and high school are combined.

Through the medium of public transportation of students to consolidated schools Mississippi's rural population now has educational facilities offered to it which are standard in every respect. There is as much difference between the modern Mississippi consolidated school plant and the one-teacher school it has replaced as there is between the modern automobile and the 1890 horse and buggy. The modern rural school building in Mississippi sets an architectural pace in functional design which is noticeably lifting the average level of other architecture in its community. In this respect, architecture is but the symbol of the more fundamental spiritual lift which Mississippi's rural consolidated schools are giving to their communities by building for the future.

Bringing Higher Education to the People

Since 1928 the State of Mississippi has embarked on a program as ambitious and significant in the field of higher education as the rural consolidation program is ambitious in the public school field. Eleven public junior colleges (with a twelfth soon to be added) supported jointly by state and local governments are offering a broad curriculum above the high school level to Mississippi young men and women at a cost to the student

unmatched by any other institutions of higher education. Mississippi is one of the few states maintaining a state system of junior colleges. There is no other state which makes it as easy for young men and women to go to college as Missisisppi makes it through her junior colleges. There is certainly no other state spending as large a share of its total energies in making higher education available to the general public as Mississippi is spending.

In order to fit the junior colleges into the established state higher education system Mississippi is instituting curriculum reforms recognized by leading educators as pointing the way to future collegiate organization. The state senior colleges are dividing their work into upper and lower divisions, the latter corresponding to the general education features of the junior college curricula. Such a division is an insurance that the student is given a broad cultural background before he begins his specialized study.

All six state senior colleges in Mississippi (including Alcorn A. & M. for Negroes) are under the control of one board of trustees, with the aim of making the colleges each a part of one integrated system of higher education. Mississippi thus offers a unique combination of the advantages of decentralized location with centralized goal, of small colleges with university specialization, of local service combined with state service.

Two of the six senior colleges — Mississippi Southern at Hattiesburg and Delta State Teachers at Cleveland — have as their fundamental purpose the training of teachers for the state's gigantic public school system. In addition, the other four colleges — particularly, the Mississippi State College for Women — have strong teacher-training departments. Thus the Mississippi institutions of higher education have as one of their most important functions the constant progressive raising of the educational qualifications of Mississippi teachers.

All six senior colleges offer good liberal arts courses in connection with their special fields of study. In addition to teacher-training and liberal arts, the colleges as a unit offer studies covering practically every service essential to the well-being and prosperity of the people of Mississippi. Separate schools at the University at Oxford are maintained in Law, Medicine, Engineering, Commerce, and Pharmacy. Mississippi State College at Starkville has separate schools in Agriculture, Engineering, Science, and Business. All of the colleges except Mississippi State College for Women are co-educational. The denominational senior colleges of Mississippi include Millsaps and Belhaven at Jackson; Mississippi College at Clinton; and Blue Mountain at Blue Mountain.

In addition to the state maintained institutions for higher learning Mississippi enjoys the advantages of one of the outstanding systems of Public Junior Colleges in

America — a system built upon a plan for locating and developing these institutions in the heavy populated rural centers with terminal type courses adjusted to the needs of the area served. In addition the system of Public Junior Colleges has a number of outstanding private and denominational junior colleges.

The excellence of Mississippi school instruction in the standard high school curriculum is measured by the fact that graduates of Mississippi accredited high schools consistently maintain records of successful accomplishment in the colleges which they attend. The total program of instruction in Mississippi schools, which is the product of a six year period of ntensive study and development, is characterized by it insistence upon thoroughness in scholarship, development of character, flexibility in making adjustments to community and national needs, and by its provision for the development of the attributes of democratic citizenship in all youth. Accredited high schools must provide instruction in the fields of (1) language arts, (2) mathematics and science, (3) social studies, (4) vocational and occupational studies, (5) health and physical education, (6) special interests.

The best illustration of how Mississippi public schools are building for the future is given in the work of the Vocational Education Department in the high schools. This great educational force is putting agricultural science to work on the farm and in the home producing for victory and preparing for peace. Agricultural education is building strong the rural foundation of the state. It is training both the present and future farmers. It is helping to conserve and improve the human and natural resources of our farms and homes. It is enriching the life of our rural communities, forming one of the largest groups of trained leaders in the state, it reaches out into practically every rural neighborhood, there having been classes taught in over 2,000 centers last year.

The work of agriculture teachers with adult farmers has been vastly expanded, 163,631 farmers and farm women having been taught last year. The largest enrollments were in repair of farm machinery and food production and conservation. Although more than 163,000 farm people went back to school again, it wasn't the same sort of school they attended as boys and girls, nor the same kind of teaching. Some times these classes were taught in school-rooms, some times they were taught in shops, and more frequently they were conducted at community centers, in clubhouses, in farm homes, in the farm shop, in poultry yards, gardens, fields and orchards, where improved practice could be demonstrated. Give farmers access to well equipped shops and other teaching facilities together with trained supervision, and they will quickly learn how to repair farm machinery, can produce, and do many of the other improved farm practices. This is indicated by results obtained. Over one quarter of a million pieces of farm machinery were repaired by those receiving instructions in

1942, and an increase of 4,100,000 pounds of vegetables, 5,200,000 pounds beef, 6,700,000 pounds pork, 3,400,000 dozen eggs, and 1,588,000 quarts of canned produce were produced by the farmers and farm women enrolled in food production classes.

Vocational schools are expending educational activities for adults and they feel their educational responsibilities to all of the people, both in school and out of school in the community.

FARM YOUTH are taught ways to make farming operations more profitable by adopting modern methods, using pure bred stock and conserving manpower. These young farmers learn by doing and earn while they learn. They grow crops and raise livestock. They own dairy herds, and tend poultry flocks. They feed beef cattle and raise hogs. They terrace land. They improve pastures.

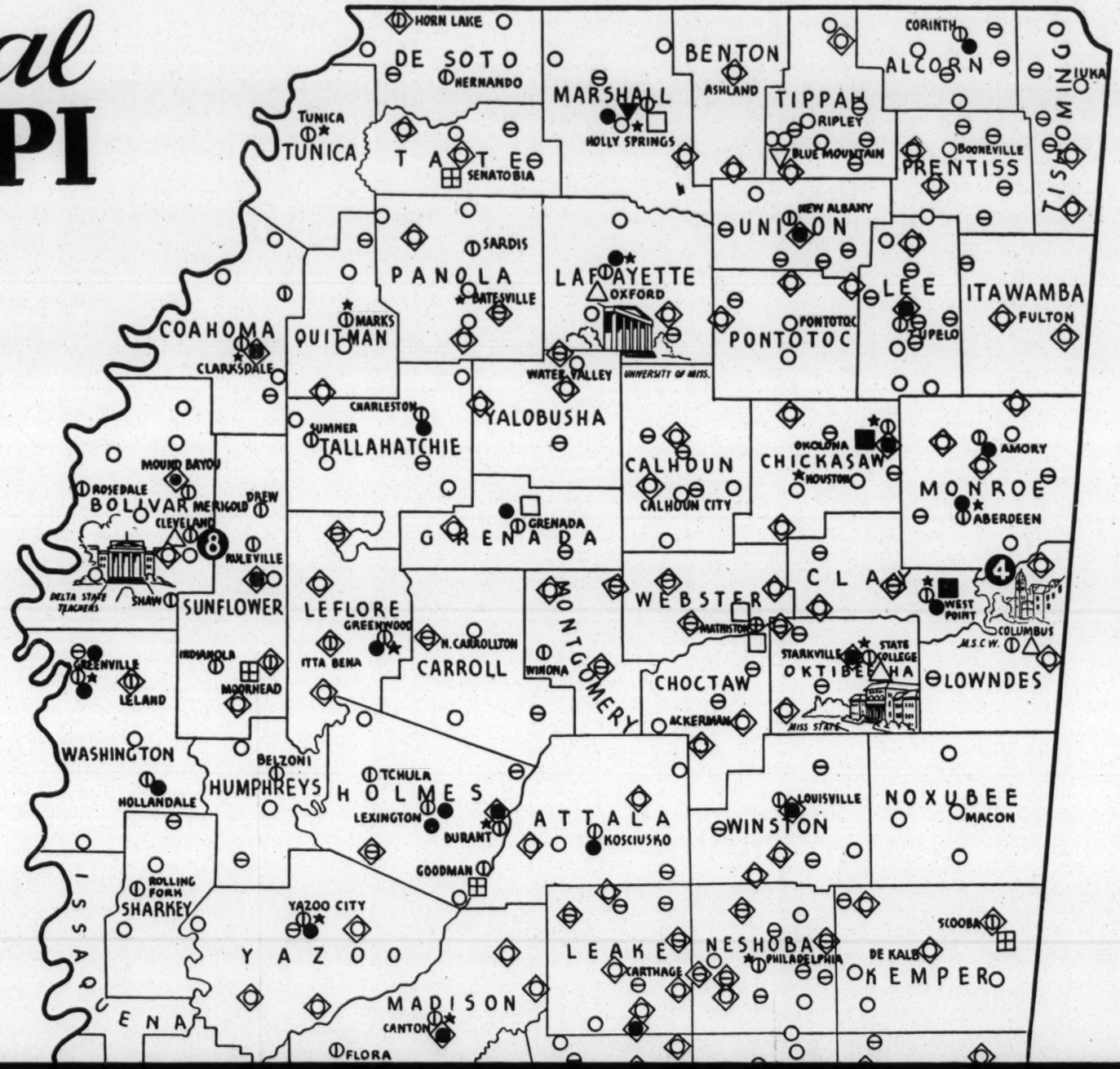
Every individual is a potential homemaker. Therefore, homemaking has much to contribute to the education of boys and girls, men and women for immediate personal and family living in a democratic society. The homemaking program in Mississippi is designed to train individuals to become efficient homemakers who are capable of dealing with problems involved in making a home. Some of these are, provision of food for the family; selection, care and construction of clothing; care and guidance of children; selection, furnishing, and care of house; maintenance of health; home care of sick; consumer buying; management of all material and human resources available to the home; maintenance of satisfactory family relationship; application of arts and sciences to the home.

The war has caused special emphasis to be placed upon the conservation of food, clothing, and household equipment. Homemaking teachers have rendered invaluable assistance to hundreds of families in helping them to meet consumer problems and secure maximum service from goods and commodities. In many communities organized classes are provided for both the in-school and out-of-school groups. Through supervised learning experiences outside of the class-room individuals are taught to work on problems that improve home and family living. Thus, many excellent home projects are planned and carried to completion each year in home improvement, sanitation, clothing construction and renovation, meal planning and preparation, planning family recreation, personal care and grooming, home care of the sick and care of children. "Learning to do by doing" is the slogan that characterizes the Mississippi Homemaking Program. In 1943 there were 25,534 individuals reached in organized vocational homemaking classes. This number will increase as more schools have the opportunity of including homemaking in their curriculum and if more schools can employ homemaking teachers on the twelve months basis.

Educational MISSISSIPPI

Mississippi in the last generation has achieved remarkable results in her campaign to provide accepted educational facilities for all her young people. In spite of the handicap of a scattered rural population with a consequent low income for the support of schools, Mississippi, as this map will indicate, now affords to every section of the state a standard high school, junior college, and senior college. Her educational system has won world wide attention for its pioneering leadership in rural school consolidation, the development of publicly-supported junior colleges, and vocational education.

- Smith-Hughes vocational agriculture departments (shown only in 4-year schools affiliated with and approved by State Accrediting Commission).
- 4-year schools affiliated with State Accrediting Commission (white).
- 4-year schools on probation list of Southern Association (white).
- 4-year public schools accredited by Southern Association (white).
- 4-year private schools accredited by Southern Association (white).
- Negro 4-year schools affiliated with and approved by State Accrediting Commission.
- Public libraries.
- Publicly-supported junior colleges.



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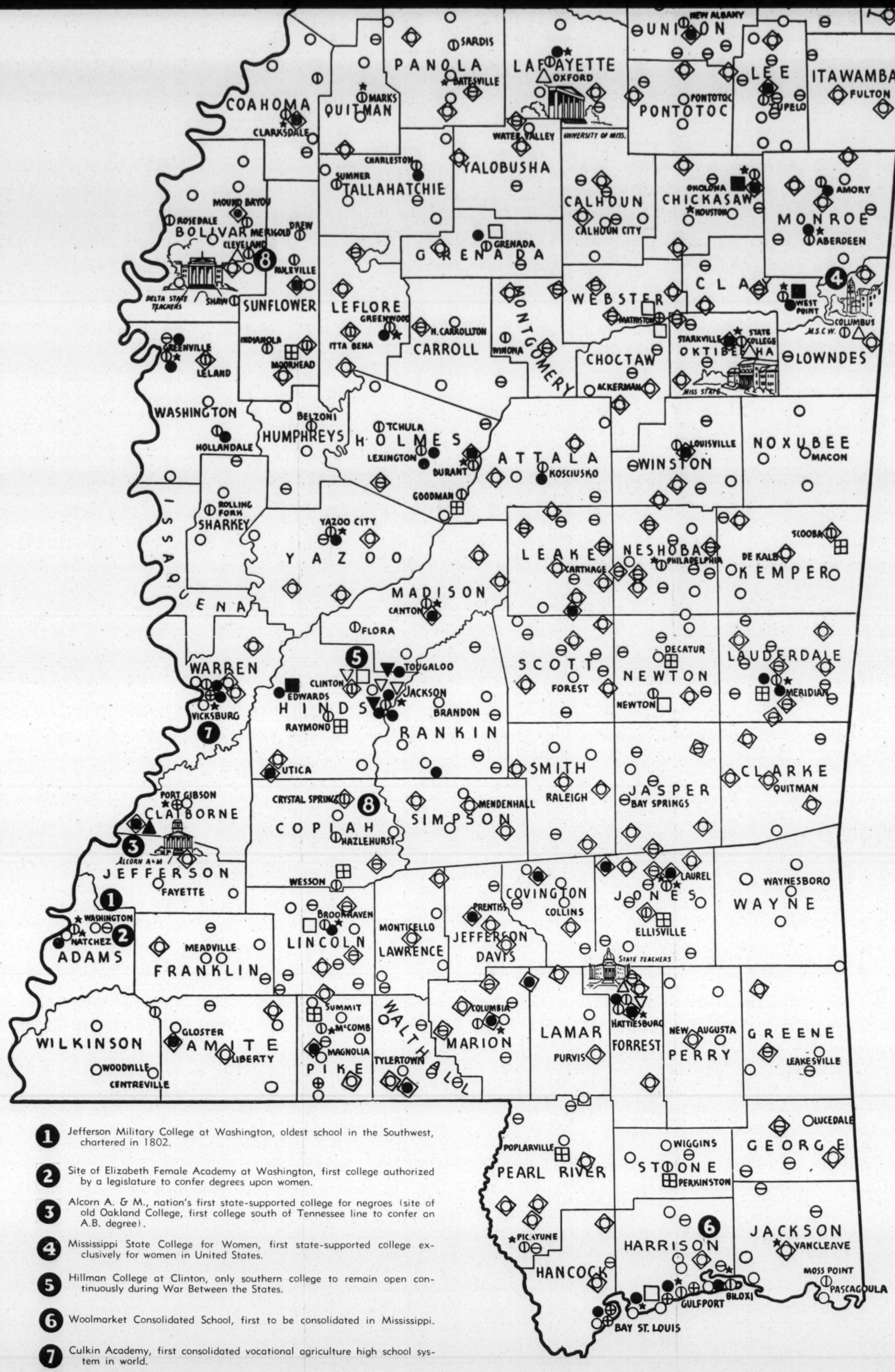
- Publicly-supported junior colleges.
- Private junior colleges accredited by Southern Association (white).
- Private junior colleges accredited by Southern Association (negro).
- State-supported senior colleges (white).
- State-supported senior colleges (negro).
- Private and denominational senior colleges accredited by Southern Association (white).
- Private and denominational senior colleges accredited by Southern Association (negro).

Mississippi's present educational system has its roots in a consistently distinguished tradition of educational pioneering. Since the territorial period Mississippi schools have been a fountain supplying leadership for the nation both in trained men and women and in ideas. The mark of achievement set by such institutions as Jefferson Military College, Elizabeth Female Academy, Oakland College, and the University of Mississippi, and by such educational leaders as A. B. Longstreet, F. A. P. Barnard, and Stephen D. Lee, is a glorious heritage for modern Mississippi schools.



1. Jefferson Military College at Washington, oldest school in the Southwest, chartered in 1802.
2. Site of Elizabeth Female Academy at Washington, first college authorized by a legislature to confer degrees upon women.
3. Alcorn A. & M., nation's first state-supported college for negroes (site of old Oakland College, first college south of Tennessee line to confer an A.B. degree).
4. Mississippi State College for Women, first state-supported college exclusively for women in United States.
5. Hillman College at Clinton, only southern college to remain open continuously during War Between the States.
6. Woolmarket Consolidated School, first to be consolidated in Mississippi.
7. Culkin Academy, first consolidated vocational agriculture high school system in world.
8. Crystal Springs and Cleveland Consolidated Schools, two largest consolidated schools in world.

This map was prepared from information and statistics furnished by the State Department of Education and by the State Library Commission. It is available to schools, civic clubs, and chambers of commerce upon request. — Mississippi Board of Development.

Out Here On "Foxhole Row"

By FRANCES LANGFORD

(Famous motion picture star and singer, who is making a tour of the United States to entertain the war wounded.)

VAN NUYS, March 12. — Too many homefronters are getting wrong numbers these days. They are getting them trying to predict the postwar attitudes and habits of returning veterans.

Fears about our boys being hardened killers when they shed khaki is harvesting a goodly share of the wrong numbers. Worries about gangsterism, hoodlumism and hate movements are also good for a bumper crop.

Now what most of the alarmists don't know and don't bother to find out is that Army life can have a salutary effect on your boy. That it can build in him definite values many a civilian could profitably emulate.

Neighbors, it's a pity that these professional worrybirds had to miss being with me today at the Army's Birmingham General Hospital here. For I can assure you if they had been present they wouldn't be getting any more of those wrong numbers. Honest.

EXAMPLE OF TOLERANCE

You see, I witnessed something mighty powerful and beautiful today. I saw a living example of tolerance. Saw it and heard it, thanks to Birmingham's "three musketeers." They are Private James A. Hawksworth, a Protestant; Private Bernard Miller, a Catholic, and Private Isadore Rosenthal, a Jew.

The three musketeers (they're called that because they're inseparable pals) are ambulatory cases who are temporary tenants of the same ward at Birmingham. I'll always be grateful for the chance of talking to them today. For it gave me a tremendous lift hearing them earnestly champion the cause of tolerance; hearing the three talk to the same God.

"If there's one thing the war has taught us," said Private Miller, a native of Claflin, Kan., "it's to respect other faiths and beliefs. It's unfortunate, though, that many of us have to face death before we get to feel that way about it."

"And how about after the war?" I asked. "Do you think this brotherly feeling will continue?"

"I don't see how it can fail, Miss Langford," was Miller's reply, an intent sincerity on his handsome face. "We have learned in the Army that trouble has no sect and that you can't lick it alone. Everyone must pull togther or it's just too bad. Because we didn't know this before, because we didn't 'buddy together,' we went to war. We know now the tragic cost of selfishness, bigotry and greed."

"Miller's dead right, Miss Langford," spoke up Private Hawksworth, who lives only a stone's throw from the institution (at 10825 Van Owen street, North Hollywood). "The way I feel about it I would duck any church or individual that preached intolerance or bigotry. And all the GI's I know would do the same. *Out here on "foxhole row' there's no restricted neighborhoods for Christians only*."

According to Hawksworth, if he ever hears anybody saying things against the Jews they'll have him to reckon with.

"One of our most popular men here," Jimmy revealed,"is our Jewish chaplain, Captain L. Elliott Grafman. When he visits the wards to cheer us up, he doesn't look at our bunk tags to see what our religion is. He spends as much time bucking up Protestant and Catholic boys as he does Jewish lads. He's sure one officer I'll never tire saluting."

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Executive Secretary: Miss Suzanne Noble

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New York City
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Director Education and Promotion: Miss Violet Edwards

December 4, 1963

Mr. William Bagwell
Director
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
Eighteen Eighteen South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Bagwell:

Under separate cover, we are mailing as per your request, 100 copies each of the Coles and Morland pamphlets. The price is as we stated in our earlier correspondence, an invoice covering same is herewith enclosed.

If we can be of further service to you, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure
Invoice for pamphlets

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TO: Mr. William Bagwell
Director
School Desegregation Program
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

****

Purchase Order #

Date Shipped

12-4-63

100 Coles pamphlet -------- .20@	$	20.00
100 Morland pamphlet------ .20@	$	20.00
Total ---	$	40.00

Thank you for your order

Chairman: CLAUDE C. SHOTTS Executive Secretary: B. TARTT BELL Treasurer: JAMES MATTOCKS

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Eighteen Eighteen South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina Telephone 88-2-0109

December 2, 1963

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Will you please send me one hundred (100) copies of the Coles and one hundred (100) copies of the Morland report and bill our office the necessary charges.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

William Bagwell

William Bagwell, Director
SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROGRAM

WB/h

Chairman: CLAUDE C. SHOTTS Executive Secretary: B. TARTT BELL Treasurer: JAMES MATTOCKS

Make folder

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Eighteen Eighteen South Main Street High Point, North Carolina Telephone 88-2-0109

File

December 4, 1963

Nobbie, please c/c. I thought we'd sent them

Mr. Vernon E. Jordon, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordon:

In reference to your letter and invoice of December 4, regarding our request for 100 copies each of the Morland and Coles report, we have not as yet received the material ordered.

If there is some way that you might check on this for us we would certainly appreciate it.

Thank you for your concern in this matter.

Sincerely,

William Bagwell, Director
SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROGRAM

WB/h

Another shipment found
1-16-64
VES / sm

November 26, 1963

Mr. William Bagwell
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
Eighteen Eighteen South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Bagwell:

Your letter of November 18, to Mr. Dunbar is acknowledged.

Please be advised that we have available for your use the Coles and the Morland reports, in quantities up to 200 each. We can make them available to you at 20¢ per copy for orders over 100 or more. When ordering less than 100 the cost is 25¢ per copy.

We can make these reports available to you almost immediately upon request.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

Chairman: CLAUDE C. SHOTTS Executive Secretary: B. TARTT BELL Treasurer: JAMES MATTOCKS

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Eighteen Eighteen South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina Telephone 88-2-0109

November 18, 1963

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

You are to be commended for publishing the recent reports on school desegregation by Robert Coles and Kenneth Morland. Both of these relate to very pertinent aspects of this problem. Since Charles Davis and I meet many school officials and community leaders in our work to encourage further school desegregation, it would be most helpful to have a supply of these two reports for distribution. Are copies available in quantity? If so, please quote me prices on 100 or 200 copies of each.

Personal regards.

Sincerely,

Bill

William Bagwell

WB/h

T2W sent 2/25/64

February 12, 1964

Mr. William Bagwell
Director
School Desegregation Program
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Bagwell:

Please forgive our delay in forwarding all of the material you requested the latter part of January, but we were in the process of moving from the 2nd floor to the 5th, and we are really just now getting our publications organized.

Under separate cover, I am sending you the 25 copies of Action Patterns in School Desegregation; School Desegregation: The First Six Years, and other copies of material as you requested, with the exception of Transition without Tragedy. I am passing your request for this publication on to Mr. Anthony, who has charge of its distribution. He will be happy to send you the information you requested.

Our invoice for materials is herewith enclosed. If we can be of further service, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Secretary to Mr. Jordan

/nm
Enclosure

Date 2/12/64

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TO:

Mr. Wm. Bagwell, Director
School Desegregation Program
Amer. Friends Service Com. Inc.
1818 S. Main St.
High Point, N. C.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Date Shipped 2/12/64

Quan.	Title		Price
25	Action Patterns in School Desegregation	(QRR)	@ .75
25	School Desegregation: the First six Years	(QRR)	@ .25

CONTINUED ON ATTACHED

F. G. 2/13/64

Total amount due-------- $ 44.70

INVOICE TO: Mr. Wm. Bagwell, (Cont'd)
February 12, 1964

QUAN.	TITLE	PRICE
10	L-16	.10 @
10	L-17	.10 @
10	Crises in Norfolk	.25 @
10	Organizing to Save Public Schools	.10 @
10	Little Rock - Five years later	.15 @
10	If the Schools are Closed	.20 @
10	Sanctuaries for Tradition: Va.'s New Private Schools	.20 @
25	Oxford Disaster	.15 @
25	What Price Violence? L-38	.10 @
1	Atlanta Employment	.20
1	The Louisville Story	.20
5	The New Orleans School Crisis	.20 @
1	When a City Closes its Schools	.75
2	High Cost of Conflict	.15 @

Sent 3/13/64
F.G.

BCC - Please send "Special Handling" Thanks

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.
Southeastern Regional Office
1818 South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina
P. O. Box 1307 88 2-0109

CLAUDE C. SHOTTS
Regional Chairman
B. TARTT BELL
Executive Secretary
B. RUSSELL BRANSON
Finance Secretary

January 14, 1964

Vernon E. Jordan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Following are four matters in which I would appreciate your assistance:

1. On December 4 you wrote stating that you were shipping 100 copies each of the Robert Coles and Kenneth Morland pamphlets on school desegregation. You enclosed an invoice. To date we have not received the shipment.

2. In early December I wrote to Leslie Dunbar requesting 25 copies of Action Patterns in School Desegregation and asking for a price on 25 or 50 copies of "School Desegregation: The first six years," if this pamphlet is still available. I have received no reply.

3. In the new Southern Regional Council publication, Transition Without Tragedy, several items in the bibliography are mentioned as available from S.R.C. If this is correct, please send me the listed items, and bill our office the necessary charges. (see attached list)

4. Please quote me a price on 10 copies of Transition Without Tragedy.

Anything you can do to facilitate these requests will be greatly appreciated. We need some of the materials at once to aid in our school desegregation program activities, especially in some of the South Carolina and Virginia communities where we are working this year for the first time.

Sincerely,

Bill Bagwell

William Bagwell, Director
SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROGRAM

WB/h

AT NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
HAROLD EVANS, *Chairman* • HENRY J. CADBURY, *Honorary Chairman* • CLARENCE E. PICKETT, *Executive Secretary Emeritus* • COLIN W. BELL, *Executive Secretary*

No. of copies		TITLE
10		Atlanta and Washington: Racial Differences in Academic Achievement. L - 16 — .10
10		Desegregation and Academic Achievement L - 17 .10
~~10~~	1.50	~~Action Patterns in School Desegregation: A Guidebook~~ .75
1		Background: Atlanta — employment .20
1	.20	Louisville Story, The
10		Crises in Norfolk .25
5		The New Orleans School Crises .20
10		Organizing to Save Public Schools .10
1		When A City Closes its Schools .75
2		High Cost of Conflict .10
10	.20	Little Rock Report...What has happened since the School Crises?
25		Oxford Disaster...Price of Defiance, The .70¢
25		What Price Violence? L - 38 .10
10		If the Schools are Closed..A Critical Analysis of the Private .20
10		Sanctuaries for Tradition: Virginia's New Private Schools .20

School Desegregation - 1-1 6 pages .25

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
160 North Fifteenth Street,
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

VJ

Dear Vernon.

The title of that thing is:

AIR FORCE REGULATION No.35-78
19 August, 1964

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND TREATMENT OF
MILITARY PERSONNEL

Tell Les I want to give some thought to his Humphrey memorandum and will try to get something to him early in the week.

Jean

Thought you'd like to see the enclosed. Give it to Frances. We might as well keep the Houston file in her office. Connie will get a copy later. I gave Frances the names of potentially receptive whites.

December 16, 1964

Miss Jean Fairfax
Director
American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

Enclosed is a letter that I drafted to John Griffin about our trip to Houston County. My memory facility is not as good as it used to be, consequently, I found your letter to Mr. Thomie quite useful.

Mr. Thomie called today to tell me about the deputy sheriff beating a Negro woman because she dared to stand on the jailor's porch, though mistakenly, in an effort to process a warrant that she had taken out, I believe, against her husband. He was a bit upset it but had taken steps to get something done. He had called the FBI in Macon and had notified some local news media.

The fact that he called is an indication that as president of the NAACP he needs and badly desires help and guidance. I think it is also an audition of a degree of faith in us as a result of our trip there. We did not have time to talk at all about school desegregation. He was pretty much wrapped up in this brutality incident.

Jean I want to reiterate the pleasure I had working with you on the trip to Houston County. I have been to a lot of small towns in Georgia, seen a lot of folk, but I learned a lot from you as I observed your operations at the grass roots level. I hope that I can return to Houston County with you again.

Here's hoping, for you and yours, a jouous holiday season. Have a good trip to Arizona.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

December 16, 1964

Mr. John A. Griffin
Associate Director for
Conciliation
U. S. Department of Commerce
Community Relations Service
Washington, D. C. 20230

Dear John:

Jean Fairfax of the American Friends Service Committee and I were in Houston County, Georgia last week. Knowing that the Community Relations Service is interested in the area, I thought you might like to know what we found out down there. Maybe CRS can be of service to the community.

The crucial issue is school desegregation. The Negro community has petitioned the Houston County School Board to desegregate the schools. A plan for desegregation, as submitted by the school board of HEW, has been accepted as a "good faith" plan and thusly federal funds approved for the present school year.

We have not seen the plan, nor have any members of the Negro community, but our understanding is that the plan called for desegregation of the 12th grade, beginning with the second semester. Such a plan is void of good faith and it is difficult for us to see how such a plan could have been accepted by the federal government. Nonetheless, it was, and the funds approved.

As to the implementation of the plan, parents of four children sought to get transfers at the end of the last day in the transfer period. It appears that someone told the parents that since the deadline, November 15, was a Sunday, they would not have time to complete the forms by the deadline. Therefore, no transfer forms were submitted and there are no Negro students to enter the white school. Of course, the other problem is a practical one -- who would choose to change schools in the second semester of their senior year in high school?

It is too late then do do anything about this school year, but there is ample time to prepare for September. Can CRS do anything here to effect the desired result?

The elementary school on the Warner Robins base is desegregated and employs three Negro teachers. However, children of military personnel attending high school in Warner Robins do so on a segregated basis.

There are positive signs in the Warner Robins community that school desegregation will not present a major crisis. The Montclair Motel accommodates Negro travelers and the eating places serve all comers. A Negro sergeant at Warner Robins is a member of the Lutheran church, where he teaches Sunday School. The minister at the Methodist church has addressed an NAACP mass meeting. The presence of the base can be considered a positive influence also, I think.

The American Friends Service Committee and the Georgia Council on Human Relations are the private agencies that have manifested a real interest in that community. You may want to call on them for further information.

Best wishes for a joyous holiday season.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

Frances Pauley

December 12, 1964

Mr. Oscar Thomie
Route 1, Box 754
Warner Robins, Georgia

Dear Friend:

After we left you on Thursday, Vernon Jordan and I drove to Perry and had a pleasant visit with Mr. Tharpe. Unfortunately, Mrs. Tharpe and Arthur were not expected for some time so we did not get a chance to talk with them. Friday I telephoned Derrick Bell, Ruby Hurley and the official in Washington whom I had mentioned to you. I reported to them on my conversations with you and the others. Frances Pauley is in Philadelphia this week end and I have just talked with her about my visit to Houston County. All of these persons were very glad to have a first-hand report of developments and I emphasized how much the Negro leadership is concerned about the school situation.

I heard from my Washington contact that the Houston School Board's plan for desegregation was accepted for this year as being "in good faith" and that Federal funds were approved. When Federal officials checked up on the implementation of the plan, they were told that parents of four children had appeared to pick up transfers at 4:00 p.m. on the last Friday in the transfer period. Apparently they were told that since the deadline, November 15, was a Sunday and a holiday, they would have little time to get completed transfer forms in by the deadline. No completed forms were submitted. Therefore, there are no candidates for school desegregation for the second semester. I asked a lot of questions: whether the Federal Government had required that the School Board publish its plan clearly and inform Negro parents of their rights; whether the authorities at Warner Robins Air Force Base had counseled with military families about their rights, etc. I got the feeling that in these early months after the passage of the Civil Rights Act, there have not been any set procedures and things have been pretty disorganized.

Now that the President has signed the regulations, the situation may be different. The regulations which deal with abolishing discrimination in school systems which get Federal funds will go into effect January 4, 1965. These regulations will concern funds for the 1965-66 school year. As I told you at the meeting, there will be lots to do but at least we have more time since we must now aim our efforts at the registration period fort the fall term. I think you said that registration for the fall will be in April or May.

Early in the New Year I shall try to find out whether the Houston County School Board has submitted a new plan, what the plan is, and whether the Federal Government intends to approve it. This may take some time since the Government is still trying to decide how "tough" it intends to be!

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

Meantime, it will be wise to lay the groundwork for a court suit. I hope you have sent your letter to Derrick Bell. The next step will be for you to find out which parents are willing to be plaintiffs in a court case. The purpose of the court case would be to get a Federal order requiring the School Board to submit and to carry out a meaningful school desegregation plan. You do not need to have a large number of parents as plaintiffs. A dozen from both Perry and Warner Robins would be fine. When you know who these parents are, that would be the best time for Derrick Bell to visit you so that he could confer with them. I hope you can find these plaintiffs by early January. A court case may not be necessary but, if it is, then you will be all set. Our goal is to get as much desegregation as possible at the start. We do not know now whether we can get more through a court order or through Federal action under the Civil Rights Act but we must be prepared to use both strategies.

Remind Sgt. Bass to give you the names of military families with school age children, especially high school age. It would be a good idea to appoint a school desegregation committee which will have the responsibility to organize the NAACP branch's efforts to prepare for the registration period. I would certainly be glad to meet with such a committee on my next visit.

Many thanks to you and to the others whom I met. I hope you have been taking care of yourself and have recovered from your throat ailment.

Best wishes and Season's Greetings!

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax
National Representative
for Southern Programs

JF:ej

January 4, 1965

Mr. William Allison
Assistant Director
Employment on Merit Program
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
818 South Main
Highpoint, North Carolina

Dear Bill:

It was good to hear from you on New Year's Eve. I regret very much that we did not have an opportunity to see each other, or more time to chat.

Pursuant to our conversation, I am enclosing the job description with the Community Council. May I suggest that you write immediately to Duane W. Beck, Executive Director, Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc., Palmer Building, Atlanta, and express your interest in the job, if you are still interested. Even if you have no real interest in the job, I would like very much for you to apply.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

emphasis

QUAKER SERVICE IN THE SOUTHEAST

JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1965

Volume I — Number 3

A PUBLIC INFORMATION SERVICE OF THE SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

AFSC Sends Proposal on Vietnam to President Johnson

A proposal that could end the war in South Vietnam if adopted has been made to President Lyndon Johnson by the American Friends Service Committee. The plan calls for extensive land and water development in the basin of the Lower Mekong River. It is already underway in Southeast Asia and has international cooperation and support. Dr. Gilbert White, an internationally recognized geographer and water resources expert, in a published article argues that such a project of international cooperation in science could provide an acceptable course for United States policy in Southeast Asia — one which avoids the three equally unacceptable alternatives of expanded warfare, surrender, or continuation of the apparently futile policy of containment.

Dr. White states that: "For seven years, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and South Vietnam have been working with little publicity and without disagreement on a huge development program. These four countries, which do not cooperate in anything else, have reached accord on development of the Lower Mekong Basin. Work already is under way in drawing engineering designs, moving earth for dams, building power plants, cultivating pilot farms, and training village technicians. Even guerrilla troops have not halted field work." He states further, "The Lower Mekong River may be the key to a fourth course of action . . . all nations could join their technical, financial and police assistance under the United Nations flag in working toward a concrete goal."

Dr. White believes that a United Nations presence would be effective only if national military operations came to a halt as the development program of the Mekong lower basin got underway.

Colin Bell comments, "The Mekong River Valley has, in Dr. White's expert judgment, an economic potential for Southeast Asia comparable to that of the Tennessee River in our American development . . . including navigation and commerce, irrigation, hydroelectric power, and recreation."

• • • •

Following consideration of the proposal in the southeastern region, several actions were taken by the peace education program. Letters were sent to key persons in the region encouraging contact with the President, the Secretary of State, Senators and Representatives on ending the war in Vietnam. William Jeffries, peace secretary, reports he has had responses from people that action has been taken in all of the seven states in the region. Reprints of Gilbert White's article have been distributed.

An AFSC group, headed by B. Tartt Bell and William Jeffries, called on North Carolina's Senator B. Everett Jordan and Representative Horace Kornegay to discuss the proposal. AFSC Friends in western North Carolina talked with Senator Sam Ervin. All were receptive to the idea that fresh approaches are needed in Vietnam and appreciated the expressions of concern to them.

Interim Executive Secretary Appointed

Claude Shotts of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, has been appointed acting executive secretary of the southeastern regional office of AFSC.

He has been a member of the region's executive committee since 1947 and for the past four years has served as its chairman. This is the most recent of a series of assignments for the AFSC that he has undertaken.

From late 1942 until March 1945 he was in Washington, D. C. for the Service Committee placing conscientious objectors in special assignments under Selective Service.

He directed AFSC's post-war relief program in Germany with offices in Berlin from January, 1945, until August, 1947.

From these activities he turned to

(Continued on page two)

CLAUDE SHOTTS

AMERICIAN
FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
SOUTHEASTERN REGION

OFFICERS
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Edward Burrows .. Acting Chairman
Charles M. Jones
Chairman, Personnel Committee
Claude Shotts
Acting Executive Secretary
Betty Austin ..... Editor

Published by
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1818 S. Main St., High Point, N. C.

Bosley Draws Florida Crowds

More than a thousand people heard Dr. Harold Bosley, noted Methodist New York minister, during a January speaking tour of five Florida cities. Disarmament and admission of Red China to the United Nations were subjects on which he spoke. A pacifist, Dr. Bosley supports multilateral disarmament agreements.

Evening lectures on the challenge to the church emphasized Christian responsibility and involvement in social issues and world peace.

Speaking on the ecumenical movement and the need for church unity he stated, "The problem of religious groups living together with peace and understanding is a real and pressing one. It is peculiar to the churches and must be solved by them."

On civil rights he said, "We cannot have peace until the problem of racial injustice is solved. The day of white supremacy is over. Racial tensions underlie much of the turmoil in Africa and Asia and often break into open discord. This must be ended.

"Our purpose is to create a world in which everyone feels at home, where there are no second-class citizens, no aliens, no refugees; where everyone feels wanted and loved."

Comments from Florida ministers attending the conferences indicate appreciation of having Dr. Bosley in the area speaking with firmness on controversial issues.

The tour, arranged by the Southeastern peace education program, will be followed in the five areas visited with continuing programs in peace education.

"It Floats" . . . All the Way to Algeria

Many bars of used hotel soap collected by the material aids program of the Service Committee have been sent to Algeria as a part of the Algerian relief program.

A letter from Bronson Clark when he was AFSC field director in Morocco sometime ago tells a story which is pertinent today.

"Last week we were carrying a box of hotel soap to replenish the supply at Foyer, Lazeret. Unfortunately the bottom was weak and as we unloaded it in front of the Center door, the bottom gave way and the soap spilt to the ground. We quickly picked up the soap until finally there was nothing on the ground but hundreds of tiny bits of pieces, none bigger than a penny. As we turned to enter the Center, the tiny street urchins, who had been watching our every move, closed in. We counted ten of them, some no more than five years old, carrying a younger sister on their backs, down in the dust picking up the pieces of hotel soap with tiny fingers. Even though some of us have become hardened to sights of poverty, as indeed we must if we are to work effectively, we stood there silently watching. Within the space of two minutes you would never have guessed the bars of soap had been spilt. Not a scrap was left. Not a single piece of whatever size. Off through the dirt streets of Lazeret ran the children carrying the bits of soap to their homes. We thought of those who had contributed this soap. Could they, in any possible way, realize the value of their gift?"

Lydia Nesbitt, material aids director in the High Point office, reports that interest in collecting used hotel soap continues; since September 1962, more than 1800 pounds have been received at the regional office center.

One husband of a committee member travels in Virginia. The motels where he stays save their used soap for him. Regularly, he collects it and it is brought in to be processed. The chairman of the committee has picked up used soap from two High Point motels for three years.

One of these motel owners at a civic club meeting heard a talk on peace and disarmament by the region's peace education secretary. Interested and concerned, he asked what he could do and was told of the used soap saving project. He commented, "Our cooperation in saving soap for collection by the AFSC is something that we can and will be glad to do."

This project is one that can be done by an individual or by a church group.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

(Continued from front page)

YMCA work and from late 1947 until July, 1964, he was general secretary of the YMCA, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Wilton E. Hartzler, newly-appointed regional executive secretary, will begin his assignment later in the year. In the interim Claude Shotts will be in the High Point office two days a week and will be available for participation in committee meetings and other special assignments.

B. Tartt Bell began his Washington duties with the AFSC International Affairs Seminars in Washington, D. C. in early January.

MOVING?

When you move, we appreciate your sending us prompt notice of your change of address. The cost to us is 8c when a piece is returned incorrectly addressed.

Our mailing list includes approximately 3,500 names and the yearly saving is considerable when we have new addresses at the time you move.

Please send changes of address to: AFSC, P. O. Box 1307, High Point, N. C.

Dinner Honors Tartt Bell

Recognition for his years of service in the southeastern region was given B. Tartt Bell at a dinner in his honor at Guilford College, North Carolina, in December.

Approximately a hundred persons attended the event planned by the regional executive committee.

Stephen G. Cary of the AFSC Philadelphia office and long-time friend of Tartt Bell, spoke of his work with the organization. He expressed commendation and thanks for Tartt Bell's many contributions and recalled many of the lighter moments in their years of association.

Claude Shotts for the executive committee, and William Bagwell for the SERO staff, spoke of his commitment to the spiritual and humanitarian concerns of the Service Committee.

Tartt Bell leaves the region following eighteen years in the program. He came in 1946 as the only staff person; today there are seven staffed programs in the High Point, North Carolina office, areas peace centers in Miami and Tampa Bay, Florida, and an employment on merit program in Atlanta. Including both program and secretarial staff, eighteen persons are employed in the region. He has joined the AFSC International Affairs Seminars Program in Washington, D. C. as associate director.

Russell Branson's Winter Schedule

Russell Branson, finance secretary for the southeastern regional office, will be in Florida from February 9-27 visiting AFSC friends. Planning a tightly scheduled trip, he will be in some twelve communities, including, among others, Jacksonville, Daytona Beach, Orlando, Winter Park, Miami, St. Petersburg, Tampa, and Gainesville.

He will be in the Charlotte and Durham, N. C. areas during March. His work includes informing and interpreting Service Committee activities to contributors and interested groups.

His contacts are broad and many people other than Quakers support the programs; eighty-five per cent of AFSC's income over the country comes from non-Quaker sources. Business, industrial and social leaders, in most cases deeply and religiously motivated, support the program.

"There is oftentimes a strong feeling of sharing and dedication on the part of contributors," Russell Branson says.

Negro Employment Trends in the Southeast

By William Allison

In the whole complex of current interracial problems, employment is considered as the most controversial by most inter-group relations agencies and by minorities themselves.

Discrimination against Negroes varies from community to community, depending on various factors. Some communities in the southeast have made significant strides while others have made little progress. At best the most promising communities, it must be admitted, represent only token integration in employment.

With very few exceptions, employers complain of a scarcity of trained, qualified minority persons. To what extent management has been willing to promote or upgrade minority persons from lower echelon jobs it has been difficult to determine. Again, the integration of on-the-job training opportunities could minimize this gap considerably, if the employer is sincere in his efforts to integrate.

There is no question that the minority community lacks the skills and training which will make it possible for great numbers to move immediately into better jobs. It is not, however, clear whether management is using this initiative and decision-making power it possesses to accelerate industrial integration along those lines which are open to them now.

Affirmative steps to recruit minority employees, to upgrade and to train them on the job are the guidelines for successful integration. The Plans for Progress Program of President Johnson has emphasized this approach by bringing prospective employers together with administrative officers of southern Negro colleges.

When Negroes are recruited, whether in colleges or high schools, and the old images and stereotypes are replaced by Negroes holding non-traditional jobs, the whole process of industrial integration will move into a new gear and a new course of energy will be available to both management and the minority community.

Besides voluntary compliance which is the principle used in the Plans for Progress Program, federal legislation has established a climate in which meaningful progress can be made. The Employment on Merit Program of the AFSC, which has had over ten years' experience in this field with the southeast, attempts to reach both management and the minority community to achieve this goal of equal employment opportunity without compulsion or conflict.

William Allison

William Allison came to the community relations staff of the AFSC in January, 1964. As associate director of the region's employment on merit program, he has worked in the area of development of a community awareness, organization and action on minority employment problems.

A tall, lanky, busy young man, he has worked during the past year in helping to place Negroes in non-traditional jobs. He has counseled with personnel managers of industry and business in encouraging them to establish employment policies based solely on merit. He has helped them find such applicants from the Negro community.

William Allison for five years taught at the American School in the Philippines. During that time he was engaged in private research in the field of anthropology.

In 1961 he completed work towards the master's degree in political science at the University of the Philippines.

A native of Nashville, Tennessee, Mr. Allison is a graduate of De Pauw University.

YOUR OPPORTUNITY FOR SERVICE: TUTOR FOR DESEGREGATION

Tutor and student working on a school assignment during an evening tutoring study hall project in Greensboro, North Carolina.

Recruitment of leaders and participants for projects is underway for the summer of 1965 and applications are coming into the High Point, North Carolina office.

One of these in the southeastern region is a tutoring project.

The school desegregation program staff has worked with community groups in Virginia, and North and South Carolina in efforts to desegregate local schools initially or more substantially.

The tutoring locations will be in communities in these states. The communities have requested help in preparing the children for a smooth transition into desegregated school situations next fall and the project is designed to help accomplish this.

Participants are needed who are graduate students, faculty, undergraduates with experience in tutoring programs and former teachers. They will need a six to eight week period during the summer to devote to the project. They will live with local families, and in addition to tutoring, may also supervise a program involving local volunteer tutors.

The AFSC participant will have the support of a local committee in conducting the program. In addition to individual tutoring some group teaching may be used. The strongest need is in the language arts and self-expression — reading, writing, and speaking. Also the program will develop a stronger sense of the importance of education. The personal relationship the tutor has with the students can broaden their horizons. It is hoped that the program will give parents a greater awareness of educational values and educational needs of their children. As well as serving, the AFSC participant will have a unique opportunity to learn about the life and social change of this region.

This summer project is jointly sponsored by the AFSC college program and school desegregation program. Staff from the regional office will organize the orientation sessions to provide help with specific tutoring materials and techniques and will visit participants in the field once a week. Evaluation will be an important part of the program.

This project is one of many scheduled for next summer in many locations in this country and overseas.

In Detroit, Michigan, a community service project to teach slow-learning children from grade 1-3 to prevent future drop-outs is planned. At Five Acres, Los Angeles, California, work will be done with 7-12-year-old emotionally disturbed children in a recreation and camping program.

Overseas work camps are scheduled for Mexico and Guatemala. Project participants live as a group in a rural village and work in community service cooperating with federal and local authorities on health, education, agriculture, and construction projects.

Approximately forty students from the Southeastern region were in work and study projects of the AFSC during the summer of 1964 in this country and abroad. Fifteen additional students from North Carolina were included in a southeastern regional travel-seminar project to Mexico.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
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copy for New Yorker

Richard Cohen, Director
Department of Public Relations

For Immediate Release

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS HAILS NEW YORK SCHOOL BOARD POLICY STATEMENT ON TREATMENT OF MINORITY GROUPS IN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

The American Jewish Congress hailed this week as "long overdue" an announcement by the New York City Board of Education that it would not accept books on social studies and other instructional materials that did not deal adequately with minority groups.

Will Maslow, AJCongress executive director, laid particular emphasis on the failure of most social studies texts to cover the Hitler period adequately.

"Textbook treatment of Jewish life should make certain to include the Hitler era and the terrible lessons this ultimate expression of anti-Semitism holds for all humanity," he declared.

"Studies by the American Jewish Congress and other groups have demonstrated how poorly this significant period in history has been covered until now.

"We applaud the action of School Superintendent John Theobald in issuing his new policy statement and we await eagerly the early implementation of this program."

The AJCongress spokesman also urged that the new criteria to be employed by the Board of Education in evaluating school texts include both the history of the nation's various racial, religious and ethnic groups and the hardships they have had to overcome in winning full equality.

"This would cover, for example, full and objective treatment of the long, slow struggle of our Negro and Puerto Rican fellow-citizens toward acceptance, and ample discussion of the legal, social and economic barriers to equality that have deprived them of a fair chance to lead more useful and productive lives and to participate fully in the democratic process," he said.

RCvt-10/19/62
AJ:NP

Ja 38451

SPEECH AT ANNUAL DINNER MEETING, ATLANTA CHAPTER, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 17, 1963, BY CHARLES F. WITTENSTEIN
SOUTHEAST AREA DIRECTOR

There was a time when we in Atlanta could talk of little but race relations. That time has passed, but for the region as a whole, race remains the central issue. But the way in which that issue is formulated has changed. We no longer wonder "whether or not", but we ask "how" and "when". I want to address myself briefly tonight to the question of "how" -- the question of tactics -- because the way in which change is brought about profoundly affects the nature of change itself.

The growing importance of tactics is highlighted by the controversy which has grown among predominately Negro civil rights groups. Several years ago it was inconceivable to us that the NAACP would be under attack as being insufficiently militant. Yet the NAACP has been on the defensive in the Negro community in a major dispute centering almost exclusively on tactics.

The three most important tactical approaches which have been and will continue to be used in the South are direct action, litigation and negotiation.

By direct action I mean the use of boycott, picketing, public prayer meetings and other forms of mass demonstrations. It has achieved greatest success primarily in lunch counter desegregation. Its secondary value lies in exposing the continuing existence of segregation, e.g., as the freedom rides spotlighted segregation in interstate bus travel and prompsted a new ruling by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Litigation has been most noteably successful in desegregating educational institutions and other publicly owned facilities such as parks, or businesses holding franchises from the public such as buses. It has been of little or no use in desegregating facilities operated by private companies where the barriers are not the result of state action.

Negotiation on the other hand has been effective primarily in desegregating privately owned and operated facilities, opening new job opportunities for Negroes,

or getting additional Negroes appointed to public boards and agencies. It is available as a tactic only where the atmosphere is relatively calm, where lines of communication between the races are open, and positions have not hardened to the point where give and take is not possible on both sides. Negotiation requires responsible Negro and White leadership (which is not universally available), also careful preparation. Neither negotiation or picketing would have ever gotten James Meredith in Ole Miss. Sometimes negotiation has been effective only when combined with direct action or litigation, or when there is the threat that such other tactics may be used.

If lunch counter desegregation represents the high water mark of direct action by the use of picketing and boycotting, then Albany, Ga., represents its low water mark -- indeed, its most dismal failure. We have seen an enormous amount of time, effort, money and sacrifice expended in an effort which has, to this day, failed to desegregate anything whatsoever. All it has succeeded in doing is to create bitterness locally and embarrassment for the United States internationally. The explanation for the failure is the lack of clear thinking about tactics.

I would liken the city fathers of Albany to the Pharoah in Egypt. Their hearts were hardened and no demonstration could persuade them to modify their policy of massive resistence. This situation was ideally suited for neither direct action or negotiation but for litigation. Finally, a suit was filed by the NAACP -- and it will be this suit (or one like it) that will eventually bring desegregation to Albany, not Martin Luther King, not the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and not the courageous but futile demonstrations by Negroes of the Albany movement, or their visiting northern supporters. I say this notwithstanding the recent decision by Federal District Judge Elliott.

While litigation is in certain cases more effective than mass demonstrations, and certainly involves less danger of creating chaos in the process of effecting social change, the best hope of lasting progress lies in calm negotiation. For this

proposition, I would cite the remarkable achievements of Macon and Brunswick, Ga., and the very quiet but effective work done in both cities by the Georgia Council on Human Relations, whose Executive Director, Mrs. William Pauley is here tonight.

One of the most striking contrasts between Albany, Ga., and Oxford, Miss., is the massive federal intervention in the one situation and the almost total absence of federal support in the other. The explanation for this is clear. In Oxford the Administration had a handle -- the court order directing the admission of James Meredith to Ole Miss. In Albany, rightly or wrongly, the Administration never found a handle for intervention, despite its embarrassment.

Albany is also noteable for its ultimate refinement of the Jackson, Miss., approach -- put anyone in jail who publicly demonstrates against jim crow. Police pursuing this approach can certainly never be accused of a morbid pre-occupation with the First Amendment. While many civil rights issues have already been resolved, one which will be subject to further and protracted argument is the right or duty of the Federal Government to actively protect its citizens in the exercise of freedom of speech and assembly against police infringement.

My purpose in all of this is to indicate the variety of tactics available to effect social change and the absolute necessity of choosing the one that is most effective under the surrounding circumstances. In matters of principle we may and sometimes should be dogmatic. In matters of tactics we must always be flexible, and we must always be guided by the test of effectiveness. If the regional operation of the American Jewish Committee has achieved a degree of support among thoughtful Jewish leadership in the South, I am inclined to attribute it to the kind of tactical sensitivity which I have described.

In the process of discussing tactics, I have at the same time reviewed some of the major Southern developments in the field of inter-group relations during the recent past. I want to touch briefly on one other less sensational but quite important turn of events.

Our sister State Alabama is as much if not more committed to massive resistance today as it was a year ago. But while the official policy remains one of defiance, an undercurrent of sentiment for compliance has appeared, especially in Birmingham and Mobile. It may be too little and too late, but it is encouraging. I am particularly pleased with the increasing willingness of our constituency to involve themselves constructively in the process.

As I look toward the year ahead, and focus now on Atlanta, it seems to me that one of our major tasks should be directed to translating the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race into meaningful terms on the local level. Our distinguished guest of this evening (His Excellency, Paul J. Hallinan, Archbishop of Atlanta) played a leading role in this first tri-faith conference which mobilized the moral forces of Catholicism, Protestantism and Judaism on a national level. At a meeting I attended last week he pledged his full support to a counter-part effort in Atlanta. It is my sincere hope that this Chapter of the American Jewish Committee will participate with our Catholic and Protestant friends in a cooperative effort to apply our common moral heritage to the pressing problems of human relations in our time and in this place.

-END-

COMPLIMENTS OF

HARRY J. ALDERMAN

LIBRARIAN-ARCHIVIST
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

165 EAST 56TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-4000

November 19, 1963

Mr. Harry J. Alderman
Librarian-Archivist
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Alderman:

We would like to express our appreciation to you for the 'complimentary copy' of Politics in a Pluralist Democracy.

If we can be of service to you in the future, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Administrative Secretary

/nm

September 8, 1964

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Herewith is enclosed the address of Morris Abrams. I tried to call, but the operator said the line was out of order temporarily, so I thought I had better drop it in the mail.

Morris Abrams
Attorney at Law
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

VEJ:nm
Enc (Above)

also president of the American Jewish Com.

November 21, 1963

Mr. Harry Fleischman
Race Relations Coordinator
The American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Fleischman:

Enclosed please find the following: (1) A brief bibliography of articles and editorials discussing the civil rights bill. (2) A list of pieces about the bill which have appeared in Congressional Quarterly. (3) A copy of the statement made by Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen before the Senate Commerce Committee last summer.

Our research department strongly suggests that AJC write for the published records of the hearings before Congress on the bill. We have them on order.

While we have loads of material on the bill, we do not have any really good pieces supporting the bill as "Civil Rights and Legal Wrongs" condemn it. We trust however that the enclosed materials will help.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordon, Assistant to
Executive Director

VEJ/rh

CC: Mr. Arnold Aronson

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

November 6, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Enclosed is a copy of the pamphlet I mentioned to you today. Do let me know whether or not you can prepare an answer to this. Many thanks for all your help.

All the best.

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman
Race Relations Coordinator

P.S. I am enclosing a letter I received from Dr. Samuel Newman for your information.

eak
encl.

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RALPH FRIEDMAN, Chm., Administrative Board
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June 12, 1963

Mr. Robert L. Pelz
Chairman
Community Information Committee
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Pelz:

Thank you very much for sending us the publication The Negro Press Digest. I was very interested in it, and I do think the information will be most useful to us, so I would like very much to receive future issues.

One reason I was particularly interested in the Digest and glad to receive it is because I have hopes that some day SRC can do a study or Special Report on the Negro Press, its strengths and weaknesses.

Thus, I will look forward to receiving future editions of the publication. Please let me know if there will be any charges for them, and again, thank you.for bringing this Digest to our attention.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

New York Chapter

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

SB
Please reply

May 28, 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Enclosed is a copy of our publication, THE NEGRO PRESS DIGEST. The New York Chapter of The American Jewish Committee hopes that this publication will help fill an important need in intergroup relations, which is: improved communications bringing fuller knowledge of the problems, aspirations and frustrations of the Negro community as expressed in their press. This periodical, therefore, is designed to foster greater understanding and thereby further the development of truly effective human relations efforts.

I would appreciate your letting me know whether or not you think the information it contains might be useful to you, and therefore, whether or not you would like to receive future issues regularly.

I will look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Robert L. Pelz

Robert L. Pelz, Chairman
Community Information Committee

RLP:sc

P.S. - Mr. Frederick B. Routh of NAIRO suggested that we contact you.

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THE REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE OF THE ATLANTA CHAPTER, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE FOR 1966-1967 IS AS FOLLOWS:

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Simon S. Selig, Jr.
A. J. Weinberg
Mrs. Morton L. Weiss

THE FOREGOING SLATE FOR THE YEAR 1966 WILL BE PRESENTED TO THE CHAPTER FOR CONSIDERATION AT ITS ANNUAL DINNER MEETING, SATURDAY, JUNE 4TH.

THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Morton L. Weiss, Chairman
Herbert Elsas
DeJongh Franklin
Louis Regenstein
Herbert Ringel
Charles F. Wittenstein, Ex-Officio.

September 20, 1968

Mr. Max M. Fisher
Chairman
National Executive Board
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Fisher:

Thank you for your invitation to the annual Executive Board dinner on October 26. I look forward to attending.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022 • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

September 19, 1968

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

The American Jewish Committee will hold its National Executive Board Meeting in Atlanta during the weekend of October 25 - 27, at the Regency Hyatt House.

Our Annual Executive Board Dinner on Saturday, October 26, is the highlight of our weekend sessions and this year should be an especially exciting evening since it will feature the Presidential Address by our newly elected President, Arthur J. Goldberg.

My colleagues, the officers of the American Jewish Committee, and I, personally, would be honored to have you and Mrs. Watters join us as our guests on this occasion. The pre-dinner reception for our guests of honor is scheduled for 6:30 P.M. in the Phoenix Ballroom of the Regency Hyatt.

I very much hope you will find it possible to be with us. I look forward to hearing from you and to greeting you both on the evening of October 26.

Cordially,

Max M Fisher

Max M. Fisher, Chairman
National Executive Board

MF:hr

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, President

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NATHAN APPLEMAN, Board of Trustees
MAX M. FISHER, Executive Board
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WILLARD L. LEVY, St. Louis, Vice-President
ROBERT I. WISHNICK, New York, Vice-President

1/23/69

CROSS REFERENCE

RE correspondence on Robert Sherrill's NS klan piece, see:

SHERRILL, ROBERT

NEWS

This is the American Jewish Committee:

Founded in 1906.

Pioneer American organization combating bigotry, protecting the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advancing the cause of human rights everywhere.

Chapters and units in more than 80 principal cities; members in more than 600 American communities.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS

165 East 56 Street • New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

Washington Office: 1012 14th Street, N.W. • Wash. 5, D. C. • DIstrict 7-3204
European Headquarters: 30 Rue la Boetie • Paris 8, France
South American Headquarters: Libertad 773 • Buenos Aires, Argentina

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Executive Vice-President

HAROLD STEINBERG
Director of Publicity

FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT

New York, September 16th,...The American Jewish Committee today urged President Kennedy to establish "a day of national mourning for those innocent youngsters" killed in the Birmingham church bombing. At the same time, the Committee urged the President and the Attorney General "to undertake every possible action which will re-establish the rule of law and order in Birmingham, and in any other city North or South, where there is a danger of violence and terror."

The full text of the statement by A.M. Sonnabend, of Boston, President of the Committee, follows:

"The outburst of violence on Sunday in Birmingham, and its schocking cost in innocent lives, underscores the urgent necessity for prompt Federal Government action to prevent any such further catastrophes.

"The American Jewish Committee is firmly convinced that the defiance of law and order current in Alabama has created an atmosphere which can breed terror and bloodshed in the streets. The state government has the responsibility of protecting its citizens from wanton attack. and, even more important, of creating a climate of law and order that discourages violence and destruction.

"We respectfully urge the President of the United States and the United States Attorney General to undertake every possible action which will re-establish the rule of law and order in Birmingham and in any other city, north or south, where there is a danger of violence and terror. We call upon all members of the

-more-

American Jewish Committee to support the drive for funds initiated by the National Council of Churches to help families of victims of the bombing and to help rebuild the damaged church.

"We urge the President to establish a day of national mourning for these innocent youngsters who were killed in the bombing so that all Americans will be able to extend their sympathies and help, and will recognize anew bocause of this tragic event, the solemn responsibility this nation faces in fulfilling its promise of freedom, equality of opportunity, and protection for all of its citizens."

# # # #

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NEWS

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Executive Vice-President

HAROLD STEINBERG
Director of Publicity

FOR RELEASE AFTER 5:30 P.M.
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25

Chicago, Sept. 25....Morris Abram, the first legal chief of the Peace Corps, urged here today that the U. S. Government set up a national Equality Corps which would "develop and expand job opportunities for Negroes through a nation-wide crash-training and job placement program."

Mr. Abram, a prominent New York attorney and Chairman of the Executive Board of the American Jewish Committee, called upon President Kennedy to mobilize businessmen, executives, technicians, teachers, union leaders, vocational guidance teachers and intergroup relations workers in a "volunteer Equality Corps of Americans which would seek to reduce the economic and discriminatory barriers against our Negro fellow citizens." Mr. Abram spoke at a dinner sponsored by the American Jewish Committee's Appeal for Human Relations in Chicago. The dinner honored Dr. Louis L. Mann, Honorary Rabbi of Chicago's Sinai Congregation.

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human relations agency in this country, combating bigotry and protecting the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advancing the cause of human relations for all.

"Just as our country is seeking to meet its responsibilities abroad through the Peace Corps," Mr. Abram declared, "the Equality Corps at home could speak a language of concern for American Negroes. The Equality Corps should be a practical and effective exercise in human relations in which skilled people on the many levels of our society apply their abilities to needful and significant work." He outlined three major areas of operation for the Equality Corps:

1. Development of a crash-training program for unskilled Negroes and other minority groups.

2. Establishment of job placement centers in major communities through-

(more)

out the country jointly operated under the Equality Corps by business and union groups.

3. Creation of survey teams in major industries to explore job possibilities and recommend areas of expansion.

The Equality Corps, Mr. Abram said, could operate on national and state levels with units established in cities and regions throughout the country. The Corps will work closely with government and state agencies and voluntary organizations.

Mr. Abram declared that "this nation has the resources and the skills to respond to the mounting protest of the American Negro who although he "first came to this country in the 17th Century, is still not an equal American." As Americans, we seem to lack the will to help our fellow Negroes," Mr. Abram said, citing recent surveys that three out of four Americans were opposed to the Washington march.

He said that "our sense of guilt, and the fact that we feel we owe a debt to the Negro who is so long neglected, seems to paralyze our great resources and abilities. We must face this guilt and act in specific, effective ways to create equality of opportunity for the American Negro who, for too long, has faced severe social, cultural and economic disadvantages.

Mr. Abram cited, particularly, the experience of his native Georgia during World War II, when a crash-training program turned thousands of farmers and unskilled workers into airplane mechanics who were needed to staff a war-time airplane plant.

He called the Negro nationwide protests and demonstrations a revolution "only in the sense that it attempts to achieve finally the original purposes of the revolution which began in 1775."

Contrary to most revolutions which seek to overturn by force and violence legally established governments, the Negro movement is "to support the Constitution, not to subvert it." He added: "The Negro protest movement demands that the sub-governments and the agencies of society generally obey and implement the ideals of the Republic."

Of the Negro, Mr. Abram said, "he will march until he can hold his head erect; sit in until he is no longer sat upon. He is going to lie down until he is able to sit down in any place intended for public accommodation, and he is going to pray in until his prayers are answered."

On the issue of special treatment for the Negro, Mr. Abram evoked the principle of compensatory training and education. "Segregation and discrimination have taken a heavy toll, and the Negro child and adult show the effects.

(more)

He has not in general received equal education and training, and is behind in these areas. He is clearly entitled to compensatory training and to compensatory education."

Mr. Abram pointed out that through a crash-training program and the Equality Corps operation in general, society will be able to give the Negro this compensation, "for in doing so, the country will really be adding to its own capital resources in trained, skilled and knowledgeable human beings." However, Mr. Abram emphasized that "what the Negro is not entitled to, and responsible leaders know it and wouldn't ask for it, is discriminatory hiring and appointment of unqualified persons to office."

Mr. Abram, a specialist in constitutional law, is a native of Georgia and practiced law there until recently. He is the defense attorney for Zev Aeloni, of Minneapolis, who has been held in jail in Americus, Georgia, since mid-August, with three others, on a Georgia State Insurrection Statute which carries the death penalty. The group, which was arrested for praying publicly for the release of Negro protest marchers, are coming to trial in December.

Mr. Abram was the attorney for the plaintiff in the first state apportionment case against Georgia's Unit Rule System, and won a unanimous decision before the three-judge U. S. District Court in Atlanta, later affirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court. He recently joined the New York law firm of Paul Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison, and now makes his home in Larchmont with his wife, Jane Maguire Abram, and five children. He was the first legal chief of the Peace Corps, and is a member of the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, appointed by President Kennedy.

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File

MEET THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

HOW DO YOU MEET AN ORGANIZATION?

How can you get to know a national agency engaged in many areas of urgent concern – protecting civil rights and civil liberties, coping with church-state problems, conducting research into human behavior, safeguarding civil and religious rights of Jews at home and abroad, building understanding among the races and religions throughout the world . . . working in all those aspects of life and experience which comprise the field of human relations?

Or, for that matter, how can you discover the value of association with some 33,000 people living in 600 communities and organized in 91 chapters and units, who make up the American Jewish Committee . . . educators, industrialists, attorneys, businessmen, housewives, physicians, rabbis, government officials, publishers, labor leaders, writers, scholars...?

This pamphlet is designed to give you a profile of the American Jewish Committee, pioneer human-relations agency.

BACKGROUND AND BELIEFS

The American Jewish Committee was formed in 1906 to assist Jewish victims of persecution in Czarist Russia and to protect the rights of Jews the world over. Among its founders were such distinguished American Jews as Mayer Sulzberger, Louis Marshall, Cyrus Adler, Sol M. Stroock, Maurice Wertheim, Jacob H. Schiff, Irving Lehman, Judah L. Magnes, Julius Rosenwald, Felix Warburg, Adolf Lewisohn.

"I commend the American Jewish Committee for its nearly six decades of leadership in the struggle to secure equal rights and opportunity for all people. All Americans owe you a debt of gratitude . . . for the ideals of dignity and equality which motivate the American Jewish Committee are the principles that have made our country great."

Committee leaders today include Joseph M. Proskauer, Jacob Blaustein, Irving M. Engel, Herbert B. Ehrmann, Louis Caplan, Morris B. Abram, Ralph Friedman, Philip E. Hoffman, Nathan Appleman, James Marshall, Simon H. Rifkind, William Rosenwald, Alan M. Stroock.

Committee members are Orthodox, Conservative and Reform in their religious affiliation.

They are Republicans and Democrats. They represent a diversity of views and interests—but they are as one in their commitment to advance man's understanding of his fellow man.

JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER
1943-1949

JACOB BLAUSTEIN
1949-1954

IRVING M. ENGEL
1954-1959

HERBERT B. EHRMANN
1959-1961

MAURICE WERTHEIM
1941-1943

SOL M. STROOCK
Jan.-Sept. 1941

CYRUS ADLER
1929-1940

LOUIS MARSHALL
1912-1929

MAYER SULZBERGER
1906-1912

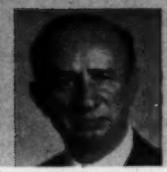
PRESIDENTS OF THE

For more than half a century the American Jewish Committee has been guided by these principles:

HUMAN RIGHTS are indivisible; denial of equal justice and opportunity to any group threatens the rights of all.

EVERY MAN must be judged on his personal merit, not by his religion, color, ancestry or country of birth.

THE INDIVIDUAL Jew should participate fully in all phases of American life, at the same time retaining and cherishing his religious-cultural identity.



FREDERICK F. GREENMAN
Apr.-June 1961

LOUIS CAPLAN
1961-1962

A. M. SONNABEND
1962-1964

MORRIS B. ABRAM
1964-

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

TOWARD THESE GOALS

Members of the Committee and its professional staff —community-relations specialists trained in education, religion, law, social research, community organization, international affairs and mass communications — work together on local, national and international levels to:

COMBAT bigotry and discrimination in all forms.

PROMOTE civil rights and civil liberties.

DEVELOP mutual understanding among America's diverse religious, racial and ethnic groups.

STRENGTHEN America's democratic institutions.

INCREASE among American Jews the understanding of their Jewish identity and heritage, while encouraging their wholesome integration into American life.

ASSIST Jews in other lands—Europe, North Africa, Latin America — to enjoy equality of citizenship with their fellow countrymen and to strengthen their communal institutions.

HELP Israel develop as a viable democracy in the Middle East.

SUPPORT the United Nations and other international efforts to advance human rights throughout the world.

IN THE COMMUNITY

AJC's effectiveness in the local community depends largely on the efforts of AJC members who work through chapters in major cities and units in smaller communities.

AJC members deal with a wide variety of local community problems: sectarian religious practices in public education; discrimination in employment and housing; segregation in the schools; bigotry in elections; social discrimination; interreligious conflicts; neglect

of intergroup education for children and youth; organized anti-Semitism; race tensions; the dangers of extremism and many others.

The AJC cooperates with other responsible organizations—both national and local—in dealing with issues of mutual concern. Members also advance AJC's point of view and its program through their participation in other community groups — Jewish and non-sectarian.

ACCENT ON PREVENTION

AJC continuously combats prejudice and bigotry. But its basic and sustained program is directed toward *prevention* of destructive intergroup conflicts.

Social-science research is used by the Committee to get at the roots of compelling human-relations problems and to provide the basis for constructive action.

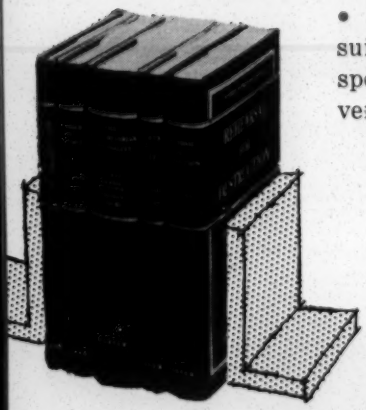
Famous "firsts" by AJC are:

• The five-volume *Studies in Prejudice* produced by teams of social scientists. Its basic study, *The Authoritarian Personality,* is required reading in colleges and universities throughout the nation and abroad. Described by the renowned psychologist, Dr. Gordon Allport, as "one of the major psychological contributions of this century," this work has been a springboard for hundreds of studies and dissertations in the social sciences.

• Encouragement of self-studies by Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religious educators and theologians to discover and correct inaccurate or hostile references to Jews and other groups in religious textbooks and lesson materials. *Faith and Prejudice* by Dr. Bernhard E. Olson, a major study of Protestant teaching materials at Yale Divinity School, was published early in 1963 by Yale University Press. Findings of the Catholic study made at St. Louis University were issued in 1964.

• Two scholarly volumes sponsored by the Committee—*The Jews in the Soviet Union* and *The Jews in the Soviet Satellites*—provided first documentary evidence of oppressive measures against Jews and other minorities in the Soviet orbit.

• Explorations into "executive suite" discrimination include AJC sponsored studies at Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, University of Michigan Survey Research Center, University of California Graduate School of Business Administration, and other major institutions, to determine the nature and extent of exclusionary practices in top management of American industry.



Long-term projects by teams of social scientists produced the Studies in Prejudice.

• Establishment of a joint Catholic-Jewish research center at International University for Social Studies "Pro Deo" in Rome to analyze and combat the roots of prejudice in religious teaching throughout the world ... Submission to the Vatican Ecumenical Council of three memoranda dealing with the image of the Jews in Catholic teachings—especially the deicide charge.

• Publications on contemporary issues and Jewish affairs, including *Commentary, American Jewish Year Book, Comentario* (Spanish and Portuguese), *Ammot* (Hebrew, published in Israel), and other periodicals and educational materials.

AJC leaders discuss plight of Soviet Jews at meeting with then-USSR Deputy Premier Mikoyan. (l to r) the late Herbert H. Lehman, Mikoyan, Irving M. Engel, Jacob Blaustein.

AJC's SERVICE OVERSEAS

The Committee's overseas program seeks to insure equal rights, security and dignity for Jews in other lands. The AJC maintains offices in Paris, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro and Tel Aviv; a consultant in Germany, and correspondents in many European countries and North Africa. Abroad, as at home, the Committee accents *prevention*. It vigorously combats the revival of nazism, communism, and all other manifestations of totalitarianism. It exposes anti-Semitism and other denials of human rights in the Soviet Union, its satellites, and elsewhere.

Committee President Morris B. Abram, who led AJC's 1964 delegation to Latin America, and Brazilian President Humberto Castelo Branco hold press conference.

In cooperation with its sister organizations abroad—the French Alliance Israélite Universelle and the British Anglo-Jewish Association — the AJC conducts a program known as Community Service, to make possible a satisfying religious and communal life for Jews in many widely scattered communities throughout Europe and North Africa.

At the United Nations, AJC works with UN agencies as an accredited non-governmental organization.

ISRAEL

The Committee supported United States recognition of Israel, its admission to the United Nations, and U. S. economic aid for the new State's development. Similarly, it was helpful in achieving restitution agreements with the Government of West Germany which has been providing Israel with almost a billion dollars in reparation payments. The Committee helps to interpret Israel's role as a friend and ally of democracy in the Middle East. AJC's office in Israel seeks to further understanding among Israelis and Jews in the U. S. and elsewhere.

In 1946, AJC President Proskauer, at Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, pressed for "way to permit substantial emigration into Palestine."

In 1950, Israel Premier David Ben-Gurion (l) and AJC President Jacob Blaustein meet to clarify relationship of Israel and U.S. Jews.

Pope Paul VI at historic private audience granted American Jewish Committee delegation in May 1964. From left: Ralph Friedman, Chairman, Executive Board; Mrs. Leonard M. Sperry of Los Angeles; President Morris B. Abram; Pope Paul VI; Philip E. Hoffman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Dr. John Slawson, Executive Vice President; Zachariah Shuster, Director, AJC European Office.

IN SUM

For more than half a century the American Jewish Committee has advanced the cause of human rights—and particularly the rights of Jews, to enable them to live in equality, with security and dignity in the lands of their birth or choice.

The Committee and its Institute of Human Relations carry on a three-pronged program. AJC fights anti-Semitism and all forms of prejudice and discrimination and helps to build intergroup understanding here in the United States. The Committee also works overseas—in Europe, North Africa, Latin America, and within the United Nations—to protect the rights of Jews and advance human rights generally. It strives to prevent catastrophes affecting Jews the world over, and thus to reduce the need for rescue and relief. Finally, the Committee seeks to help Jews maintain and enrich their Jewish identity and, at the same time, achieve full integration into American life.

The American Jewish Committee offers you a rewarding partnership in this urgent and vital opportunity to contribute to the crucial need of our time—man's understanding of his fellow man.

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ajc

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Founded 1906, pioneer U.S. human relations agency, protecting civil and religious rights of Jews, advancing cause of freedom everywhere. Its funds are raised through nationwide Appeal for Human Relations.

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CROSS REFERENCE:

For Reese Cleghorn's RADICALISM: SOUTHERN STYLE correspondence, see:

Correspondence (re manuscripts and publications), Radicalism: Southern Style.

Also, for correspondence, with Sonya Kaufer, American Jewish Committee.

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR: Correspondence concerning "The Continuing Crisis" joint publication of SRC and The American Jewish Committee,

SEE:

<u>Correspondence</u>: (re manuscripts, publications, etc.) "The Continuing Crisis"